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THE HELLENISTIC INSCRIPTIONS OF OLD PAPHOS

(PLATES 1–3)

A. SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY AND ABBREVIATIONS[1]

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---

[1] This bibliography makes no claim to be exhaustive. It serves indeed chiefly as a frame to carry my abbreviations. Those not included here may be found in *SEG* x.

B. CLASSIFICATION OF THE INSCRIPTIONS

Altar of Nikokles	**1**
Royal Letters	**2–3**
Decrees	**4–7**
Catalogues	**8–9**
Inscribed Pedestals of Busts	**10–11**
Dedications in Honour of Arsinoe Philadelphus	**12–14**
Pedestals of Statues	**15–110**
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(For Index to these inscriptions, see end of volume)

PREFACE

THE ruins of Old Paphos are now occupied by the village of Kouklia, some 10 miles to the south-south-east of (New) Paphos which lies below Ktima in western Cyprus. Since Old Paphos, capital of an ancient city-kingdom, was alike the ecumenical centre of Aphrodite-worship and the ἱερόν of New Paphos, capital of Cyprus for the Ptolemies seemingly from the outset of the second century B.C., its Hellenistic inscriptions are relatively abundant. These I first examined in 1936. I have since then repeatedly revisited the site, to add to the unpublished and to rediscover others long lost. Finally, from 1950 to 1955 excavations were conducted in the area of the Aphrodite temple and in the outskirts of Kouklia, to make a notable enlargement of the total. Here into a handlist of the known inscriptions I incorporate the formal publication of the new material and, wherever this may call for fuller treatment, a greater emphasis on the old.

It will be seen from the preceding classification of the documents that there is numerically a remarkable disproportion between their classes. Whereas the hard local limestones used for the statue-bases could be employed repeatedly as building material, the dice have been heavily weighted against the survival of the fine, white marbles: two lime-kilns which in 1888 were still squatting on the temple site explain the rarity of these.[2]

THE INSCRIPTIONS

1. *Nikokles King of Paphos rebuilds the walls of* (*Old*) *Paphos*: *c.* 320 B.C.

Altar in four fragments, of which three only reached the British Museum. Fine letters of late fourth century. *JHS* ix, no. 46 (with diagram); Meister, pp. viii f.; E. Hoffmann, *Syll. epig. gr.* no. 359; *OpAth* iii. 203 (2). Cf. *JHS* ix. 179, 187; *BM Coins* p. lxiv; *RE* xvii (1936) 351, s.v. Nikokles (Stähelin); *Anatolian Studies* 199 and n. 3; Hill 76 and n. 3; *OpAth* iii. 198 n. 5; *BICS* suppl. x (1961) 37 n. 13.

Εὐρύχορος πόλις ἅδε τεᾶι, Νικόκλεες, ὁρμᾶι
ὑψηλὸμ πύργων ἀμφ[έ]θετο στέφανον.
ΙΟΣΤ ΛΕΣΕ

Letters now lost are underscored. *JHS* ix: ? τέλεσε[ν]. *Stoichedon* (cf. **16, 53**).[3]

For the career of Nikokles, Hill, loc. cit.; O. Vessberg, *SCE* IV. iii. 221 n. 4. The former, however, ascribes the famous story in Diodorus xx. 21 of the fall of Nikokles, it would seem correctly, to Nikokreon. In *OpAth* iii, loc. cit., are listed the four syllabic, the two alphabetic, and the one 'digraphic' inscription of this, the last Paphian king. πόλις ἅδε and πύργων . . . στέφανον are to be referred, I argue (op. cit. 198 n. 5), to Palaipaphos, although in fact the foundation and fortification of New Paphos were with little doubt also the work of Nikokles (*BICS* suppl. x (1961) 35 f.).

---

[2] By 'Epigraphical Museum' I denote the rooms within the Kouklia Chiftlik in which the inscriptions not found by us are housed under the custody of the Department of Antiquities. The 'Chiftlik Museum', however, denotes the room in which are temporarily stored the finds of the Kouklia Expedition.

[3] Cf. also *OpAth* iii. 202.

2. *Fragment of a royal letter, addressed to the Priesthood of Paphian Aphrodite*: 144–142 B.C.?

Fragment of a *stele* of fine white marble, broken away on all sides, but preserving something of the first nine lines of the inscription. To the lower right the surface of the stone has partially disintegrated. H. 0·16; w. 0·035; th. 0·06. Purchased in Kouklia from a villager on June 8th, 1951; now in the Chiftlik Museum (KX 61). Letters clearly cut, well formed, with slight thickening at terminals and some light *apices*. H. 0·01. Forms Α Β Ε Η Θ Μ Ν Ξ Ο ο Π Ρ Σ Υ Υ Ω, suggesting rather the third quarter than the end of the second century.

Unpublished. Cf., however, *Bull. Liverpool Mus.* ii (1952) 64 f.; M. T. Lenger, *BCH* lxxx (1956) 444; *SEG* xii. 553. PLATE I.

[Βασιλεὺς Πτολεμαῖος] κ̣αὶ Βασ̣[ίλισσα Κλεοπάτρα]
[Θεοὶ Εὐεργέται τοῖ]ς̣ ἱερεῦσ[ι τῆς Παφίας Ἀφροδίτης]
[χαίρειν· - - - - - - - ἐπ]ιτίθεμεν [- - - - - - - - - - - - - -]
[- - - - - - - - - -] Ω̣ αὔξησιν ΑΓΟ̣ [- - - - - - - - - - - -]
5 [- - - - - - - - - - - -] προγόνων ἡμῶν [- - - - - - - - - -]
[- - - - - - - - - - - καθι]ερούμενα τῆι̣ [Παφίαι Ἀφροδίτηι]
[- - - - - - - - - - - - -]Ν ἀναθέντων ΗΤ [- - - - - - - - -]
[- - - - - - - - - - - - - μι]σ̣θωσέω[ν κ]α̣ὶ Η/ - - - - - - - -]
[- - - - - - - - - - - - - -] ὠ̣ν̣η̣τ̣οῖς ? [- - - - - - - - - - -]
[- -]

L. 2: *sigma*, faint and broken, is nevertheless very probable, with *chi* as its only likely alternative. At the beginning of l. 4 a tip, from its position, is very probably part of *omega*. L. 8: the first extant letter is either *epsilon* or *sigma*. There are indistinct vestiges of a 10th line, otherwise totally lost.

It is clear from [τοῖ]ς ἱερεῦσ[ι], supported as this is by [καθι]ερούμενα τῆι [Παφίαι Ἀφροδίτηι] and ἀναθέντων, that this letter was addressed to the priesthood of Paphian Aphrodite; almost equally obvious that its authors were Euergetes II and one or other of his two queens. For these ἱερεῖς τῆς Παφίας Ἀφροδίτης formed a corporation which on the available evidence (assembled and discussed by me in *OpAth* iii. 165 and n. 115) neither antedates the accession of Euergetes II (**70**) nor long survives the seizure of Cyprus by the second Soter in 106/5 (**98**). Moreover, within the chronological limits set by the palaeography of this document, we can exclude the Cypriot reigns of Alexander and Soter, since neither names a queen in his inscriptions. We are accordingly confined to two episodes, either the interval between Euergetes' death in 116 and the assumption in 114/13 by Alexander of the throne of Cyprus, or the reign of Euergetes which preceded this. But still further refinement is very possible. Lines 1 and 2 as here restored, with an allowance of (shall we say?) 0·1 m. for each margin, would give a *stele* of half a metre's width: as **3** and **4** demonstrate, a very average width. If, however, a second queen be included, the length of line would be almost doubled, the dimensions of the stone unexampled. In effect, therefore, we are limited to three brief periods: either 144 to 142, when Euergetes and his sister reigned together; or April 131 to 124, the years of civil war and the flight of Euergetes and Kleopatra III to Cyprus; or, finally, 116 to 114/13, the first of the two episodes mentioned above, when Kleopatra III shared her throne with her elder son. There can be no doubt that the first of these is the most attractive. I have recently remarked that 'the possibility cannot be excluded that some benefit was conferred upon the Aphrodite temple by Euergetes as part of that programme of appeasement to Cyprus' which inaugurated his reign. Both in his letter of 144 B.C. appended to the Larnaca Amnesty (*Arch. Pap.* xiii (1938), no. 14; A. Rehm, *Philol* xcvii (1948) 267 ff.) and in a fragmentary decree of New Paphos (*AJA* lxv, no. 3), seemingly of like date, there is emphasis upon increased benefits conferred by him (αὔξησιν, π[ρ]όσθεμ[α]) exceeding those conferred by his royal ancestors (προγόνων ἡμῶν). The similarity of language is indeed remarkable, and lends support to our suggestion that Euergetes now conceded to this powerful temple some relaxation of the tight grip which the *strategos* exercised over this and all other priesthoods of the island in his capacity of ἀρχιερεύς.

3. *Letters of Antiochus VIII to Ptolemy Alexander and to Seleucia-in-Pieria, notifying his recognition of the freedom of that city*: September 6th, 109 B.C.

Stele, broken away diagonally to the left, now in the British Museum. The letters suggest the last quarter of the second century.

JHS ix, no. 14; W. R. Paton, *CR* iv (1890) 283; A. Wilhelm, *GGA* clx (1898) 212 ff.; Michel 49; *OGI* 257; *BMI* 970; F. Schroeter, *De Regum Hellenisticorum Epistulis* nos. 59, 60; Welles 71, 72. Cf. U. Wilcken, *Hermes* xxix (1894) 436 ff.; *RE* i. 2482, s.v. Antiochus (Wilcken); Mahaffy 408 n. 3; Strack 5 n. 1 and no. 148; W. Larfeld, *BJ* lxxxvii (1897) 293; Meyer 94 n. 351; Bevan, *House of Seleucus* ii. 256, 281 n. 3; Niese, *Gr. u. maked. Staaten* iii. 309 ff.; Bouché-Lerclercq ii. 92 n. 1; P. Ghione, *Mem. Ac. Torino* lv (1905) 109; V. Chapot, *Mém. Soc. nat. des Antiquaires de France* lxvi (1907) 172 ff.; Cohen 22 n. 1; Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire des Séleucides* 396 n. 1; W. Schubart, *Arch. Pap.* vi (1920) 340 f.; *RE* iii. 1189, s.v. Seleucia (Honigmann); W. W. Tarn, *JHS* xliv (1924) 144; U. Kahrstedt, *Abh. Gött. Ges.* xix. 2 (1926) 75 f.; Bevan 328 f.; Otto 120 n. 8; W. Schubart, *Arch. Pap.* xii (1936) 16 f.; Otto–Bengtson 171 ff.; *CERP* 255; E. Bikerman, *Institutions des Séleucides* 235; Hill 200 and n. 3; Rostovtzeff 846; A. R. Bellinger, *The End of the Seleucids*, Connecticut Acad. of Arts and Sciences, vol. 38 (1949) 69; *JHS* lxxix. 120 and n. 85.

[Β]ασιλεὺς Ἀντίοχος Βασιλεῖ Πτολεμαίωι τῶι καὶ
[Ἀλ]εξάνδρωι τῶι ἀδελφῶι χαίρειν· εἰ ἔρρωσαι εἴη ἂν ὡς βου-
[λόμ]ε̣θα· καὶ αὐτοὶ δὲ ὑγιαίνομεν καὶ σοῦ ἐμνημονεύομεν
[φιλοσ]τ̣όργως. Σελευκεῖς τοὺς ἐν Πιερίαι τῆς ἱερᾶς καὶ ἀσύλου
[ἐξ ἀρχῆς] μὲν τῶι πατρὶ ἡμῶν προσκληρωθέντας καὶ τὴν
[πρὸς αὐτ]ὸν εὔνοιαν μέχρι τέλους βεβαίαν συντηρήσαν-
[τας ἐμμείνα]ντας δὲ καὶ τῆ (*sic*) πρὸς ἡμᾶς φιλοστοργίαι καὶ ταύ-
[την διὰ πολλῶ]ν καὶ καλῶν ἔργων καὶ μάλιστ' ἐν τοῖς ἐπει-
[ληφόσιν ἀναγκαι]οτάτοις καιροῖς ἀποδειξαμένους καὶ κ⟨α⟩-
[τὰ τὰ ἄλλα μεγαλ]οψύχως καὶ αὐτῶν ἀξίως ἐπαυξήσ⟨α⟩ντες
[εἰς ἐπιφανέστερον πρ]οηγάγομεν ἀξίωμα· καὶ νυνὶ δὲ τῆς πρώ-
[της καὶ μεγίστης εὐεργ]εσίας καταξιῶσαι σπουδάζοντες
[αὐτοὺς ἐκρίναμεν ἡμεῖς ε]ἰ̣ς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον ἐλευθέρους
[εἶναι, καὶ περιελάβομεν αὐτοὺ]ς αἷς ἐποιησάμεθα πρὸς ἀλλη-
[λοὺς συνθήκαις, νομίζοντες οὕ]τ̣ως καὶ τὸ πρὸς τὴν πατρίδα
[εὐσεβές τε καὶ μεγαλομερὲς ἡμῶν] ἐκφανέστερον ἔσεσθαι.
[ὅπως δὲ καὶ σὺ τὰ συγχωρηθέντα παρα]κολουθῇς, καλῶς ἔχειν
[ἔδοξεν ἐπιστεῖλαί σοι. ἔρρω]σθε. (ἔτους) γσʹ. Γορπιαίου κθʹ.

[Βασιλεὺς Ἀντίοχος Σελευκέων τ]ῶν ἐν Πιερίαι τῆς ἱε-
[ρᾶς καὶ ἀσύλου τοῖς ἄρχουσι καὶ τῆι βο]υλῆ (*sic*) καὶ τῶι δήμωι
[χαίρειν· εἰ ἔρρωσθε ὑμεῖς καὶ ἡ πόλις, εἴη ἂ]ν ὡς βουλόμε-
[θα. ἐπέμψαμεν ὑμῖν ἀντίγραφον τῆς τε ἐπιστολ]ῆς ἧς γε-
[γράφαμεν πρὸς Βασιλέα Πτολεμαῖον καὶ τῆς πρὸς τὴν Ῥ]ωμαί-
[ων σύγκλητον, ἵνα - παρα]κολου-
[θῆτε - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -]

Restoration is for the most part the work of Paton, Wilcken, Wilhelm, and Dittenberger. From the text of Welles divergencies in the above are insignificant: in l. 13 ἡμεῖς, in l. 16 τε are added to do justice to the *lacunae*; in lines 2/3 βου|[λόμ]ε̣θα is read for βου|[λόμε]θα, in l. 4 [φιλοσ]τ̣όργως for [φιλοστ]όργως, in l. 13 [ε]ἰ̣ς for [εἰ]ς, in l. 20 [βο]υλῆ (*sic*) for [βο]υλῆι.

For a full discussion of these two letters, cf. Welles loc. cit. But Bellinger has now demonstrated that it is the elder of two half-brothers, Antiochus VIII 'Grypus' and Antiochus IX 'Cyzicenus', who is their author. Of interest is their recognition of Ptolemy Alexander's sovranty at this date in Cyprus; but the royal title they give him is not that which he himself favoured: cf. below **93** and **94**, with my comments in *JHS* lxxix, loc. cit.

4. *Decree of the Artillerists of Paphos in favour of a Lycian officer*: 163–145 B.C.

Stele of a fine white marble, broken away diagonally above. Now in the Paphos District Museum at Ktima. Careful lettering, characteristic of the reign of Philometor.

JHS lv (1935) 75 ff. Cf. *AJA* xxxix (1935) 600; *JHS* lvii (1937) 211; *Coll. Froehner* no. 106 and n. 2; Launey 465, 957, 1015, and 1220; *OpAth* i. 150 and n. 59; *JHS* lxxix. 106 n. 37; 122 n. 96.

[year and month? Ἀγαθῆι Τύχηι· δεδόχθ]α̣ι̣
[- - - - - - - - - - - *c.* 19 - - - - - - - - - - ἐπαιν]έ̣σαι
[names in acc. and gen. (*c.* 19) Πα]τ̣αρέα, τῶν
[ἀρχισωματοφυλάκων, ἀρχ]ιτέκτονα τῆς
[τῶν δείνων (*c.* 12) τάξ]ε̣ως καὶ πρὸς τοῖς
[πετροβολικοῖ]ς̣?, καὶ στεφανῶσαι αὐτὸν
[χρ]υ̣σῶι στεφάνωι καὶ ἀναθεῖναι
εἰκόνα γραπτὴν ἐν τῶι ἱερῶι τῆς Παφίας

Ἀφροδίτης, ἄγειν δ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡμέραν
10 δι’ αἰῶνος, τοὺς μὲν νέμοντας τὸ
τάγμα τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἀφετῶν
θυσιάζοντας ἐν Παλαιᾶι τῆι Ἀφροδίτηι,
τοὺς δὲ τὸ τῶν νεωτέρων νέμοντας
ἄγειν ἐν Πάφωι θυσιάζοντας τῆι Λητοῖ·
15 τὸ δὲ ψήφισμα τόδε ἀναγράψαι εἰς
στήλην πα̣ρίνην καὶ ἀναθεῖναι
ἐν τῶι ἐπιφανεστάτωι τόπωι τοῦ
ἱεροῦ. (small leaf)

L. 16: *JHS* lv, πωρίνην. There is hardly space for *omega*, while the top of *alpha* is clear. The stone, moreover, is the finest marble, and not of the local quality (πῶρος). Possibly, however, the lapicide began to cut πωρίνην, but changed his mind, for the decisive letter is very indistinct. That the decree originates from the ἀφεταί themselves was demonstrated by Robert.

The inscription is significant for an assessment of Philometor's reorganization of his Cypriot garrison (*OpAth* i. 150). From its mention of Leto it is clear that, like their honorand (whom my restoration τῶν ἀρχισωματοφυλάκων would make a very senior officer with high court rank), these ἀφεταί (a corps discussed by Buckler, *JHS* lv) were Lycian. For the predominance of Lycians in the garrison of Paphos, *OpAth* i. 152; *JHS* lxxix. 122 and n. 96. The inscription, further, is of importance in throwing light upon the status of Old Paphos in the mid-second century: it could still be styled a city (ἐν Παλαίαι sc. πόλει) but was in effect the ἱερόν of New Paphos, Πάφος *simpliciter*, the capital of Cyprus (*OpAth* iii. 198 n. 5).

5. *Decree of the Cypriot Secretariat of Dionysiac Artists in favour of Isidoros*: 114–106 B.C.

Marble slab, now in the Cyprus Museum (Ins. 132). Letters erratic and somewhat careless, seemingly of the late second or early first century.

JHS ix, no. 94. Cf. W. Larfeld, *BJ* lxxxvi (1897) 293; Strack under no. 149; Cohen 50 n. 3; L. Robert, *BCH* lv (1926) 491; Seyrig 145; *SEG* vi. 814; R. Vallois, *Mél. Holleaux* 290; H. Kasten, *BJ* cclxi (1938) 138; Hill 185 n. 7; *OpArch* vi. 75 n. 5; *OpAth* i. 136 n. 14; *JHS* lxxix. 121 n. 90.

[Ἀγαθῆι Τ]ύχηι·
[δεδόχθαι τῶι κοινῶι τῶν ἐν τ]ῶι κατὰ Κύπρον γραμματείωι περὶ τὸν
[Διόνυσον τεχνιτῶν στεφαν]ῶσαί τε ’Ισίδωρον καὶ, ἀποδεξαμένους
[αὐτοῦ τὴν εὔνοιαν, ἀναθεῖνα]ι εἰκόνα γραπτὴν ὁλοσώματον ἐν τῶι
5 [ἱερῶι τῆς Παφίας Ἀφροδίτ]ης ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχουσαν ’Ισίδωρον
[τοῦ δεῖνος - office? - διὰ τή]ν̣δ̣ε τὴν ἀγομένην αὐτοῦ ἀρ[χὴ]ν ὅσιον̣
[ἑαυτὸν παρεσχηκέναι πρ]ὸ⟨ς⟩ τοὺς ἀεὶ καθισταμένους ἄ̣[ρχ]ο̣ντας·
[δοῦναι δὲ τὸν ταμίαν ἐκ τῆς δι]οικήσεως ἐγλόγισμα (*sic*) ἀργυρίου [δρ]αχμὰς
[- ἵν’ ἄγωσιν αὐτοῦ δι’ αἰῶνος ἡ]μέραν ἀσύμβολον· ἵνα δὲ φανερὰ [ἧι]
10 [ἥ τε τοῦ κοινοῦ εὐχαριστία κα]ὶ̣ ἡ ’Ισιδώρου καλοκάγαθία, ἀναγράψαντας
[τοῦδε τοῦ ψηφίσματος τὸ ἀντί]γραφον εἰς στήλην στῆσ⟨α⟩ι.

L. 5: *eta sigma* before ἐπιγραφήν, not seen by the editors. L. 6 at the end is cramped, so that either *nu* or *upsilon is* possible. L. 7: the second extant letter appears to be *nu*. Possibly, however, it is *sigma* obscured by scratches. L. 8: *JHS*, ἐπὶ λόγισμα. L. 11: *JHS* ΠΑΦΟΝ, emended by Robert to [ἀντί]γραφον.

Supplements to lines 2 and 3 are the work of Seyrig; to lines 8, 9, and 11, of Robert.

For the Dionysiac Artists in Cyprus, *OpAth* i. 136 n. 14; *JHS* lxxix. 121 n. 93 and (for the Roman period) *OpArch* vi. 75 n. 5. To the seven occurrences listed in *OpAth* loc. cit. may now be added *JHS* lxxix. 100, no. 6 and a Salaminian text of the reign of Alexander, as yet unpublished. This guild makes its entry into the island in the first years of Euergetes' reign. From the manner in which it is here described, our inscription should belong to the period between 142 and 106. If, however, the dedicant is the Isidoros son of Helenos of our **93** below (as would seem probable), further refinement can be made to the decade following 116. This, we may note, is in keeping with the quality of the lettering. Isidoros, moreover, is thanked for his services towards the guild's annual ἄρχοντες: his own position, therefore, was more permanent. Since he can hardly have been a Ptolemaic official serving in the island (for at this date these officials, I believe, had been reduced to the *strategos* only), Isidoros was presumably a courtier serving a king resident in the island. We thus return once more to Ptolemy Alexander and the years 114/13 to 106.

6. *Fragment of a decree (?) of the mid-third century* B.C.

Fragment of a *stele* of a gritty, whitish limestone, externally earth-stained; broken away above, to the right and below. Max. h. 0·098; w. 0·162; th. 0·073. Purchased from children living beside the temple site on July 15th, 1952; now in the Chiftlik Museum (KX. 124). The letters, clear, regular, with *apices* or serifs and angled incisions, are widely spaced as if under the influence of the *stoichedon* style. H. from 0·014 to 0·017. Forms Α Β Γ Ε Κ Ο Ρ Σ, characteristic of the mid-third century.

Unpublished. PLATE 2.

[- - - - - - - - - - - - - -]
Βασιλε[ὺς Πτολεμαῖος]
καὶ ὁ Κο[- - - - - - - -]
Γοργο[ν - - - - - - - - -]
[- - - - - - - - - - - - - -]

The suggested restoration of l. 1 postulates a width of from 0·45 to 0·5 for this stone.

For Γοργο[ν - -, presumably a personal name, cf. Γοργόνη of Karpasia in a funerary inscription of Amathus (*OpArch* vi (1950) 70, no. 39). For the rest the meaning of this enigmatic fragment, presumably from the middle of a decree, escapes me. But it is perfectly possible—if unprofitable—to restore, e.g. [ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐτίμησαν] and ὁ Κο[υριέων δῆμος].

7. *Fragment of a decree of the late second century* B.C.

Fragment of a fine white marble *stele*, complete above and possibly to the left, broken away to the right and below. H. 0·057; w. 0·059; th. 0·035. Collected on the surface near the temple area on June 11th, 1951; now in the Chiftlik Museum (KX. 62). The inscription, complete above and to the left only, has letters neatly cut but somewhat shallow, with distinct serifs—suggesting the later decades of the second century.

Unpublished.

Ἐπει[δὴ - - - - -]
τῆς Χ (or Υ)[- -]
. . Σ[- - - - - - -]

After *sigma* of l. 2 is the tip of a slanting *hasta* which should belong either to *chi* or *upsilon.*

8. *List of contributors for the provision of oil*: 224–223 B.C.

Pedimented marble *stele*, broken away below, now in the British Museum. Letters of the late third century. *JHS* ix. 162, 188 and no. 15; *BMI* 969. Cf. *OGI* 749 n. 3; A. J. Reinach, *RA* xii (1908) 200 n. 2; Hill 62 n. 3; M. Avi-Yonah, 114; *JHS* lxvi. 39 n. 58; Launey 462, 849, 1221 f.; *JHS* lxxix. 122 n. 96. Photographs in *BMI.*

L κδ΄· οἱ ἐπηγγελμένοι εἰς τὸ ἐλαιοχρίστιον·
Λύσανδρος Λυσάνδρου Ξάνθιος ∠ ρ΄
Ἀντίοχος Φίλωνος Μιτυληναῖος ∠ ρ΄
Διονύσιος Νικάνορος Λιμυρεὺς ὀψώνιον
Διόδοτος Ζηνοδότου Καδυανδεὺς ὀψώνιον
Τεισέας Φι̣[λάνο]ρ̣ος? Τλωεὺς ὀψώνιον
Εὐπόλεμος Εὐπολέμου Παταρεὺς ὀψώνια δύο
Καλλιπίδης Καλλιπίδο[υ Πατ]α̣ρεὺς ὀψώνιον
[Εὐέπ]ης Εὐέπου Μυρε[ὺς ὀψώνιο]ν

BMI: in l. 6, Τεισέας . . . . .ω̣ος; l. 8, Καλλιπίδ(ο)[υ] . . . . ? (τ)εὺς; l. 9, ... ο]ς Εὐέ(πο)υ.

The only local eras attested for Cyprus are those of Lapethos and Citium. The latter at Kafizin outlived the reign of Euergetes I, but as a rare survival to be used in conjunction with normal regnal dating. Elsewhere these eras were (it would seem) by then long extinct. The 24th year, accordingly, when taken in conjunction with this lettering, can refer only to the reign of Euergetes, and the inscription thus falls between October 18th, 224 and October 17th, 223. Eight mercenaries, of whom seven were Lycian, are named as having promised contributions towards the supply of oil for some gymnasium with which they were connected, presumably at New Paphos. For it may safely be assumed that they were not stationed in the old city. Their contributions range from 100 drachmae to two months' pay. For a discussion of ὀψώνιον, cf. Launey 726 ff. Lycians continued to be prominent in the Paphian garrison (**4** above of Philometor, **76** and **77** of the second Euergetes). Our inscription illustrates the intimate connexion between Ptolemaic mercenaries and the gymnasium, centre of loyalty to the imperial power and to Hellenism in general.

9. *Fragment of a list of contributors*: *c.* 150 B.C.

Fragment of white marble, long lost. Letters, said to be 'small and well cut', as shown by the editors suggest the mid-second century. *JHS* ix, no. 110.

ΟΙΑ
ΝΙΚΟΣ
ΛΑΤΟΣ
ΟΣΖΙ
ΟΣΔ̑Ι
ΤΩΙΤ
ΤΟΙΣ
ΙΤΑΓ
ΓΛΛΩ
ΣΟ

The editors suggest contributors, as in **8,** to an ἐλαιοχρίστιον: equally well might this remnant of a *stele* concern the construction or reconstruction of some building.

10. *The bust of Epicurus*: 250–200 B.C.

A block of fine grey marble, broken away above, to the right and for the most part below. The inscribed surface is punctured by small dowel-holes, three, possibly four in number. H. 0·485; w. 0·36; th. 0·255. Found by me in 1938 on the site of the Aphrodite temple, it is now in the Epigraphical Museum at Kouklia (KM 72). The letters, regular and well cut, are from 0·014 to 0·019 in height; their forms, Ε Κ Ο Π Ρ Υ, apparently (for none of these are decisive) of the middle or late third century.

Unpublished. PLATE I.

Ἐπικοῦρος̣

The final *sigma* is farther from the present right edge of the stone than *epsilon* is from the left. Any addition to the inscription, however, would give an improbable width—if indeed we were concerned with a herm. But *sigma* is in itself far from certain; while the dowel-holes would seem to indicate re-use of the stone to carry a statue of which the inscription from their disposition occupied very probably the lost right face—thus indicating a wider stone: the stand, it may be, which carried a bust.

To the story that a bust or statue of the Stoic Zeno[4] was to be seen in the Aphrodite temple the present inscription and **11** following give useful confirmation: the goddess, it would seem, could boast her philosophers' corner. But the form which that took is far from clear to me. It may be that this stone, flanked by similar blocks, was backed against some wall, possibly in a portico, to form a platform on which the busts were set with its inscription beneath each.

11. *The Bust of Heracleitus*: 250–200 B.C.

Fragment of a block of fine, grey marble, preserving only the upper left-hand corner of the original stone; its present dimensions: h. 0·45, w. 0·4, th. 0·25. Still to be seen on the temple site. Letters, from 0·014 to 0·016 in height, are of the second half of the third century. *JHS* ix, no. 51.

Ἡρακλ[είτος]

We may note that the quality of the stone, its thickness, the character and height of the lettering are identical to those of **10**: support for the arrangement suggested under that inscription. Aphrodite was catholic in her taste for philosophy, for Zeno and Epicurus are now joined by a leading representative of the Ionic school.

12. *Altar of Arsinoe Philadelphus*: 270 B.C. or shortly thereafter.

Altar of a soft, yellowish-white limestone, complete except at the upper left-hand corner. H. 0·385; h. of shaft, 0·28; w. of base, 0·29; w. of shaft, 0·245; th. 0·16. In the upper surface is a shallow rectangular depression. Found in the spring of 1950 in ploughing at the locality Kato Aloonia to the west of the village; now in the Epigraphical Museum at Kouklia (KM 2). The letters, clear and well formed but somewhat roughly cut, have distinct *apices* or thickening at terminals; their h. from 0·012 (*omicron*) to 0·015 and 0·029 (*phi*). Forms Α Δ Ε Η Ν Ο Σ Φ, characteristic of the second quarter of the third century.

Unpublished. PLATE I.

Ἀρσινόης
Φιλαδέλφου

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[4] Pliny, *NH* xxxiv. 92: the bronze 'statue' of Zeno was the only object of value in the Aphrodite temple which in 58 B.C. Cato did not sell.

For small altars with identical inscriptions, cf. **13** following and *Arch. Pap.* xiii. 30 (h) of Curium. Twelve of these inscriptions are now known from Cyprus—and they are even more numerous in the Ptolemaic sphere of influence in the Aegean. Their meaning and the worship of the goddess Arsinoe Philadelphus are discussed in *Arch. Pap.* loc. cit. Cf. further, for her cult in Cos and other Greek cities, M. Segre, *Rendic. Ist. Lomb.* lxix. 818 ff.; in Delos, Durrbach 25. We may presume that it was instituted on her death in 270 B.C. (to accept the date preferred by Tarn). That it was alike widespread and popular in our island admits of no doubt. For to the dozen documents cited above, we may add (1) *LBW* 2752 (*Arch. Pap.* xiii. 29), which attests for Marium-Arsinoe a cult, clearly official, of Arsinoe Philadelphus in the reign of Euergetes I. (2) *LBW* 2783 from the same city mentions an ἀπόμοιρα, presumably a tax for the upkeep of this cult (*Aegyptus* xxxiii (1953) 88). (3) At Idalium an *Arsinoeion* was constructed in the middle approximately of the third century B.C. ἀνδράσι ἄ[δυτον] (*RA* xxvii (1874), no. 2). (4) In this same city we hear of a κανήφορος of Arsinoe Philadelphus as eponym for the year 255/4 (*CISem.* i. 93). (5) At the nearby Kafizin the local nymph was worshipped towards the close of Euergetes' reign and at the outset of Philopator's frequently as the Sister, once indeed as Φιλάδελφος. (6) At Chytroi Arsinoe Philadelphus was identified with the Naiad of that famous spring and as such worshipped (Myres 547, no. 1900). (7) In *Arch. Pap.* loc. cit., no. 13, occurs a priest of this goddess apparently in the time of Philometor, but that inscription is unfortunately of unknown provenience. To this testimony, finally, we may add that, in addition to Marium-Arsinoe, there were in Cyprus two further localities named after this goddess, while of the twelve brief inscriptions which primarily concern us here one, cut on a *cippus*, presumably attests the goddess's possession of an estate in the Karpas peninsula near the modern Yialousa.[5]

13. *Altar (?) of Arsinoe Philadelphus*: 270 B.C. or shortly thereafter.

Rectangular block of a local limestone, hard, gritty, creamy-grey. Broken away above and below with the back, although rough, presumably original. Max. h. 0·27; w. 0·25; th. 0·15—dimensions which suggest that the stone was once, like **12**, an altar. Found in December 1951 during reconstruction of the Chiftlik gatehouse; now in the Chiftlik Museum (KX 90). Letters, while well formed, are somewhat roughly cut, without *apices* or thickening at terminals; their h. from 0·011 (*omicron*) to 0·02 (*alpha*) and 0·024 (*phi*). Forms Α Δ Ε Η Ν Ο Σ Φ characteristic of the reigns of Philadelphus and Euergetes.

Unpublished. PLATE I.

Ἀρσινόης
Φιλαδέλφου

For a commentary on this inscription, cf. **12**—with which (there can be little doubt) it is approximately contemporary.

14. *Plaque of Arsinoe Philadelphus*: 270 B.C. or shortly thereafter?

An inscription cut (according to report) on a marble plaque was found in January, 1936 by the then Assistant Curator of Antiquities, Miss J. du Plat Taylor, while restoring mosaic pavements to the west of the Aphrodite temple. It was lodged in the house of the Greek mouktar (who in 1937 admitted this to me), but since then it has not been seen. The text of the inscription, however, with those of sixteen others already known, is preserved in Miss Taylor's notebook among the Cyprus Museum files. The recorded letter-forms, in particular Α Ο Σ, are indicative of the third century.

Unpublished.

ΑΡΣΙΝΟΕΣ
ΣΦΙΛΑΔΕ
ΑΦΟΥ

Ἀρσινό⟨η⟩{ς}
ς Φιλαδέ-
⟨λ⟩φου

If we may trust the copy, the lapicide has presumably found his second *sigma* cramped and accordingly repeated this letter at the beginning of the following line.

For identical inscriptions from Old Paphos, cf. **12** and **13** above. Neither the Old nor the New Paphos has hitherto attested any interest in this cult of Arsinoe Philadelphus: Paphos with these three now makes amends.

15. *The Statue of Ptolemy Soter (?)*: 295–283 B.C.?

Fragment of a pedestal found by me in 1936 built into a wall, but since then removed and lost. The letters differ sharply in character from those of Philadelphus' reign, and would seem rather to be earlier than later. *JHS* lvii, no. 4. Cf. *BphW* lvii. 1396; *Calderini–Paribeni* 166 n. 5.

[Βασιλεὺς] Πτολεμ⟨α⟩ῖος

It would appear that, as regularly with the statues of the first five Ptolemies, so here we are concerned with a double pedestal, composed of two blocks, with one word on each. Since in the epigraphy of the island neither Soter nor Philadelphus is accorded either divine title or patronym, this stone may have carried the statue of either. Palaeography, however, would appear to support the former. And if it is Soter, inclusion of βασιλεύς limits this text to the twelve years which intervene between the recovery of Cyprus in 295 B.C. and his death. For the omission of both dedicant and motive on pedestals, cf. **18**, **56**, &c., below.

[5] Cf. my discussion of this under *Karpasia*, *AJA* lxv. 123.

16. *The statue of Phaidas, son of Damassagoras of Tenedos, a doctor*: late fourth or early third century B.C.

Undamaged pedestal, now in the Epigraphical Museum (KM 46). The letters, cut *stoichedon*, are certainly not later than the reign of Soter, and may be as early as certain inscriptions of Nikokles (which indeed they recall). Sakellarios 96, no. 1; *LBW* 2802; Cesnola 415, no. 7 b (wrongly ascribed to the same stone as **58**); Kaibel 254; E. Oberhummer, *SbBayAk.* 1888, 334, no. 16; *JHS* ix. 258, no. 1; J. Pomtow, *Poetae gr. lyr.* 2, 368; E. Cougny, *Anth. Pal.* 3. ii. 158; E. Hoffmann, *Syll. epig. gr.* no. 190; *Mnem.* vi. 108. Cf. W. Froehner, *Philol.* suppl. v (1888) 23; Meister 198; Peristianis 344; R. P. Austin, *Stoichedon Style* 99; *REG* li (1938) 477; G. Fohlen, *Mél. Soc. Toulous. d'études class.* i (1948) 94; G. Klaffenbach, *Studies Presented to D. M. Robinson* ii (1953) 294, 5; *REG* lvii (1954) 183, no. 263; Peek 902; *SEG* xii (1955), no. 552.

Ἦν χρόνος ἡνίκα τόνδε σοφώτατον Ἑλλὰς ἔκλειζεν
  ἰατρῶμ, Φαΐδαμ, παῖδα Δαμασσαγόρα,
ὧι πατ̣[ρὶς ἦν Τέ]νεδος, πρόγονοι δ' ὀνομαστοὶ ἀπ' [ἀρχ]ῆς
  ἔκγονοι Ἀτρειδᾶν Ἑλλάδος ἀγεμόνων.

L. 2: Waddington, Γατρωμιαίταμ; Oberhummer, ἰατρῶμ Φαι[δρό]μ; *JHS* ix, Φαΐδαμ. L. 3: Waddington, ᾧ Πά[φος ἦν μὲ]ν ἕδος, to be corrected by Oberhummer and *JHS* ix. At the end of this line *JHS* ix, [αἴ]ης in preference to Waddington's [αὐτ]ῆς (which I at one time favoured), but in this *JHS* ix is certainly at fault. [ἀρχ]ῆς of Froehner is now accepted by Klaffenbach, Robert, and Peek.

For the *stoichedon* style at Old Paphos, cf. **1** above, **53** below. This, with the quality of the lettering, sets the inscription at the outset of the Hellenistic era. For doctors in the epigraphy of Ptolemaic Cyprus, cf. **26** and, from Chytroi, Peristianis 913, no. 3.

17. *The statue of Pyrgoteles, son of Zoes, a naval architect, erected by Ptolemy Philadelphus.*

Pedestal, somewhat damaged to right and left, now in the Epigraphical Museum (KM 51). Letters excellent examples of the writing of the second quarter of the third century. *JHS* ix, no. 125; Strack 159; *OGI* 39. Cf. W. W. Tarn, *Hellenistic Civilization* (1927) 55 and *Hellenistic Military and Naval Developments* (1930) 137 f.; W. H. Buckler, *JHS* lv (1935) 77 and n. 34; Hill 174 and n. 1; *OpAth* i. 156 n. 86; *SCE* IV. iii. 224.

[Β]ασιλεὺς Πτολεμαῖος
[Πυρ]γοτέλην Ζώητος ἀρχιτεκτονήσ[αντα]
τὴν τριακοντήρη καὶ εἰκ[ο]σ[ήρη].

Athenaeus mentions (203 d) the pride of Philadelphus in his possession of the *triakonteres* and *eikoseres*. For an explanation of these terms see Tarn, *Hellenistic Military and Naval Developments* l.c. Pyrgoteles was thought by Hill to be a Paphian; but this is no necessary conclusion from the erection of his statue at Old Paphos: the ethnic (as the following inscription serves to remind us) was at all times regularly omitted with high Ptolemaic officials stationed in the island. Western Cyprus, with Lycia, was the chief source of Ptolemaic shipbuilding timber. A funerary urn of precisely this period names a ναυπηγός at New Paphos (*JHS* lxxii (1952) 115; cf. *REG* lxvi (1953) 78 no. 224.)

18. *The statue of the admiral, Kallikrates, son of Boiskos*: 274–266 B.C.

Pedestal, broken away to the left, still to be seen on the site of the Aphrodite temple. Letters of the mid-third century. *JHS* ix, no. 99. Cf. Meyer 19 n. 67; *Arch. Pap.* xiii. 31 n. 4; *JHS* xxix. 126 n. 111.

[Καλλικράτη]ν̣ Βοΐσκου
ναύαρχον

To P. M. Meyer is due the restoration of Kallikrates' name. For this celebrated person, High Admiral in the Aegean under Philadelphus from approximately 274 until 266 (after which year, according to Tarn, his command ceased), cf. W. W. Tarn, *JHS* xxxi (1911) 255 ff.; *Antigonus Gonatas* 291; *JHS* liii (1933) 61 ff.; but more particularly Welles 71 ff. Launey 237 n. 7, a valuable note, lists the occurrences of Kallikrates in inscriptions and papyri, but overlooks the present instance. This, with a brief text from Curium as yet unpublished which seemingly concerns the same man, would suggest that the admiral's authority included Cyprus. But as in Crete Patroklos, *strategos* of that island, took precedence over Kallikrates (*OGI* 45; *IC* iii, p. 81), so we may suppose that internally the Cypriot *strategos* was supreme. Noteworthy is the omission in both Cypriot texts of Kallikrates' ethnic, for that he was a Samian is well known.

19. *The statue of Boiskos, erected by his mother Phanion, daughter of Boiskos, the priestess*: mid-third century B.C.

Undamaged pedestal, now in the Epigraphical Museum (KM 3). Letters of the second quarter of the third century. *JHS* ix, no. 57. Cf. *OpAth* i. 165 n. 116.

Φάνιον Βοΐσκου ἱέρεια
τὸν αὑτῆς υἱὸν Βόϊσκον.

ἱέρεια at Old Paphos is presumably to be referred to the Paphian Aphrodite—but no other priestess of this goddess is known to us for Hellenistic Cyprus. It may be that Phanion was the wife of a Kinyrarch (below, **32**)—or she may have held this title *honoris causa*. This inscription together with **20** following well illustrates the ambiguity of third-century Paphian epigraphy. The inscriptions of Cyprus do not name *as such* a single *strategos* who served before Pelops (**39**) and the final decade of the third century, two φρούραρχοι only. Their reluctance to use ethnics we have already noted (**18**); while the system of court-rank was instituted only in the first decade of the second. The marble *stelai* (which would have compensated for the reticence of the pedestals) have moreover, with three or four exceptions, been destroyed. If, on the other hand, we attempt to identify native Cypriots, so as to isolate the Ptolemaic official, our task is no less discouraging: a citizen did not declare his ethnic within his own civic territory, while Cyprus possessed no deme-system. The third-century inscriptions which survive do not, in short, distinguish between the rulers and the ruled. The present inscription is a case in point. Boiskos, certainly no native name (although in Hogarth 24, no. 8, it appears in a context seemingly quite unofficial), occurs in the island in the service of the first Ptolemies (**18**; *OGI* 20). Phanion, for all that is known to the contrary, may have been sister to the celebrated Kallikrates and as such been complimented with an honorific priesthood.

20. *The statue of Archetime, daughter of Apelles, erected by her children, Samion and Onesilos*: mid-third century B.C.

Undamaged pedestal, now in the Epigraphic Museum (KM 34). The letters are excellent examples of the time of Philadelphus. *LBW* 2799; Cesnola 414, no. 5; E. Oberhummer, *SbBayAk.* 1888, 337, no. 18. Cf. *JHS* ix. 260, no. 7.

Ἀρχετίμην Ἀπελλέους θυγατέρα
τὰ παιδία Σάμιον καὶ ’Ονήσιλος.

For the difficulties of interpretation, cf. **19** preceding. An Apelles of Byzantium served as a commander of troops under Philadelphus (*RE* Suppl. v (1931) 43, s.v. Apelles 5 a); a Demetrios son of Apelles was Alexander-priest for the year 221/20 (*REG* iv (1891) 153); the *athlophoros* of Berenike Euergetis for the year 199/8 was daughter of an Apelles (*JEA* xl (1954) 47). It may well be that these three are concerned with the same individual. He may have served in Cyprus as *strategos*, since the families which provided the eponymous priests of Alexandria were precisely those which furnished Cyprus with her governors (*OpAth* i. 131 n. 5; *JEA* xl (1954) 46 ff.). But against these conjectures must be set the name Onesilos, characteristically Cypriot.

21. *Fragmentary statue-base*: mid-third century B.C.

Fragment of a pedestal of a slate-blue marble, with part of the original surface preserved above and to the right. H. 0·14; w. 0·155; th. 0·13. The top of l. 1 is 0·045 below the upper surface, so that here a line may be lost. Similarly, below l. 2 there is ample space for—but no trace of—further lettering. The upright of *tau* in l. 2 is 0·03 distant from the right edge of the stone, so that ’Αφροδίτ[ης] doubtless ended this line. Picked up on the surface near the Aphrodite temple on July 21st, 1950; now in the Chiftlik Museum (KX 55). The letters, neat but slight, with careful *apices*, are from 0·007 (*omicron*) to 0·04 in height. Forms Α Δ Η Ο Ρ Σ Τ Υ Φ of the mid-third century.

Unpublished. PLATE 2.

[- - - - - - εὐπατρ]ίδη[ν]?
[- - - - - -]ους Ἀφροδίτ[ης]

This form of *phi* on the available evidence is in Old Paphos limited to the time of Philadelphus or Euergetes I. The mutilated condition of the inscription is regrettable, since it would seem to afford us the earliest epigraphic mention of *Aphrodite* at Old Paphos and indeed within the Paphian kingdom. In the inscriptions of pre-Hellenistic Paphos we hear only of *Vanassa*, the Lady.

22. *The statue of Melaineus of Aspendos*: mid-third century B.C.

Pedestal, broken away at its right and left edges, now in the Epigraphical Museum (KM 54). Letters most carefully cut, characteristic of the mid-third century. *JHS* ix, no. 103. Cf. Launey 470, 1222; L. Robert, *REG* lxiii (1950) 129, no. 25; *JHS* lxxix. 122 n. 96.

[Μ]ελα̣ινεὺς Κυδρογ̣[ένους?]
Ἀσπένδιος
Ἀφροδίτηι.

There is no reason to think l. 1 complete to the left: indeed, symmetry would suggest the loss of one or two letters. Here the third extant letter may be either *alpha* or *lambda*. Κυδρογ̣[ένους] of *JHS* ix is attractive, but *omicron* is followed by an upright which might be *iota* or again a *hasta* of *mu*, *nu*, or *pi*.

JHS ix and Launey were content with Ἐλλινεύς. Robert's emendation [Μ]ελαινεύς (to which indeed [Κ]ελαινεύς is a possible alternative) I had already reached independently. Launey considered this Aspendian to be a Ptolemaic mercenary: for others from this Pamphylian city serving in Cyprus, cf. *BCH* xx (1896) 354 of Amathus (3rd century) and ibid. 338, no. 3 of Citium (late Hellenistic). This inscription, with **21** above, affords us the earliest certain occurrence of the name *Aphrodite* in Paphian territory.

23. *The statue of Timo, erected by her father, Aristokrates of Arsinoe, and her mother, Ellapo*: mid-third century B.C.

Pedestal, virtually complete, now in the Epigraphical Museum (KM 29). The lettering, while somewhat careless, suggests the last decade of Philadelphus or the first of Euergetes. *Mnem.* vi. 103, no. 1. Cf. *REG* li (1938) 477; *Calderini–Paribeni* 173 n. 43.

[Ἀφ]ροδίτηι εὐχήν·
Ἀρισ[τ]ọ[κ]ράτης Ὀνήτορος Ἀρσινοεὺς
τὴν αὑ[τ]οῦ καὶ Ἐλλαπῶς τῆς Ἀριστοκλέους
θυγατέρα Τιμώ.

For Ἀρσινοεύς ethnic of Arsinoe, refounded by Philadelphus on the site of Marium in honour of his sister and queen, cf. *OGI* 155. The date of this refounding, while uncertain, is clearly later than the marriage of Arsinoe in 275; very probably later than her death and deification in 270.

24. *The statue of Olympiodoros, son of Philokles, erected by his wife, Agemona, and their children*: third quarter of the third century B.C.

Pedestal virtually complete when found in 1862, now broken away to the right: formerly built into the altar of the church of St. Luke at Kouklia, it was rediscovered by me in 1955 in the outer face of the south wall of the new church of that name, whitewashed over and some 12 feet above ground level. The letters suggest the time of Euergetes. *LBW* 2800; *JHS* ix. 260, no. 12.

[Ὀλυ]μπιόδωρον Φιλοκλέους
τὸν αὑτῆς ἄνδρα
Ἀγεμόνα Παλαιοῦ καὶ τὰ παιδία.

Letters underlined are now lost. For the name Παλαιός cf. Ἀρχαῖος in an early Hellenistic inscription of the Mesaoria, *AJA* lxv, no. 36.

25. *The statue of Ptolemy IV Philopator* (?), *erected by the city of Paphos*: *c.* 221 B.C.?

On the undamaged pedestal which carries **99** (*OGI* 164) I noticed in 1948 a defaced inscription. The stone, a slate-blue marble, is 0·38 h., 0·77 w., and 0·765 th. The lettering of our text extends to the right-hand edge of this, and was therefore continued on a lost block not smaller than that which survives. Indeed the margin of 0·65 to the left of the inscription by its very width suggests the possibility of yet another stone. Found in excavation of the Aphrodite temple in April 1888, in 'the big pit' (*JHS* ix (1888) 166), it is now in the Epigraphical Museum (KM 24). The letters, somewhat lightly cut, with thickening at terminals, are from 0·023 to 0·026 in height. Forms Α Β Ε ⊙ ο Π Σ Ω, of the second half of the third century, suggestive rather of the reign of Philopator than Euergetes.

Unpublished.

⟦Βασι[λέα Πτολεμαῖον]⟧
⟦Πτολ[εμαίου καὶ Βερενίκης]⟧?
⟦Θεῶ[ν Εὐεργετῶν]⟧?
⟦[ἡ πό]λ[ις ἡ Παφίων]⟧.

Absence of divine title, together with the character of the lettering, confines this inscription to the first four Ptolemies. Soter as the son of Lagos, Philadelphus in the inscriptions of his lifetime (despite the deification of his parents) as the son of Σώτηρ or the Σωτῆρες *simpliciter*, can be eliminated. Accordingly we must restore either Πτολ[εμαίου καὶ Ἀρσινόης]| Θεῶ[ν Ἀδελφῶν] or Πτολ[εμαίου καὶ Βερενίκης]| Θεῶ[ν Εὐεργετῶν].[6] But this document is presumably the declaration of Paphian loyalty to a new sovereign, and the character of the lettering is definitely—but not decisively—in favour of 221 against 246 B.C. We may accordingly ascribe it, but with diffidence, to Philopator. It is of interest as the earliest manifestation of civic activity on the part of Paphos. Only at Amathus (*AE* 1914, pp. 1 and 2) and Curium,[7] indeed, can Cyprus offer earlier instances. The cities were given by Soter the institutions of 'democracy'; but it would seem that they had neither the experience nor the spirit to implement their new constitutions (*OpAth* i. 155).[8]

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[6] Cf. *OGI* 75, of Salamis.

[7] Cf. my forthcoming *Inscriptions of Kourion* for the University of Pennsylvania.

[8] But it should not be overlooked that mere dislike of Ptolemaic rule could account for much of the 'backwardness' ascribed to early Hellenistic Cyprus. Early inscriptions of cities honouring Ptolemies and their officers are indeed rare.

26. *The statue of Noumenios, son of Demetrios, of the Cilician Soli, a doctor, erected by Ariston, son of Mnemon*: *c*. 225 B.C.

Pedestal, lost to the extreme right, now in the Epigraphical Museum (KM 18). Excellent lettering, suggestive of the third quarter of the third century. *JHS* ix, no. 64.

Ἀρίστων Μνήμονο[ς]
Νουμήνιον Δημητρίου Σολέα
ἰατρόν.

The ethnic of the Cilician Soli is Σολεύς, that of the Cyprian Σόλιος. Evidence is accumulating of an intimate connexion in the second half of this century between Cyprus on the one hand and Ptolemaic Cilicia and Pamphylia on the other. For another doctor, honoured at Old Paphos, cf. **16** above.

27. *The statue of Dositheos, erected by his mother, Philokion*: *c*. 225 B.C.

Pedestal, with regard to this inscription, complete; now in the Epigraphical Museum (KM 41). On the opposite face it carries part of text, defaced, in honour of Caligula. Excellent lettering, characteristic of the third quarter of the century. *JHS* ix, no. 35.

Ἀφροδίτηι
Φιλόκιον τὸν υἱὸν
τὸν αὑτῆς Δωσίθεον.

28. *The statue of the daughter of Timokrates, erected by her husband, Timosthenes*: *c*. 225 B.C.

Pedestal, broken away to the right, now in the Epigraphical Museum (KM 22). The letters, well formed but somewhat roughly cut, suggest the close of Euergetes' reign. *JHS* ix, no. 55.

Ἀφροδ[ίτηι]
Τιμοσθένης Δ[- - - - - - -]
τὴν αὑτοῦ γυνα[ῖκα τὴν δεῖνα]
Τιμοκράτους θ[υγατέρα].

For Ἀφροδίτηι *simpliciter* at the head of an inscription, cf. **27** and *JHS* lxxix. 99 n. 17.

29. *Fragment of a statue-base*: late third century B.C.

Fragment of a pedestal of a yellowish-white marble, which preserves part of the original upper surface of the stone. H. 0·12; w. 0·17; th. 0·09. Examined by me in May, 1949, having been found, according to the villagers, some few days previously on the dump of the 1888 excavations. Now in the Epigraphical Museum (KM 75.) Letters broad, regular, with rounded incisions and slight thickening at terminals; from 0·022 to 0·032 in height. Forms Α Δ Η Ν Ο Ρ Φ, seemingly of the last quarter of the third century.

Unpublished.

Ἀφροδ[ίτηι]
[- - κ]ράτην Μ[- - - - -]
[- - - - - - - - - - - - - -]

30. *The statue of Kreto, daughter of Kleon, erected by her husband, Diogenes*: 225–200 B.C.

Pedestal, circular, complete; when last seen, in the garden of the old Police Station at Kouklia. Careful letters of the late third century. Peristianis 941, no. 30; *Mnem.* vi. 107.

Διογένη[ς - - c. 6 - -]ς
τὴν ⟨α⟩ὑτο[ῦ] γ[υν]αῖκα
Κρετὼ τὴν Κλέωνος
Ἀφροδίτηι.

It is uncertain (cf. above, **19**) whether the persons here named were notables of New Paphos or a Ptolemaic official and his family. But the father of the *athlophoros* of Berenike alike in 198/7 and in 193/2 B.C. was a Diogenes.

31. *The statue of Aristonax (?), son of Aristonax, erected by his mother*: 225–200 B.C.

Fragment of a pedestal, broken away on all sides, now in the Epigraphical Museum (KM 26). The letters are well formed, characteristic of the close of the third century. *JHS* ix, no. 96.

[- - c. 5 - -]α *v.* Ạ[ρισ]τ̣ώ̣να[κτος]
[Ἀριστ]ώνακτα? τὸν [υἱὸν]
Ἀφροδίτηι.

JHS ix for l. 2: [Τιμ]ώνακτα. For the rest, the editors despair of this inscription.

32. *The statue of Aristion, erected by her parents, Demokrates, chief of the Kinyrads, and Eunike*: 221–205 B.C.

Pedestal, virtually complete, now in the Epigraphical Museum (KM 35). The letters, firmly and most carefully cut, appear to me characteristic of the reign of Philopator (for they resemble very closely those of **39**). L. Ross, *Rh.Mus.* vii (1850) 520, no. 16, after Foucadé (*Arch. Aufsätze* ii. 628, no. 16); Sakellarios 96 z; A. R. Rangabé, *Antiquités helléniques* ii, no. 1234; J. Hogg, *Trans. R. Soc. Litt.* vii (1863) 383 f. (after Laychester); F. Unger u. T. Kotschy, *Die Insel Cypern* (1865) 556; H. Sauppe, *GGN* 1866, 133 f.; E. Leutsch, *Philol.* xxiv (1866) 226; *LBW* 2798; Cesnola 413, no. i; E. Oberhummer, *SbBayAk* 1888, 338, no. 19; *JHS* ix 260. Cf. Blinkenberg 32; Hill 152 n. 3; *RE* xi (1922) 484, s.v. Kinyras (Kroll); *OpAth* i. 165 n. 116.

Ἀφροδίτηι Παφίαι·
Δημοκράτης Πτολεμαίου
ὁ ἀρχὸς τῶν Κινυράδων
καὶ ἡ γυνὴ Εὐνίκη
τὴν ἑαυτῶν θυγατέρα
Ἀρίστιον.

L. 6: all editors, misled by a flaw in the stone, Ἀρίστην. This inscription is of interest as being, with **19** above, the only reference to the priesthood of Aphrodite for Hellenistic times before the reign of Euergetes II. For the *Kinyradae*, Hill, 75. As Nikokles, the last king (see **1** above), claimed descent from Kinyras, so in their title did his successors, the hereditary priesthood: in each case with what justification is not obvious. The Κινύραρ[χος] of the second century A.D. (*JHS* ix, no. 101) is, however, manifestly an antiquarian revival. For ἀρχός in the vocabulary of the Cyprian dialect, cf. Deecke, *Bezz. Beitr.* xi. 319 on his revised readings of *SGDI* 31 and 32 (discussed by me in *BICS* vii (1960) 1 ff.). This inscription affords the earliest occurrence of the dedication to the *Paphian* Aphrodite.

33. *The statues of Ptolemy, son of Demokrates (?), and of his brother, erected by their mother, Eunike (?)*: 221–205 B.C.

Block of a rough, gritty sandstone, brownish in colour, broken away at the back and to the left, while the inscribed face has partially disintegrated through weathering. It is probable that original surfaces have been preserved above, below and to the right. H. 0·166; w. 0·095; th. 0·13. There is nothing to suggest that this stone once formed part of a pedestal. Found in December 1949 in a wall in the Turkish quarter of the village, now in the Chiftlik Museum (KX. 31). The letters (where these are well enough preserved to judge) clear and deeply cut, with pronounced thickening at terminals; h. from 0·012 (*omicron*) to 0·02. Forms Α Ε Η Λ Μ ο Σ Υ suggesting the last decades of the third century.

Unpublished. PLATE 3.

[Εὐνίκη? τοῦ δεῖνα Δη]μ̣ο[κ]ρ̣άτους?
[δὲ γυνὴ τοὺς υἱο]ὺ̣ς̣ αὐτῆς
[τὸν δεῖνα κ]α̣ὶ̣ Πτολεμαῖον

There is ample space for a fourth line, but here the surface for the most part is lost.

The names Demokrates (?) and Ptolemaios recall the ἀρχὸς τῶν Κινυράδων of **32**; and with αὐτῆς of l. 2 suggest that, as there a daughter, here the sons of Demokrates and Eunike are being honoured by statues. But here the dedicant is the mother only. With this suggestion the palaeography is in agreement.

34. *Fragment of a pedestal*: late third century B.C.

The right-hand end of a pedestal of a yellowish marble, the stone seemingly complete except to the left. H. 0·225; w. 0·19. Built into a wall in the yard of a Turkish house immediately to the east of the Katholike, copied by me in June 1948 and left *in situ*. The letters, clear, well shaped, with blobs at the ends of *hastae*, are 0·023 in height; their forms Α Κ Λ Ν Σ of the late third century.

Unpublished.

[- - - - - - - -]ν
[- - - - - - - Κ]ιλικίας

The height of the stone is such that a line may be lost both above and below. This fragment offers further evidence of those social connexions which I suspect to have existed in the second half of the century between Cyprus and the Ptolemaic coast-lands of Anatolia (cf. above, **26**).

35. *Fragment of a private inscription*: late third century B.C.

A fragment from the left-hand end of a pedestal (to judge by the dimensions recorded by *JHS* ix), not examined by myself, now in the Epigraphical Museum (KM 39). The lettering of the editors suggests the end of the third century. *JHS* ix, no. 87.

Δημητ[ρι - - - - -]
Ἀρισ[τ - - - -]

36. *Fragment of a military dedication*: 225–200 B.C.?

Pedestal of white marble 'with sunk top', lost to left and right; not seen since its discovery in 1888. The lettering as shown by *JHS* ix is characteristic of the last quarter of the third century. *JHS* ix, no. 62.

[- - - - - - -]ΣΙΚ[- - - - - - - - - - - - - -]
[- - - - - -]Σ πατρίας[ἡ πό]λις ἡ Λ[απηθιέων]
or Λ[εδρίων]
[καὶ οἱ τασσ]όμενοι σ[τρατιῶται - -]

JHS ix offers πατρίας, but no further restoration is attempted.

For the designation of troops of the Cypriot garrison in the later third century, cf. the inscription *Arch Pap*. xiii. 21, no. 9, and my comments in *OpAth* i. 149. Here we have the earliest formal military dedication to survive from Old Paphos. Cf., however, **8** and **22** above. It is of interest to find a city now associated with its garrison in an honorific enterprise.

37. *Fragment of a limestone pedestal*: late third century.

Fragment of a pedestal of coarse limestone, now lost. The letters as shown by the editors point to the close of the third century. *JHS* ix, no. 19.

[- - - - -]ροδην Τα[- - - -]
[Ἀφρο]δίτη[ι]

JHS ix: Τα[μιράδην]? There is, however, no epigraphic support for 'Tamiras, the Cilician' of Tacitus, *Hist.* ii. 2.

38. *The statues (?) of his children, erected by Onasas, son of Peithagoras*: late third century B.C.

Block of the reddish 'marble' native to Old Paphos—but known alike at Curium and at New Paphos—broken away to right and left; now in the Cyprus Museum (Ins. 211), without record of provenience or acquisition. But on internal evidence the inscription is Paphian—and presumably therefore from Old Paphos, since the inscriptions of New Paphos, found before the establishment of the District Museum, were regularly preserved in the yard of the Ktima Police Station. Letters of the late third century. *Arch. Pap.* xiii. 17, no. 5.

Ὀνασᾶς Πειθαγόρου [τὰ τέκνα]
Πειθαγόραν Ὀνάμβ[ροτον]?
Στασιθέαν Κ[- - - - -]
Ἀφροδ[ίτηι].

L. 2: the last extant letter either *beta*, *gamma*, or *epsilon*.
The name Peithagoras recurs in an inscription, seemingly contemporaneous, of New Paphos (*SEG* vi. 815 = *Arch. Pap.* xiii. 18, no. 1) which I restore as follows:

[Ἀφροδίτηι]
[Πτολεμαῖος Πειθαγόρου]
[τὸν δεῖνα τὸν ἑαυτοῦ]
[καὶ τῆς δεῖνα υἱόν]

[Π]α̣φ̣ί̣αι·
[[[Πτολεμ]αῖος Π]]ειθαγόρου
[[[τὴν ἑαυ]τοῦ γ]]υναῖκα
[[[- - c. 6 - - -] τὴν Ἀρι]]στοκρίτου
[[[καὶ - c. 4 -]ως θ]]υγατέρα

In this last Παφίαι, since it is assymetrical and, further, is not to be found by itself (*JHS* lxxix. 99 n. 17), postulates the loss of a block to the left headed by Ἀφροδίτηι. It would thus appear that two Paphian brothers, Onasas and Ptolemaios, sons of Peithagoras, honour their families respectively at Old and at New Paphos. The present stone clearly could not in itself support four statues, even of children; doubtless it also was flanked by blocks, which, however, were uninscribed.

39. *The statue of Myrsine, daughter of Hyperbassas and wife of Pelops, the Governor of Cyprus, erected by the city of Paphos*: 217–209 B.C.

A pedestal, in outline complete, still to be seen on the site of the Aphrodite temple. The letters, admirably cut, include these forms: Α ⊙ Κ ο Σ Φ. *JHS* ix, no. 112; Strack no. 65; *OGI* 84; *JHS* lvii (1937) 31; *JEA* xlvi (1960) 110. Cf. Meyer 19 n. 69; J. Lesquier 334; Cohen 2, no. 1 and n. 2; *BphW* lvii (1937) 1396; *AJA* xli (1937) 616; *REG* li (1938), no. 477; Otto–Bengtson 39 n. 2; *JHS* lix (1939) 277; Hill 187 and n. 2; Launey 1062 n. 2; M. Segre, *Annuario* xxvii–xxix (1949/51) 331 n. 6; Bengtson iii. 141 n. 2, 231, no. 134; *OpAth* i. 144 n. 25.

[Ἡ πόλις Μυρσίν]η̣ν̣ [Ὑ]περβάσσ̣[αντος],
[Πέλοπ]ο̣ς̣ τ[οῦ Πέλ]οπος τοῦ στρατηγο̣[ῦ]
[τῆς νή]σο[υ γυ]ν̣[αῖκα], εὐνοίας ἕνεκεν
[ἧ]ς ἔχων δ̣ια̣[τελεῖ Πέλοψ] εἰς Βασιλέ[α]
[Π]τολεμαῖον καὶ τ[ὴν ἀ]δελφὴ[ν αὐτοῦ]
[Βασίλ]ισσαν Ἀρσινόην Θεο[ὺς Φιλο]πάτορα̣[ς]
[κ]αὶ τὴν Παφίων πόλιν.

L. 1: *JHS* ix and *OGI* [ὑ]πὲρ βασ[ιλέως]; Strack [ὑ]πὲρ Βασ[ιλείδου]. The names in this and the following lines were first given in *JHS* lvii. There, however, I read and restored incorrectly [τὴν Πέ]λοπ[ος Πέλ]οπος.

With this important inscription we may compare *JHS* lvii (1937) 30, no. 6, of Salamis, of which the honorand is likewise Myrsine. She was sister to Iamneia, *kanephoros* of Arsinoe Philadelphus in 243/2, *athlophoros* of Berenike Euergetis in 196/5 B.C. (*JEA* lx (1954) 48)—for, despite this lapse of forty-seven years, *kanephoros* and *athlophoros* were seemingly the same woman. Their father, Hyperbassas, although otherwise unknown, was without doubt a courtier of influence, to be alike the father of an eponymous priestess and the father-in-law of a governor of Cyprus. For the *strategia* of Pelops cf. *JHS* lvii, Hill, Bengtson, and *JEA* as cited above. To the Salaminian inscription is to be added *JHS* xii (1891) 177, no. 7, also of Salamis, and Blinkenberg, *Insc. Lindos* no. 139 (*JEA* xliv (1960) 109)—the latter (I find) concerned with Ptolemaios, son of Pelops. The *strategia* began after the marriage of Arsinoe Philopator at the end of 217 B.C.; was continued (on the testimony of the Lindian document) after the birth of her son on October 9th, 209. When in 203 Pelops was sent by Agathokles as envoy to Antiochus the Great (Polybius xv. 25. 13), clearly it had ended, but by how long we cannot say. It is indeed very possible that no *strategos* intervened between Pelops and Polykrates. The father of Pelops was the Macedonian Pelops, son of Alexander, known as a general of Philadelphus in Samos and as Alexander-priest for 264/3 (*RE* viii. 1439). Whereas Pelops' predecessors, with the exception of Nikokreon and Menelaos at the outset of the Ptolemaic period, are unknown to us, no less than fifty-one inscriptions concern his successors of the century which followed the death of Philopator.

40. *The statue of Ptolemy V Epiphanes, erected by Polykrates, son of Mnasiadas of Argos, Governor of Cyprus*: 197 B.C.

Pedestal of two contiguous blocks. A fragment of (*a*) the left-hand stone was examined by me in 1936 but thereafter vanished, presumably being stolen. The right-hand (*b*) survives almost intact in the Epigraphical Museum (KM 6). The letters of the latter have slender, careful incisions, and include these forms: Α Β Ε Κ ο Π Σ, *alpha* with the broken bar appearing for the first time in Hellenistic Cyprus. (*a*) *JHS* ix, no. 32; Strack no. 79; *OGI* 90 n. 20; *Mnem.* vi. 116. Cf. Hill 183 n. 3; Holleaux iii (1942) 76 n. 6 (L. Robert); M. Segre, *Annuario* xxvii–xxix (1949–51) 336 n. 5; Launey 110 n. 9; Bengtson iii. 232, no. 136; *OpAth* i. 163 n. 109. (*b*) *JHS* ix, no. 107 a; Strack no. 78; Holleaux, *REG* xi (1898) 250 f.; *OGI* 93. Cf. Meyer 66 n. 227; Durrbach and Jardé, *BCH* xxxiv (1905) 234 n. 91; Lesquier 334; Cohen 2 n. 4; Durrbach no. 62; Bevan 273; *Mnem.* vi. 117; Hill 183 n. 5; Holleaux iii. 75; J. and L. Robert, loc. laud., *REG* lxii (1949) 60 n. 202; M. Segre, op. cit. 336 n. 1; Launey 110 n. 9, and 1117; Bengtson iii. 232, no. 136; *OpAth* i. 163; *Calderini–Paribeni* 166 n. 7. These two are now associated for the first time. This I did not do in *Mnem.* vi because (*a*) does not have superimposed upon it the Flavian inscription, *JHS* ix, no. 107 b (*IGR* iii. 944 = *BSA* xlii. 208, no. 3) of which the beginning is sprawled over (*b*), and because (*a*) has seemingly its *alpha* sharply broken whereas in (*b*) this is but slightly angled. The Flavian lapicide was, however, under no obligation to use both blocks: he availed himself of (*b*)—and the next stone to come to hand; while the use of two forms of one letter in the same inscription—when that form is in transition—is not decisive.

Βασιλέ[α Πτολεμαῖο]ν Θεὸν Ἐπιφανῆ
καὶ Εὐχά[ριστον Θεῶν] Φιλοπατόρων
Πολυ[κράτης Μνασιάδ]ου Ἀργεῖος
ὁ στ[ρατηγὸς καὶ ἀρχιερ]εὺς τῆς νήσου.

Polykrates of Argos became *strategos* of Cyprus presumably in 203 B.C., when the death of Philopator and the accession of his son were simultaneously made public. Admittedly his women-folk in the following year were still in Alexandria (Polybius xv. 29 10), but the times were critical and Cyprus insecure. It is possible that he directly succeeded Pelops (**39** above); he was in turn succeeded in the autumn of 197 by the Megalopolitan, Ptolemy, son of Agesarchos, a *strategos* of whom no record survives at Old Paphos. Polykrates was the son of Mnasiadas, the celebrated Argive athlete (Polybius v. 64. 6). The outstanding part he played in Ptolemaic affairs from 220 (or 219) until in 184 we lose sight of him is discussed by Launey 110 f. and by Lenschau (*RE* xxi (1952) 1735 f.). Before the Battle of Raphia he trained the cavalry of the Guard, together with the Libyan and native Egyptian horse. In the battle he commanded the cavalry of the left flank. His careful husbanding of the revenues of Cyprus during his governorship and his safeguarding of the island against Antiochus are praised by Polybius. On return to Egypt he was prominent alike in the fall of Skopas and in the proclamation of Epiphanes' majority in November 197. On the execution of Aristomenes he became the king's chief counsellor; in the native insurrection of 185/4 (despite the accusation of Polybius that he had become a voluptuary) his commander-in-chief. Our sources here fail us, but it is likely that Polykrates survived into the third decade of this century. For his sporting activities, cf. *REG* lxii, loc. cit.: he participated about the year 190 in chariot-racing at the Panathenaea. In these same activities his wife and three daughters took an interest which was more than academic. For these women and his two sons, however, we should turn to **41** to **46** following: no less than eight (if not indeed nine) Cypriot inscriptions concern Polykrates and his house.

It is of interest that the boy Ptolemy, the proclamation of whose majority fell (we have seen) in November, 197, is here in possession of his full divine title; and this document may plausibly be ascribed to the close of Polykrates' *strategia* in the months which immediately precede that event: Polykrates as he demits office tactfully pays homage to the young master whose tutelage was about to end. This sequence of events has, however, been obscured by Dittenberger's closing of this *strategia* in 196—after and not before the ἀνακλητήρια—for he has been followed among others by Durrbach, Launey, and Lenschau.

For ἀρχιερεύς, which now appears for the first time as a function of the *strategos* of the island, cf. *Arch. Pap.* xiii. 25; Bengtson iii. 143 ff.; *OpAth* i. 144 n. 26; *Calderini–Paribeni* 174. Henceforward until the Cypriot reign of the second Soter it is never omitted. That it denotes supremacy over all the island's cults does not, I believe, admit of doubt. Its origin is to be connected with the contemporaneous emergence in Seleucid satrapies of a στρατηγὸς καὶ ἀρχιερεύς and in this, it would seem, Syria was the innovator. It may be that Polykrates was himself responsible for this addition to his titles, since as high-priest temple-incomes would be exposed to him for taxation: his zeal in amassing the revenues of his province against the day of his king's majority we have already noted.

41. *The statue of Zeuxo of Kyrene, wife of Polykrates, Governor of Cyprus, erected by Stratonike, daughter of Nikias of Alexandria*: 203–197 B.C.

A pedestal, undamaged, still to be seen on the temple site. Letters excellent, closely resembling those of **40**; but the bar of *alpha* is unbroken. *JHS* ix, no. 118; *REG* lxi (1949) 61, no. 202. Cf. Meyer 66 n. 227; Cohen 2 n. 4; M. Mitsos *REG* lix/lx (1946/7) 175; Launey 111; Bengtson iii. 232, no. 136; *OpAth* i. 163 n. 109; *Calderini–Paribeni* 167 n. 16.

Ἀφροδίτηι Παφίαι
Ζευξοῦν Ἀρίστωνος
Κυρηναίαν τὴν Πολυκράτους
τοῦ στρατηγοῦ καὶ ἀρχιερέως
γυναῖκα
Στρατονίκη Νικίου Ἀλεξανδρίς.

For Zeuxo of Kyrene, cf. **43** following. In *IG* ii^2. 2313. 59–60 is recorded her victory in the Panathenaea ἅρματι πωλικῶι during the years immediately after her husband's retirement from Cyprus—and in this connexion there is significance in her origin in horse-breeding Kyrene. For her five children—a large family for the Hellenistic period —cf. **43–45**.

42. *Dedication in honour of Polykrates, son of Mnasiadas of Argos, his children and his ancestors*: 203–197 B.C.

Fragment of a block of a yellowish marble, copied by me in 1937 in the wall of a house near the temple area. It was thereafter removed and presumably sold. Letters regular and careful, with the bar of *alpha* unbroken. *Mnem.* vi. 104. Cf. *REG* li (1938) 477; *REG* lxii (1949) 60, no. 202; Launey 1009 n. 3; Bengtson iii. 232, no. 136; *OpAth* i. 163 n. 109.

[Ὑπὲρ Πολυκράτους Μνα]σιάδου *v*. Ἀ[ργείου]
[καὶ τῶν τέκνων αὐτοῦ κ]α̣ὶ τῶν προγόνων
[ὁ θίασος (?) τῶν - - - c. 8 - - -]ν εὐνοίας ἕνεκα.

The motive-formula εὐνοίας ἕνεκα is in Hellenistic Cyprus used almost exclusively by θίασοι. The occurrences of these I assemble and discuss in *AJA* lxv (1961) 142. Launey's proposed restoration [οἱ στρατιῶται οἱ ὑπ’ αὐτὸν τεταγμένοι | Πολυκράτην Μνα]σιάδου 'Α[ργεῖον] must accordingly be rejected—the more emphatically since there is no missing line above, no explanation offered for the genitives of l. 2.

This document is doubtless to be assigned to the outset of Polykrates' *strategia*—as the unbroken *alpha* would suggest. If, however, the omission of his office be considered fatal to this date—and that it is I do not believe—the inscription can belong to the years which followed Polykrates' retirement from Cyprus, when he enjoyed great eminence in Egypt and his two sons were seemingly active in the island.

43. *The statues of Polykrates, Governor of Cyprus, and of Mnasiadas, his father, erected by the city of Paphos*: 203–197 B.C.

The left-hand block of a composite pedestal, now in the Epigraphical Museum (KM 5). Careful lettering of the late third century—the bar of *alpha* being unbroken. *JHS* ix, no. 54; *REG* lxii (1949) 61, no. 202. Cf. Cohen 5 n. 4; *RE* xv. 2253 (1932). s.v. Mnasiadas (G. Lippold); *OpAth* i. 163 n. 109; *Calderini–Paribeni* 167 n. 16.

Παφίων ἡ πόλις Π̣[ολυκράτην, τὸν στρατηγὸν]
καὶ ἀρχιερέα *vv* τὸ[ν ἑαυτῆς εὐεργέτην]
καὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὸ[ν πατέρα αὐτοῦ].
Μνασιάδας

L. 1: *sigma* is followed by the base of an upright. L. 2: after ἀρχιερέα an uncut space of nearly two letters' width.

The inscription on this block has a margin 0·2 wide to its left, no margin to its right. Above the name Mnasiadas—asymmetrically set if this text be taken in isolation—on the upper surface is a large dowel-hole, *c.* 0·11 in length: that this marks the position of his statue admits of no serious doubt. Polykrates himself then stood on his father's left, supported by the missing block which carried the second half of our inscription.

44. *The statues of Zeuxo of Kyrene, wife of Polykrates, Governor of Cyprus, and of their son, Ptolemaios (?), erected by the city of Paphos*: 203–197 B.C.

Pedestal, much weathered but in general outline complete; examined by me in 1938 on the temple site, but since then not seen, and presumably destroyed. The letters resemble those of **43** alike in size and form, the bar of *alpha* being unbroken. *JHS* ix, no. 29. Cf. *OpAth* i. 163 n. 109.

[Παφίω]ν̣ ἡ̣ π̣[όλις Ζευξοῦν] Ἀ̣[ρίστωνος]
[Κυρη]ν̣α[ίαν, τὴν γυν]αῖκα [Πολυκράτους τοῦ]
[στρα]τηγ[οῦ καὶ ἀρ]χιε[ρέως τῆς νήσου].
[Πτ]ο̣λ̣[ε]μ̣[αῖος]?

The inscribed surface has disintegrated to such an extent that of the four lines stray letters only are legible. The editors indeed despaired of this inscription, contenting themselves with [γυν]αῖκ[α], [στρα]τηγ[οῦ], and [ἀρ]χιε[ρέως]. Nevertheless, the supplements I offer are, with the exception of l. 4, certain. Here faint traces, not noticed by the editors, suggest *omicron* and the bases of *lambda* and *mu*.

It is manifest that we have here the companion text to **43**, for it accounts for the omission by that inscription of the elder Zeuxo, wife of Polykrates, already known to us from **41**. Furthermore, as in **43**, so here an isolated name forms a fourth line. This name, from its position near the left margin, indicates that the woman was accompanied on her right by a son. My restoration of l. 4 is authorized by **46** below, which tells us that, in addition to a son named after her husband, Zeuxo had a son, Ptolemaios.

45. *The statues of Zeuxo and Hermione, daughters of Polykrates of Argos*: 203–197 B.C.

Undamaged pedestal, now in the Epigraphical Museum (KM 21). The letters, carefully cut, resemble those of **43** and **44** in size and form. *JHS* ix, no. 80. Cf. M. Mitsos, *REG* lix/lx (1946/7) 175; *REG* lxii (1949) 60, no. 202; *OpAth* i. 142 n. 22; 163 n. 109.

Ἑρμιόνη Ζευξώ

The two names are widely separated; above each is a large, circular dowel-hole. That Hermione and Zeuxo were daughters of Polykrates was demonstrated by Mitsos; while L. Robert associated tentatively this inscription with **43** above. For the participation of these daughters with their parents in the chariot-racing at the Panathenaea, cf. J. and L. Robert, *REG* lxii, loc. laud. Hermione was *athlophoros* in the year 170/69 B.C. (*JEA* xl (1954) 52). That a third daughter, Eukrateia, was the youngest may be conjectured from the fact that she meets us some years later in the Athenian victory lists.

That the statues of **43**, **44**, and **45** were juxtaposed to form a family group, perhaps adorning some *exedra*, does not admit of doubt. Whether Eukrateia was included, and, if included, in what position cannot be determined; but symmetry may suggest that she stood on her mother's left. The order of the statues will then have been as follows, from left to right: Hermione, Zeuxo, Mnasiadas, Polykrates of Argos, Ptolemaios, Zeuxo of Kyrene, [Polykrates], [Eukrateia].

46. *The statue of Ptolemaios, son of Polykrates of Argos, erected by the members of the Gymnasium*: 197–193 B.C.

Pedestal of a local pink marble, of which the inscribed face is, except on the extreme left, complete; broken away behind, and partially both left and right. H. 0·275; w. 0·57; max. th. 0·46. The inscribed surface is in places much weathered. Above are two large, foot-shaped depressions, 0·13 and 0·2 from the front edge of the stone, suggesting that the statue stood with the right foot slightly advanced. Found in January 1950 in the demolition of the medieval aqueduct to the south of the main road below the village; now in the Epigraphical Museum (KM. 66). Letters regular, well cut, with smoothed incisions and thickening at the ends of *hastae*. H. from 0·01 to 0·021. Forms: Α Β Ε Κ Μ Ν Ο Π Σ Υ Φ Ω.

Unpublished. Noticed, however, in *OpAth* i. 142 n. 22; 145 n. 29; 163 n. 109. PLATE 2.

Πτολεμαῖον Πολυκράτους Ἀργεῖον
τὸν ἀρχισωματοφύλακα
οἱ ἀπὸ γ[υμ]νασίου
ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα [κα]ὶ εὐνοίας
τῆς εἰς Βασιλέα [Π]τολεμαῖον
τὸν Πτολεμαίου καὶ Ἀρσινόης
Θε[ῶ]ν Φιλοπατόρων.

Since Polykrates is not here called *strategos*, the inscription would seem to be subsequent to his retirement in 197 B.C. On the other hand, it is earlier than the marriage of Kleopatra I in the winter of 193/2. Ptolemaios, if his name has been correctly restored in **44**, now occurs for the second time. As his statue there stands, if not indeed in the very middle of the family group, at least nearer to it, he was seemingly senior to Polykrates, his brother, known to us from an inscription of Lapethos, *Mnem.* vi. 118. This last is as follows: ἡ πόλις ἡ Λαπηθίων Πολυκράτην Πολυκράτους | Ἀργεῖον, τῶν πρώτων φίλων τοῦ βασιλέως, | ἀρετῆς ἕνεκεν καὶ εὐνοίας τῆς εἰς | Βασιλέα Πτολεμαῖον καὶ Βασίλισσαν | Κλεοπάτραν Θεοὺς Ἐπιφανεῖς καὶ Εὐχαρίστους | καὶ Λαπηθίους. *Mnem.* vi. 118 falls between the winter of 193/2 and the birth of Philometor in 184/3 (Otto 7) or 186 (Strack 197). It is thus later than **46** and hence presumably the higher rank of the younger man.[9]

These two inscriptions are of value in giving the earliest Cypriot occurrences of the two ranks οἱ πρῶτοι φίλοι and οἱ ἀρχισωματοφύλακες, the second and third of the Ptolemaic court hierarchy. Indeed the former, by setting the ἀρχισωματοφύλακες before Kleopatra's marriage, does damage to the theory that the hierarchy was in essentials imported from Syria by this Seleucid princess. Hitherto we have had a concentration of evidence in the years immediately following the marriage: *Arch. Pap.* xiii, no. 11, of Lapethos and an unpublished pedestal of Curium (the ἀρχισωματοφύλακες); *Arch Pap.* xiii, no. 10, likewise of Lapethos (to reinforce *Mnem.* vi. 118). **46** would now appear to break this barrier.

It is not clear what function the two brothers performed in Cyprus. They were not city commandants, for that office is freely recorded at this time. Rather, they had, like their father in his youth, some military command. Indeed, an inscription of Citium, *CIG* 2623, preserved by Pococke from the very indifferent copy of another, belongs nevertheless precisely to these years and would seem to be a dedication by the officers of certain troops ξενολογηθέντων [ὑ]⟨π⟩ὸ ⟨Π⟩[ολυκράτους τοῦ Πολυκράτους τοῦ | Μνασία]δου. The restoration is at least specious; and we may note that no Greek or Hellenized city has an ethnic which could end in ΔΟΥ.

The inscription *Insc. Lindos* no. 139 (noticed under **39** above), which I believe to originate from New Paphos, likewise emanates ἀπὸ γυμνασίου. Launey, in emphasizing the influence of mercenaries and military settlers in the gymnasia of the Greek East, suggests that these tend to arrogate the constitutional powers of the πόλις. In these inscriptions, however, we find alike the city and the members of its gymnasium according honours to Polykrates and his house.

47. *The statue of Boethos, son of Hegeson, erected by his daughter, Nikion*: *c.* 190–175 B.C.

An undamaged pedestal, now in the Epigraphical Museum (KM 12). The letters suggest the first quarter of the second century. *JHS* ix, no. 73.

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[9] An inscription of Alexandria names a Polykrates, s. Polykrates s. Polykrates of Argos (*RA* vi (1886) 226 ff.)—a son, therefore, of the great Polykrates' younger son.

Νίκιον τὸν πατέρα
τὸν αὑτῆς Βοηθὸν Ἡγήσωνος
Ἀφροδίτηι.

Two large, foot-shaped depressions on the upper surface mark the position of Boethos' statue.

48. *A daughter of Metrodoros honoured by her grandchildren*: *c.* 180 B.C.?

Fragment of a pedestal, now in the Epigraphical Museum (KM 74). The lettering suggests the 2nd or 3rd decades of the second century. *JHS* ix, no. 124; *Mnem.* vi. 120.

[τὴν δεῖνα Μ]ητροδώρου γ[υναῖκα]
[δὲ e.g. Καλλιμ]ήδου τὰ τοῦ υ[ἱοῦ τοῦ δεῖνα]
[τέκνα Στα]σικράτεια? Σ[- - - - - -]
Ἀφ̣ρ̣[οδίτηι?]

L. 4: here *alpha* is followed by an upright, either *iota* or part of *phi*, and by *rho* (or *beta*).

For the dedication to Aphrodite *simpliciter* in the second century, cf. **47**.

48*a*. *Fragmentary pedestal*: first quarter of the second century B.C.

A pedestal, now so broken down that of the original surfaces only a fragment of the inscribed face survives (whereas in 1876 it was '0·5 w., 0·45 h. and 0·22 th.'); now in the Epigraphical Museum (KM 69). The letters very closely resemble those of **48**. Beaudouin and Pottier, *BCH* iii (1879) 169, no. 16.

[- - - - - Θ]εανὼ? [- - - -]
[- - - - - -] Κλέωνος [- - -]
[- - - - -]Κ̣ΛΙΑ[- - - - -]

The letters underscored are now lost. Before the *lambda* of l. 3 is the tip seemingly of the upper arm of *kappa*. The name Κλέων recurs in **30** above.

49. *Protarchos and Stasandra erect the statue of their son*: 190–170 B.C.

A much mutilated pedestal, now in the Epigraphical Museum (KM 63). Letters seemingly of the later years of Epiphanes or the earlier of Philometor. *Mnem.* vi. 106.

Πρώταρ[χος τοῦ δεῖνα, τῶν]
διαδόχω[ν, e.g. ἡγεμὼν ἐπ' ἀνδρῶν],
καὶ Στασάνδ̣[ρα ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ]
[τὸ]ν αὑτῶν υἱ[όν τὸν δεῖνα].

In my original publication I suggested Πρώταρχ[ον]: under the statues of children, however, the names of their parents almost invariably take precedence. This pedestal also carries **55**, cut beneath the statues of Philometor and his family. The name Protarchos is of frequent occurrence in Ptolemaic Egypt: a Protarchos was ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων in 163 B.C. (*Prosop. Ptol.* 911; cf. Bengtson iii. 47 n. 2); another (?) ἐπιμελητής in 194/3 (ibid. 950). To identify either with our dedicant would, however, be unwarranted; and I am content to observe that our Protarchos had rank, albeit the lowest in the court hierarchy; and, secondly, that the casting down of his statue to make way for that of Philometor on the same stone presumably denotes that he was a partisan of Euergetes II in the long struggle between the brothers which only ended in 154 with the triumph of Philometor. For the rank τῶν διαδόχων, here met for the first time in Paphos, cf. Bengtson iii. 54 n. 3 (after Trindl).

50. *Dedication of Artemidoros*: early second century B.C.?

Base of statuette, seemingly complete; not seen since its discovery in 1888. Its letters, said to be 'beautifully cut', to judge by the forms shown by the editors, indicate the beginning of the second century. *JHS* ix, no. 122.

Ἀρτεμίδωρος Ἀφροδίτη (*sic*)

51. *The statue of Ptolemy VI Philometor, erected by Ptolemaios, son of Ptolemaios of Alexandria, Governor of Cyprus*: 175–169 B.C.

A pedestal, undamaged, still to be seen on the site of the Aphrodite temple. The lettering, neat but somewhat erratic, includes the following forms: A B Δ E Θ M O Σ Ω. *JHS* ix, no. 24; Strack 84; *OGI* 105; *Calderini–Paribeni* 182 ff. Cf. Meyer 79 n. 279; Lesquier 334; Cohen 3; Otto 14 and n. 6; H. I. Bell and T. C. Skeat, *JEA* xxi (1935) 263; Hill 188 n. 5; M. Trindl 84; A. Wilhelm, *SbAkWien* ccxxiv, 1 (1946) 10 f.; Bengtson iii. 146 n. 3; *OpAth* i. 148 n. 43; 150 n. 60; *JEA* xliv (1958) 114, no. 45; *REG* lxxii (1959) 270, no. 490; *JHS* lxxix. 110.

Βασιλέα Πτολεμαῖον Θεὸν Φιλομήτορα
Βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου καὶ Βασιλίσσης Κλεοπά-
τρας Θεῶν Ἐπιφανῶν ⟦[Πτολ]ε[μ]αῖος Πτολε-
[μ]αίου⟧ Ἀλεξανδρεὺς ὁ συγγενὴς αὐτοῦ καὶ
στρατηγὸς καὶ ἀρχιιερεὺς (*sic*) τῶν κατὰ τὴν νῆσον.

The name and patronym of the dedicant are not merely of precisely the right length, but conform to certain definite traces: I offer here, in short, not a restoration so much as a reading. Clearly the inscription is later than the death of the Queen Regent, Kleopatra I, somewhere between September 178 and November 176 (Otto 2); and doubtless also later than the earlier part of the year 175, when Philometor assumed the royal name and θεός-title (Otto 26); earlier, however, than the first invasion of Egypt by Antiochos Epiphanes in 169 B.C. For Ptolemaios, son of Ptolemaios, of Alexandria—whom I identify with the Ptolemy 'Makron' of 2 Macc. x 12.—cf. my discussion in *Calderini–Paribeni*, loc. cit., where I consider his career in some detail. Here we may note that 'Makron' is the first Cypriot governor to be given the rank of Kinsman, the most exalted in the court hierarchy. Trindl observes (and Bengtson concurs) that the present inscription affords the earliest certain occurrence of συγγενής as a title in the Ptolemaic realm. For ἀρχιερεύς, cf. **40**. The *strategos* of the island is not yet ναύαρχος (**70** below).

52. *The statue of Archias, Governor of Cyprus, erected by the garrison of the island*: 163–158 B.C.?

A pedestal, broken away at the upper right-hand corner, now in the Epigraphical Museum (KM 14). Neat lettering, typical of Philometor's reign. *JHS* ix, no. 21; Strack 96; *Mnem.* vi. 115. Cf. Hill 191 n. 5; Launey 1062; Bengtson iii. 233, no. 139; *Op Ath.* i. 148; 150 n. 57; *SCE* iv. iii. 228; M. T. Lenger *BCH* lxxx (1956) 456 n. 3; *Calderini-Paribeni* 178 n. 63.

Ἀρχί̣αν̣ [τὸν συγγενῆ καὶ στρατηγὸν καὶ ἀρχιερέα τῆς νήσου]
αἱ ἐν Κύπρωι τασσόμεναι πεζικαὶ κα̣ὶ̣ ἱ̣π̣[πικαὶ δυνάμεις]
ἀρετῆς ἕνε[κεν καὶ] εὐνοίας τῆς εἰς Βασιλέα Πτ[ολεμαῖον]
καὶ Βασ[ίλ]ισ[σαν] Κλεοπάτρ[α]ν τὴν ἀδελφὴν Θεοὺς Φιλομήτορα[ς]
καὶ τὰ τέ[κνα] αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς εἰς ἑαυτὰς φιλαγαθίας.

L. 1 is not given by *JHS* ix, the editors' text beginning with l. 2.

When late in 164 B.C. Philometor, driven into exile, sought help from Rome, he was accompanied thither by one Archias (Diodorus xxxi. 18). For the first half of the year 163—indeed until his recall to Alexandria in July—Philometor maintained himself in Cyprus. I have little doubt that Archias was then rewarded for his fidelity by being left in the island as its *strategos*. The present inscription, the only epigraphic testimony to his governorship, is to be dated after 163, but precedes the death of Archias in 158/7. For it is to this year that Otto (112 n. 4) ascribes the story of Polybius (xxxiii. 3) of an Archias who, detected in an attempt to sell Cyprus to Demetrios I for 500 talents, hanged himself. The episode is dated by Hill (191), however, to 155 B.C., by Bouché-Leclercq (*Séleucides* 329 f.) to the year following. Archias' predecessor for the years 168 to 163 is as yet unknown. For αἱ ἐν Κύπρωι τασσόμεναι πεζικαὶ κα̣ὶ̣ ἱ̣π̣[πικαὶ δυνάμεις], a designation of the Cypriot garrison confined to the final eighteen years, the effective portion, of Philometor's reign, cf. **55** and **59** below, with my comments in *OpAth* i, loc. cit. It is clear that Philometor met the threat of Euergetes and the hostility of Rome by creating a powerful and homogeneous garrison.

53. *The statue of Ptolemy VI Philometor, erected by Kallikles, son of Kallikles of Alexandria, Commander of the Cavalry in Alexandria and Instructor Royal in Tactics*: c. 154 B.C.

Two fragments of a pedestal, (*a*) found in 1888, with original surfaces below and to the left, (*b*) found in 1936, broken away on all sides. Only (*a*) survives, and is now in the Epigraphical Museum (KM 73). Letters in open *stoichedon*, characteristic of the mid-second century. (*a*) *JHS* ix, no. 74; *OGI* 149. (*b*) *JHS* lvii 32, no. 7—where the two fragments are joined. Cf. *BphW* lvii (1937) 1396; *AJA* xli (1937) 616; *Mnem.* vi. 109; R. P. Austin, *Stoichedon Style* 116; *REG* li (1938) 477; *JHS* lix (1939) 277; *RE* suppl. vii (1940) 47 (Kortenbeutel); Trindl 182 n. 23; *Prosop. Ptol.* 4304; *OpAth* i. 150 and n. 57; *SCE* iv. iii. 229; *Calderini–Paribeni* 184 n. 75.

[Βασιλέα Πτολεμαῖον Θεὸν]
[Φιλ]ομήτο[ρα] Κ̣[αλλικλῆς]
[Κ]αλλικλέ[ο]υς Ἀλε[ξανδρεὺς]
ὁ ἀρχισωματοφύλ[αξ καὶ ἐπὶ]
τῶν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρε[ίαι ἱππέων]
καὶ διδάσκαλος [τοῦ βασιλέως]
τακτικῶν εὐερ[γεσίας ἕνεκα]
τῆς εἰς ἑαυτὸν καὶ [τὰ τέκνα?].

L. 2: *JHS* ix, ∪ΙΙΕΚΤΟ. L. 5: *OGI*, [ὅπλων]. L. 6: *OGI*, [μαθημάτων].

For the *stoichedon*, cf. **1** and **16** above. For the career of Kallikles, cf. the companion inscription, **54**.

54. *The statue of Kallikles, son of Kallikles, Commander of the Cavalry in Alexandria and Instructor Royal in Tactics, erected by the college of past and present strategoi of Paphos*: 154 B.C.

Pedestal in three fragments: (*a*) complete to left and below, discovered in 1888, rediscovered by us in 1955, now in the Chiftlik Museum; (*b*) complete to right and below, discovered in 1888, now in the Epigraphical Museum (KM 48); (*c*) long lost, described by its editors as a 'pink fragment, first line'. Letters of the mid-second century. (*a*) *JHS* ix, no. 3; Strack 170. Cf. Meyer 67; Cohen 5 n. 4. (*b*) *JHS* ix, no. 4; Strack 84. Cf. Meyer 67. (*c*) *JHS* ix, no. 18. Cf. *JHS* lvii (1937) 33. Of these (*a*) and (*b*) were joined by me in *Mnem.* vi. 109. Cf. *REG* li (1938) 477; Launey 1016 n. 3; K. C. Atkinson, *Aegyptus* xxxii (1952) 204 n. 4; *OpAth* i. 150 and n. 57; *Aegyptus* xxxiii (1953) 83 n. 3; *SCE* IV. iii. 229; *Calderini–Paribeni* 184 n. 75. To (*a*) and (*b*) I now add (*c*).

[Καλλι]κλῆν Καλλικλέο[υς, τῶν σωματοφυλάκων Πτο]-
[λ]εμαίου ἰλάρ̣[χην, τῶν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείαι τεταγμένων]
ἱππέων καὶ εὐωνύμων [ἐπιστά]τ̣η̣ν καὶ διδάσ[καλον]
τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν τ[ακτι]κ̣ῶν *v* ἡ συναρχία τῶν ἐν Πάφωι.
στρατηγῶν καὶ ἐστρα[τηγ]ηκότων ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα καὶ
εὐνοίας τῆς εἰς Βασιλέ[α] Πτολεμαῖον καὶ Βασίλισσαν
Κλεοπάτραν τὴν ἀδελφήν, Θεοὺς Φιλομήτορας, καὶ τὰ τέκνα
καὶ τῆς εἰς ἑαυ[τ]ὴν εὐεργεσίας καὶ πρὸς ἅπαντας δικαιοσύνης.

The letters of (*c*), not seen by me, I underscore. For l. 2 (given only by (*a*)) my squeezes show _ΜΑΙ∪ΙΙΛΜΙ: these are not ambiguous, since the upright following the segment of *omicron* is so spaced as to demand *upsilon* (or *tau*).

In *OpAth* i. 150 the view is expressed that the presence of Kallikles in Cyprus is further evidence of Philometor's encouragement of the technicalities of war. But there is more which this and the preceding document can tell us. They are clearly contemporaneous and as clearly complementary. In the one Kallikles in honouring his king uses tersely enough the terms familiar to his class and service: in the other he is himself honoured by local officials who in their remoteness from the Ptolemaic ruling class find it necessary to interpret his rank and offices. These Paphian interpretations are of considerable interest. To them ἀρχισωματοφύλαξ signifies 'troop-commander of the body-guard of Ptolemy'. The cavalry of the guard, οἱ περὶ τὴν αὐλὴν ἱππεῖς, according to Polybius were at the time of Raphia 700 strong (whereas the infantry ἄγημα stood at 3,000); and it is certain that as a Ptolemaic title ἀρχισωματοφύλαξ can in the second and first century have had no actual connexion with these ἱππεῖς: Cyprus with its city commandants alone, each an ἀρχισωματοφύλαξ, could have officered them—*in absentia*—more than adequately. The Paphians merely indicate by their gloss their knowledge that the third-century military rank of officer of the royal bodyguard (the cavalry being the more aristocratic arm) had at the outset of the second become generalized as a court title.

When, however, Kallikles states his office, the position (oddly enough) is exactly reversed; for we are now concerned with an actual command of the 'household' cavalry of Alexandria. To the Paphians, interpreting this, he becomes 'Commandant of the Cavalry and εὐώνυμοι stationed in Alexandria'. Who these last may have been is very far from clear. Indeed, I am reduced to the conjecture that they were troops of the εὐώνυμον κέρας, ancillary to the cavalry: some fancy formation, it may be, devised by this Instructor Royal in the Art of Tactics. This last title is in itself unique; but it would indeed appear significant that Kallikles with his military qualifications should have dealings with the board of Paphian *strategoi*, so as to win their gratitude. These admittedly were civic officials, possibly with police duties but in normal times little if any military responsibility—for the cities, far from possessing their own forces, were each controlled by a Ptolemaic garrison. But were the times normal? Cyprus after 163 was under the continuous threat of a descent upon it by Euergetes, backed by the might of Rome; and in 154 indeed saw actual hostilities, culminating in the capture of that prince at Lapethos. I suspect that Paphos, her loyalty assured, was now called upon to produce something of a local levy; and I suspect that it was in connexion with these emergencies that Kallikles now found himself in Cyprus. On his promotion to the command in Alexandria and his departure from the island, he thanks his king, and is in turn congratulated by his Paphian subordinates. For the civic *strategoi* in Cyprus, cf. *Mnem.* vi. 110 n. 4.

55. *The statues of Ptolemy VI Philometor, Kleopatra II, and their children, erected by the officers of the Cypriot garrison:* 154–152 B.C.?

Pedestal, much damaged, in two fragments, now in the Epigraphical Museum (KM 63). Letters of the mid-second century. *JHS* ix, no. 16; *Mnem.* vi. 111. Cf. *OpAth* i. 148, 150.

[Βασιλέα Πτολεμα]ι̣ον καὶ Βασίλισσα̣[ν Κλεοπάτραν, Θεοὺς Φιλομήτορας, Βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου
καὶ]
[Βασιλίσσης Κλ]εοπάτρας Θεῶν [Ἐπιφανῶν καὶ Εὐχαρίστων, καὶ e.g. τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῶν Πτολεμαῖον
τὸν]
[πρεσβύτερον καὶ] Κ̣λ̣ε[οπάτραν τὴν θυγατέρα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τέκνα Πτολεμαῖον καὶ Κλεοπάτραν,
οἱ ἐν Κύπρωι]
[τεταγμένοι ἡγ]εμόνες καὶ ἵππ[αρχοι ἐπ' ἀνδρῶν εὐεργεσίας ἕνεκεν τῆς εἰς ἑαυτούς].

L. 1: *JHS* ix, ΙΟΝ καὶ βασιλέ[ως]. L. 3: *JHS* ix, ΛΕ. L. 4: *JHS* ix, [εὐ]νοίας καὶ . . . .

Clearly we have an inscription which postulates two and very probably three juxtaposed blocks to accommodate the statues of Philometor, his queen, and their four children: Paphos could erect six—if not indeed eight—statues for a *strategos* (**43–45**). We need not expect the officers of all Cyprus to do less for their king. The restoration of the end of l. 2 and much of l. 3 is, however, offered *exempli gratia*. The τέκνα of Philometor occur first in September 164 (Otto 8). For the phrase τὰ ἄλλα τέκνα cf. *BMI* 388 (*Calderini–Paribeni* 178, no. 1). But I suspect that this enthusiasm follows—and does not precede—Philometor's victory in 154 B.C. Furthermore, it precedes Eupator's elevation in 153/2 to a share of his father's throne and on my restoration precedes his death. For the designation of the garrison of Cyprus during the final eighteen years of this reign, and the deductions which may be drawn from this, cf. *OpAth* i. 148, 150. On the manifest popularity of Philometor in military and official circles in the island at this time I have something to say, ibid. 148 ff.

56. *The statues of Ptolemy VI Philometor and of his son, Ptolemy VII Eupator:* 152–150 B.C.

A pedestal of two contiguous blocks. The right-hand stone (*a*), broken away to the extreme right with a single large dowel-hole on the upper surface (and the Augustan inscription *JHS* ix, no. 69 cut over its lettering as if this did not exist), is now in the Epigraphical Museum (KM 49); (*b*), cut down to a slab, was removed by von Hammer to Vienna and is now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum. The letters of (*a*) and (*b*) are identical in size and form, characteristic of the mid-second century. (*a*) *JHS* ix, no. 70; Strack 83. Cf. Meyer 67. (*b*) J. von Hammer 179, no. 49 (with p. 151); *CIG* 2618 (where earlier literature is given); Engel i. 134, no. 1; von Sacken and Kenner, *Die Sammlungen d.K.k. Antiken-Cabinetes* (1866) 60, no. 19; Strack no. 102; *OGI* 126. Cf. Meyer 95 n., 351; L. Pareti, *Atti Accad. Torino* xliii (1907/8) 498, 505 n. 3; Gauthier 335 ff.; Bevan 292 n. 2; Otto 9 n. 9; 119, 120 n. 6; Hill 193 ff. That (*a*) and (*b*) were complementary inscriptions was first recognized by A. Wilhelm, *SbAkWien* ccxxiv, 1 (1946) 14 ff. Cf. *REG* lix/lx (1946/7), no. 229; *OpAth* i. 148 n. 43; *SCE* IV. iii. 227.

Βασιλέα Πτολεμαῖον
Θεὸν Εὐπάτορα
Ἀφροδίτηι

Βασιλέα Πτολεμαῖον
Θεὸν Φιλομήτορα
Πάφιαι

The statues of Philometor and his son stood side by side on two juxtaposed blocks which in effect formed a single pedestal. This is established alike by the character of the inscriptions, the spacing of the dedication (in which, we have noted, Παφίαι *simpliciter* is never to be found), and the fact that the thickness of (*a*) exceeds its width. Two inscriptions of Curium which concern the same father and son, *OGI* 123 and 125, as their phrasing, the comparable extent of their erasure, and the occurrence in each of the rare assimilation of the consonant in ἐγ indicate, are similarly complementary, although there the statues stood on separate pedestals. This close association of Philometor and his son in two out of the three instances in the epigraphy of Cyprus in which Eupator is named as king—no other inscriptions of Eupator being known—is of decisive importance in the long dispute concerning the status of this prince. He received his cult-title in 153/2; as early as April 152 he was sharing his father's throne; in January 150 he was seemingly no longer associated with his father; by July of that year he was dead (Otto 120; Hill 193 n. 3). Otto has persuaded himself that there was a period when Eupator, although still living, was no longer co-regent (Otto 9 n. 9). In the three Cypriot inscriptions he finds his explanation: Eupator after April 152, exchanged his share of the throne of Egypt for the undivided sovereignty of Cyprus because in the relevant inscriptions 'nur der junge König und nicht sein Vater genannt ist'. We see now that father and son were recognized in the island as co-regents of an undivided realm.

There is therefore no compelling reason to suppose that this partnership was terminated by anything other than the death of the junior partner. I set out under **60** my conjecture that its dedicant An[dromachos] was Andromachos, tutor of Eupator. That he was also for the material years *strategos* of the island is indeed a further conjecture in which I have indulged. Some such accident as the presence of this tutor in Cyprus in a position of power, whether accompanied by Eupator or not, would be enough to explain the presence of these three unique documents in the island.

57. *The statue of Ptolemy VII Eupator*: 152–150 B.C.

A pedestal, broken away to the left, now in the Epigraphical Museum (KM 62). Letters both narrow and poorly cut, in appearance some fifty years later than in fact they are. *JHS* ix, no. 34; *OGI* 127. Cf. Meyer 94 n. 351; Gauthier 335 ff.; Bevan 292 n. 2; Otto 9 n. 9; Hill 193; A. Wilhelm, *SbAkWien* ccxxiv, 1 (1946) 17 f.; L. Pareti, *Atti Acc. Torino* xliii (1907/8) 497 ff.; *OpAth* i. 148 n. 43; *SCE* IV. iii. 227; *Calderini–Paribeni* 178 n. 64.

[Βασιλέα Πτολεμαῖον Θεὸν Ε]ὐπάτορα

(three ? lines erased)

For Ptolemy Eupator, cf. **56**. The erasure recalls the three and four lines erased beneath the statues of Eupator and Philometor respectively at Curium (*OGI* 123 and 125). All this is clearly the handiwork of Euergetes II on his conquest of Cyprus at the end of 145 or, better, early in 144 B.C.; and it is, I do not doubt, at the expense of the last *strategos* to govern the island for Philometor. For conjectures as to his identity, cf. **56** above, **60** below.

58. *The statue of Karpion, erected by his sons Andron, Herodotos, Karpion, and Ptolemaios, and by the engineers under his command*: 163–145 B.C.?

A pedestal, copied in 1862 and again in 1888 in the church of St. Luke at Kouklia: since then not seen, and presumably immured into the reconstructed building (like **24**). Letters as shown by Waddington are characteristic of the second century. *LBW* 2797; Cesnola 415, no. 7; *JHS* ix. 260, no. 11. Cf. F. Poland, *Gr. Vereinswesen* 118, 125, 604, no. 17; W. H. Buckler, *JHS* lv (1935) 78; *OpAth* i. 150 and n.

Καρπίωνα τὸν ἑαυτ[ῶν] πατέρα Ἄνδρων
Ἡρόδοτος Καρπίων Πτολεμαῖος
καὶ οἱ ὑπ' αὐτὸν τεταγμένοι
κατὰ τὴν νῆσον ἀρχιτέκτονες.

That these ἀρχιτέκτονες were military and not civil or mining engineers seems assured by the presence of τεταγμένοι. Karpion was their commander and as such (I take it) engineer-in-chief of Cyprus. In *OpAth* i. 150 n. 58 it is argued that this inscription may belong to the years 163–145 B.C., when Philometor reorganized effectively his garrison of the island, setting an emphasis upon the technicalities of war (**4**, **54**). The absence of court rank is, however, somewhat surprising, and may indicate that this document is a generation earlier than I suppose.

59. *The statue of Neos Philopator as prince, erected by the garrison of Cyprus*: 150–145 B.C.

Pedestal, broken away above, to left and right, now in the Epigraphical Museum (KM 28). Letters very characteristic of the reign of Philometor. *JHS* ix, no. 17; Strack no. 168; *Mnem* vi. 115. Cf. Meyer 65 n. 222 and 67 n. 229; Hill 177 n. 4; Launey 1012; *OpAth* i. 148 n. 43; *SCE* IV. iii. 235 n. 2; M. T. Lenger *BCH* lxxx (1956) 456 n. 3; *JHS* lxxix. 109 n. 53.

[Πτολεμαῖον, τὸν Βασι]λέω[ς Πτολεμαίου]
[καὶ Βασιλίσσης Κλεο]πάτρας [τῆς ἀδελφῆς]
[Θεῶν Φιλομητόρ]ων, αἱ ἐν Κύπ[ρωι τεταγμέναι]
[πεζικαὶ καὶ ἱππ]ικαὶ δυνάμε[ις ἀρετῆς ? καὶ]
[εὐεργεσία]ς ἕνεκεν τῆς εἰ[ς ἑαυτάς].

JHS ix: - - - βασι]λέ[ως Πτολεμαίου καὶ | βασιλίσσης Κλεοπ]άτρας [Θεῶν | - - - -]ν, αἱ ἐν Κύπ[ρωι τασ|σόμεναι πεζ]ικαὶ δυνάμε[ις] εὐεργεσία]ς ἕνεκεν κτλ. Strack: [τὸν δεῖνα τοῦ δεῖνα, τὸν συγγενῆ τοῦ βασι]λέ[ως κτλ. My restorations I defend in *Mnem* vi.

For this designation of the Cypriot garrison, characteristic of the last eighteen years of Philometor's reign, cf. *OpAth* i. 150 f. The son of the Ptolemy whom the troops here honour must therefore be either Eupator (**56**, **57**) or Neos Philopator before these princes were promoted respectively in 152 and 145 to share their father's throne. Absence of any distinguishing title such as ὁ πρεσβύτερος becomes, however, significant: our prince is in all probability the younger son, after his brother's death. The island has shown its enthusiasm for Eupator; it now makes a gesture of loyalty towards the new heir.

60. *The statue of Xenophon, Governor of Cyprus, erected by his wife and his son, Andromachos* (?): 158(?)–152(?) B.C.

Pedestal of a reddish marble, complete to left, broken away on all other sides, but with something, nevertheless, of an original face preserved above, below, and at the back. H. 0·42; max. w. 0·56; th. 0·86. On the upper surface, some 0·23 from the left edge of the stone, is part of a large foot-shaped depression. The letters, while regularly shaped, are roughly cut with pronounced *apices*, their height *c.* 0·02. Forms: Μ Γ Ε Η Κ Ν Ξ Ο Ρ Σ Υ Φ Χ Ω Ω. The top of l. 1 is 0·08 from the upper surface, so that unless a dedication was included the inscription here is complete. The seven lines we have are well spaced on a pedestal of exceptional height—and width, for this can hardly have been less than a metre. Found by me on July 26th, 1959, buried in the threshing-floor immediately to the north of the Kouklia Chiftlik buildings; now in the Epigraphical Museum (KM 92).

Unpublished. PLATE 3.

Ξ̣ενοφῶντ[α τὸν συγγενῆ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ στρατηγὸν]
καὶ ἀρχιερέα [τῶν κατὰ τὴν νῆσον, ἡ δεῖνα τοῦ δεῖνα]
ἡ γυνὴ καὶ Ἀν[δρόμαχος? ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ - - - - - - - - - - -]
καὶ ἱερεὺς το[ῦ θεοῦ - - - - - - - - - - - - - -, τῶν ὁμοτίμων]
τοῖς συγγενέ[σι -]
ἀρχιερωσύνη[- -]
φιλ[ο]στ[οργίας ἕνεκεν τῆς εἰς ἑαυτούς].

As a private document (with which accordingly we may compare *Arch. Pap.* xiii, no. 12 = *Calderini–Paribeni* 163) this inscription is not concerned with loyalty as a motive and does not use familiar formulae. Nevertheless, it is of great interest: it gives us a new name, the second only of the last seventy years, to add to our list of Cypriot *strategoi*—but a name as yet (I believe) unknown to the prosopography of Ptolemaic Egypt. In favour of the suggested restoration of l. 1 we may note that this line postulates a width of stone already approaching the maximum for statue-bases. For omission of ethnic and patronym we may compare Archias above (**52**), Krokos below (**74**). If further I am correct in omitting καὶ ναύαρχον, the inscription should either be earlier than the year 142 or belong to a time subsequent to this when Cyprus did not possess the *nauarchia*. We have already observed that the name of the last *strategos* of Philometor is defaced (cf. **57** above), those of both predecessor and successor of Archias (**52**) unknown. Can it be that Xenophon succeeded Archias and was himself replaced by the Andromachos to whom we have conjecturally ascribed the final years? An Andromachos with the rank τῶν διαδόχων served as a young man under his grandfather Ptolemy the Megalopolitan during the latter's *strategia* of Cyprus, to set up a statue of his mother Eirene in the first or second decade of the century. His inscription (*Arch. Pap.* xiii, no. 12) was subsequently defaced and the same stone reused to carry Euergetes' letter and amnesty decree (*Arch. Pap.* xiii, no. 13: M. T. Lenger, *BCH* lxxx (1956) 437 ff.). Since Andromachos was tutor to Eupator (**56**) and one of two ambassadors sent by Philometor in 154 to plead his case against Euergetes before the Roman senate (Polybius xxxiii. 11. 4), this defacing becomes significant, suggesting that *damnatio memoriae* has removed any further trace of Andromachos' activity in Cyprus. Can our Ἀν[δρόμαχος?] be identified with this man? We must suspend judgement, for the evidence against the identification is strong. I have very recently considered the ὁμότιμοι τοῖς συγγενέσι (*JHS* lxxix. 107 n. 40), and find no earlier occurrence than the close of Euergetes' civil war in 124 B.C. Furthermore, the presence in Cyprus of an official of rank so high is for the times of Philometor anomalous.[10] I leave this document with a warning that it may even belong to the Cypriot reign of the second Soter: for it presents problems which I still find insoluble.

61. *The statues of Agapenor and Euagorat(i)on, erected by their mother, Echetime, daughter of Agapenor*: *c.* 160 B.C.

A pedestal, broken away to left and right, now in the Epigraphical Museum (KM 37). Letters of the mid-second century. *JHS* ix, no. 36 a and b. Cf. Blinkenberg 31.

[Ἐχετ]ί̲μ̲[η Ἀγα]πήνορος
[τὴν α]ὑτῆς θυγατέρα
[Εὐα]γ̲ο̲ρ̲άτιν
[Ἀφροδ]ί̲τ̲ηι Παφίαι.

Ἐχετίμη̲ [Ἀγαπήνορος]
Ἀγαπήνορα̣ [τὸν αὑτῆς υἱὸν]
Ἀφροδίτηι Πα[φίαι].

Letters underscored are given by *JHS* ix only. A fragment seen by me in 1936 has since then been removed, so that for the left-hand portion in lines 1 and 2 only ΓΗΝΟΡΟΣ and ΑΤΕΡΑ survive.

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[10] It may further be asked, if this inscription concerns the Andromachos in question, why it has escaped the erasure which elsewhere was his fate.

62. *The statues of Demonike and another, daughters of Leonnatos and Olympias, erected by Chairias*: *c.* 160 B.C.?

A pedestal, broken away above only, carrying on the opposite surface an inscription of the reign of Tiberius; now in the Epigraphical Museum (KM 25). The letters of the first two lines suggest the second quarter of the second century, but the subsequent lines have a rougher and later look. *OpAth* i. 143, no. 22, and fig. 9; *SEG* xiii. 569. Cf. *JEA* xl (1954) 138, no. 83; *REG* lxvii (1954) 180, no. 258.

[Ἀφρο]δ̣ί̣τ̣[ηι Παφίαι]
Δημονίκην κ[αὶ τὴν δεῖνα]
τὰς Λεοννάτου τ̣ῶ̣[ν φίλων]
καὶ Ὀλυμπιάδος θυγατέρας
5 Χαιρίας ἡγεμών.

For a discussion of the persons named, cf. *OpAth* i, loc. cit. Leonnatos, a rare name, recurs in a ἡγεμὼν ἐπ' ἀνδρῶν of Karpasia, son of Aristos, son of Timodemos of Chios—Aristos being ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως of that city under Epiphanes but before the marriage of the first Kleopatra. Olympias *may* be the daughter of Seleukos, son of Bithys (**70**, &c., below); but the only Chairias to occur in the prosopography of Cyprus is the ναύαρχος of 88 B.C. (*FGH* iii. 721).

63. *The statue of Sokrates or of his daughter, Aristion*: 163–145 B.C.?

A fragmentary pedestal of a local pink marble, with all original surfaces except the inscribed face lost. The maximum dimensions are: h. 0·19; w. 0·255; th. 0·2. Found in April 1950 during the installation of a fountain at the north corner of the Aphrodite temple; now in the Epigraphical Museum (KM 80). Letters regular, clear, well cut, with rounded incisions and slight thickening at terminals. H. from 0·012 to 0·018. Forms Α Κ Ο Ρ Σ Τ Ω, suggesting the reign of Philometor.

Unpublished. PLATE 2.

[Ἀφ]ρ̣ο̣[δίτηι Παφίαι]
Σωκράτ̣[ην τοῦ δεῖνα]
Ἀρίστιο[ν, τὸν πατέρα].

To the above restoration an equally possible alternative is Σωκράτ[ης τοῦ δεῖνα] Ἀρίστιο[ν τὴν θυγατέρα].

64. *Fragment of a statue-base*: mid-second century B.C.

Fragment of a pedestal of fine white marble, h. 0·12, w. 0·065, and th. 0·09. Only the inscribed surface is original. Found in July 1950 on the surface of the temple site (KX 32) by children living in the area; now in the Chiftlik Museum. Letters firmly cut, clear, with slight *apices*, cut between guide-lines. H. from 0·015 (*omicron*) to 0·017. Forms Α Ο Ρ ⅃ ʟ, suggesting the mid-second century.

Unpublished.

[- - - τῶν] πρώ[των φίλων - - -]
[- - - - - - -]ΣΤΟ[- - - - - - - - - -]
[- - - - - - - -]ΑΙ[- - - - - - - - - - -]

A line is doubtless lost above, while there is nothing to suggest that l. 3 is the last.

65. *Fragment of a statue-base*: mid-second century B.C.

Fragment of a pedestal of light grey marble, complete below only. H. 0·105; w. 0·14; th. 0·14. Copied in June 1948 in the Inscription House, then maintained on the temple site, but of its discovery there is no record. Not now in the Epigraphical Museum, and presumably lost. The letters, clear, deeply cut, with thickening at the ends of *hastae*, are from 0·022 to 0·026 in height. Forms Δ Ε Ο Σ Τ Υ Υ suggesting the reign of either Philometor or Euergetes.

Unpublished.

[e.g. - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - Βασίλισσαν]
[Κλεοπάτραν τὴν ἀ]δελ[φὴν Θεοὺς - - -]
[καὶ τῆς εἰς ἑα]υτοὺς ε[ὐεργεσίας].

This fragment cannot be associated with any surviving inscription of Old Paphos.

66. *The statue of Onasion, erected by his parents, Andron and Stratonike*: *c.* 150 B.C.

An undamaged pedestal, now in the Epigraphical Museum (KM 9); its letters neatly cut, of the mid-second century. *JHS* ix, no. 33.

Ἀφροδίτηι Παφίαι·
Ἄνδρων καὶ ἡ γυνὴ
Στρατονίκη τὴν
θυγατέρα Ὀνάσιον.

67. *The statue of Demetrios* (?) *the priest*: mid-second century B.C.

The lower left-hand corner of a pedestal of white marble, examined by me in August 1936 in the yard of the Police Station at Kouklia, but since then not seen. Careless lettering of the mid-second century. *JHS* ix, no. 85.

[ὁ (ἡ) δεῖνα τοῦ δεῖνα]
Δημ[ήτριον? - - - - - - - -]
καὶ ἱερ[έα - - - - - - - - - -]
τὸν ἑα[υτοῦ (-ῆς)- - - - -].

Pace the editors, there is no missing line below. They are also at fault in reading and restoring in l. 4 τῶν ἐ[ν Κύπρωι].

68. *The statue of Timonax, erected by his father, Philon, son of Timon*: *c.* 150 B.C.?

A 'pink pedestal', since 1888 not seen. The letter-forms of the editors suggest the middle of the second century. *JHS* ix, no. 126.

Ἀφροδίτηι Παφίαι·
Φίλων Τίμωνος
τὸν υἱὸν Τιμώνακτα.

69. *The statue of Theodoros, son of Seleukos, Governor of Cyprus, erected by the officers of the Cypriot garrison*: 143 B.C.

A pedestal, broken away to the left, in 1950 still to be seen in the temple area. The letters are characteristic of mid-second-century writing. *JHS* ix, no. 11; Strack no. 112; *OpAth* i. 131, no. 2 (with photograph, fig. 1); 145 n. 28; *SEG* xiii. 571. Cf. Lesquier 334; Cohen 5 n. 4; G. T. Griffith 134; Hill 177 n. 4, 197 n. 1; *REG* lxvii (1954) 180, no. 258; *SCE* IV. iii. 234; *Calderini–Paribeni* 167 n. 16.

[Θεόδωρον, τῶν πρώτων φίλων τοῦ βα]σιλέως καὶ ἱερέα τῆ[ς νήσου]?
[Ἀφροδίτης, τὸν υἱὸν Σελεύκου τοῦ] συγγενοῦς καὶ στρατη[γοῦ καὶ]
[ἀρχιερέως, οἱ ἡγεμόνες τῶν ἐν Κύπρ]ωι τασσομένων δυ̣ν̣ά̣μ̣[εων]
[ἀρετῆς ἕνεκεν καὶ εὐνοίας τῆς εἰς Β]ασιλέα Πτολεμαῖον
5 [καὶ Βασίλισσαν Κλεοπάτραν τὴν ἀδελ]φὴν Θεοὺς Εὐεργέτας
[καὶ τὰ τέκνα? αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς εἰς ἑαυτοὺ]ς̣ εὐεργεσίας.

For the restoration of this important inscription, its date, the absence of the *nauarchia* and the significance of the [ἡγεμόνες τῶν ἐν Κύπρ]ωι τασσομένων δυνάμ[εων], cf. *OpAth* l.c. I there conclude that Seleukos was the first to govern Cyprus for Euergetes, his *strategia* extending from early 144 B.C. until after the flight of that Ptolemy to the island in the late spring of 131. Falling as it does between the marriage of Kleopatra II and that of her daughter, this document is to be dated to 143 or the earlier months of 142. At this date Euergetes had not as yet reorganized the garrison of Cyprus, so that it could still be described in the idiom of Philometor (**52** and **59**). Consonant with this is the absence of the *nauarchia*, only added to the titles of the *strategos* (I argue) in 142. To ἱερέα τῆ[ς νήσου | Ἀφροδίτης] an attractive alternative is ἱερέα τῆ[ς Παφίας | Ἀφροδίτης]: I have already suggested (**2** above) that Euergetes at the outset of his reign made some concession to the priesthood of Aphrodite at Old Paphos. Hence perhaps their gratitude to Seleukos, who would implement this policy. The grant of an honorary priesthood to Theodoros would be in keeping with this, for Seleukos, himself *ex officio* high-priest, could not be honoured in this manner. The other inscriptions of Seleukos' *strategia* I list in *OpAth*, loc. cit. I give there (p. 170) the *stemma* of the house of Bithys: this has now been made inadequate by Glanville and Skeat, *JEA* xl (1954) 45 ff.

70. *The statue of Seleukos, Governor of Cyprus, erected by the priests of Paphian Aphrodite*: 142–131 B.C.

Two fragments of a pedestal, not associated until 1953, now in the Epigraphical Museum (KM 43 and 60). Letters broad and regular, suggesting rather the reign of Philometor than that of Euergetes. (1) *JHS* ix, no. 98 and (2) *JHS* ix, no. 108. Cf. Cohen 5 n. 4. These were associated in *OpAth* i. 134, no. 7; *SEG* xiii. 570. Cf. *JEA* xl (1954) 138 n. 83; *REG* lxvii (1954) 180, no. 258; *SCE* IV. iii. 235 n. 1; *Calderini–Paribeni* 167 n. 16. Photograph of (1) in *OpAth* 136, fig. 3.

[Σέλευκο]ν Βίθυ[ος, τὸν συγγενῆ τοῦ βασιλέως,]
[τὸν στρα]τηγὸν κ[αὶ ναύαρχ]ον καὶ ἀρχιε[ρέα],
[οἱ ἱερεῖς] τῆς Παφί[ας Ἀ]φροδίτης
[εὐεργε]σίας ἕνεκε[ν τῆς] εἰς ἑαυτ[ούς].

The inclusion of the *nauarchia* places this inscription in or after 142 B.C. For the priests of Paphian Aphrodite, who appear in this phrase, confined to the Hellenistic period, here for the first time, cf. *OpAth* 165.

71. *The statue of Seleukos (?) erected by the officers of the Cilician Regiment*: 142–131 B.C.

A pedestal, broken away above, now in the Epigraphical Museum (KM 19). Letters of the mid-second century. *JHS* ix, no. 44; Strack no. 116. Cf. Lesquier 124; Launey 479 n. 9; *OpAth* i. 151 n. 66.

[Σέλευκον Βίθυος(?), τὸν συγγενῆ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ]
[στρατηγὸν καὶ ναύαρχον καὶ ἀρχιερέα, οἱ ἡγεμόνες]
[τῶ]ν̣ ἐν τῆ (*sic*) νήσωι τασσομένων Κ[ιλίκων ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα]
καὶ εὐνοίας ἧς ἔχων διατελεῖ εἴς τε Βασιλέα Πτολεμαῖο[ν]
καὶ Βασίλισσαν Κλεοπάτραν τὴν ἀδελφὴν καὶ Βασίλισσαν
Κλεοπάτραν τὴν γυναῖκα Θεοὺς Εὐεργέτας καὶ τὰ τέκνα
καὶ τῆς εἰς ἑαυτοὺς εὐεργεσίας.

Seemingly two lines rather than one have been lost, although this will give the stone an unusual height. *JHS* ix, l. 2 [κοινόν]; l. 3 Κ[ιλίκων].

From the motive-formula it is clear that the inscription is to be dated either between 142 and 131 or 124 and 116. During these periods, with the court not in exile, the only person whom the garrison of Paphos honours is in fact the governor of the island. Launey suggests that these troops were either Cretans or Cilicians; but I have argued (*OpAth* i. 152) that the former were permanently stationed at Salamis. Since we already have an inscription of Old Paphos (**80** below) recording the erection of a statue of Theodoros by the Cilicians, it would seem very probable that we are here concerned with his father.

72. *The statue of a daughter of Theodoros, son of Seleukos, Governor of Cyprus, erected by the city of Paphos (?)*: 142–131 B.C.

A pedestal, broken away 'to left, right and bottom', since its discovery in 1888 not recorded. Letters, as shown by the editors, of the mid-second century. *JHS* ix, no. 30; Peristianis 352; *OpAth* i. 139, no. 15; *SEG* xiii. 581. Cf. Cohen 4, no. 16; *JEA* xl (1954) 138, no. 83; *Calderini–Paribeni* 167 n. 16.

[- - - - - τὴν] Θεοδώρου τοῦ Σ[ελεύκου],
[τοῦ συγγεν]οῦς τοῦ βασιλ[έως, τοῦ]
[στρατηγοῦ] καὶ ναυάρχο[υ καὶ ἀρχιερ]-
[έως τῆς νήσου, θ]υγατέρα Π̣[αφίων ἡ πόλις]?

I defend these restorations in *OpAth*, loc. cit. With the inclusion of the definite article in the *lacuna* of l. 1, the name of the daughter of Theodoros here being honoured is reduced to some five or six letters. Theodoris (*phosphoros* of 116/15), Ariadne (*stephanephoros* of 116/15), and Polykrateia or Krateia (*athlophoros* of 107/6) therefore would appear to be excluded: can we be concerned with yet another Artemo?

73. *A fragmentary dedication of the Lycian Regiment*: 142–131 B.C.?

The right-hand block of a composite pedestal of a yellowish local marble; broken away behind, but much of the original surface is preserved above, below, to right and left. H. 0·27; w. 0·225. Found in September 1955 in the demolition of a house adjacent to the temple area; copied by me in 1958, but not now in the Epigraphical Museum. Letters very broad, with slender *hastae* having rounded incisions and slight serifs. H. from 0·019 to 0·025. Forms Ε Η Ν Ο Ρ Σ Τ Υ Ω, suggesting the earlier years of Euergetes.

Unpublished.

[τὴν δεῖνα τὴν - - - - γυναῖκα δὲ - - α]ρχου
[-]Σ̣ τῆς
[-] εἰς
[- -τὸ κοι]νὸν
[τῶν ἐν τῆι νήσωι τασσομένων Λυ]κ̣ίων.

L. 2: before *tau* is the tip of an upper horizontal: either *epsilon* therefore or *sigma*. L. 5: it is possible that the tips of *kappa* have been preserved.

The presence of the [κοι]νὸν |[τῶν ἐν τῆι νήσωι τασσομένων Λυ]κ̣ίων (for there is no convincing alternative to [Λυ]κ̣ίων) limits this inscription to the reign of Euergetes. The style of lettering points to the beginning of this period. The honorand therefore is probably a woman, for at that date in the case of a man the motive-formula is invariably included. The loss of so much of this text is unfortunate, for the persons it deals with are unknown to us.

74. *The statue of Krokos, Governor of Cyprus, erected by the city of Paphos (?)*: 130–124 B.C.

A pedestal in two contiguous fragments, not seen since their discovery in 1888. The stone, the editors tell us, was 'gone below and right'. Their letter-forms suggest the mid-second century. *JHS* ix, no. 92; *OpAth* i. 157, no. 25; *SEG* xiii. 572. Cf. *OGI* ad 140; Lesquier 334; P. Collomp, *La Diplomatique des Lagides* 42; Durrbach 177; Seyrig 146 n. 2; *Ins. Délos* (1937) ad no. 1528; Hill 197 n. 2; Bengtson iii. 146 n. 1; 150 f.; *JEA* xl (1954) 138, no. 83; *REG* lxvii (1954) 180, no. 258.

Κρόκον, τὸν συγγενῆ τ[οῦ βασιλέως καὶ ναύαρχον]
καὶ ἐπιστάτην καὶ [ἀρχιερέα τῶν κατὰ τὴν νῆσον]
καὶ στρατηγό[ν, Παφίων ἡ πόλις? εὐνοίας ἕνεκα τῆς εἰς]
Βασιλέα [Πτολεμαῖον καὶ Βασίλισσαν Κλεοπάτραν]
[τὴν γυναῖκα, Θεοὺς Εὐεργέτας, καὶ τὰ τέκνα αὐτῶν]
[καὶ εὐεργεσίας τῆς εἰς ἑαυτήν].

I defend these restorations in *OpAth*, loc. cit. Neither *JHS* ix nor *OGI* had the benefit of a comparable inscription of New Paphos, *JHS* lvii. 36, no. 11 (*OpAth* i. 157, no. 26; *SEG* xiii. 573).

For Krokos, governor of Cyprus from *c.* 130 to 124 B.C.—that period of civil war which began with the flight of Euergetes and Kleopatra III to the island in the late spring of 131—cf. *OpAth*, loc. cit. I explain the emphasis upon the *nauarchia* in the inscriptions of this *strategos* by the unusual importance of sea-power during these years. For ἐπιστάτης, an otherwise unique office in this context, cf. Bengtson, loc. cit. and my speculations in *OpAth*, loc. cit. I there suggest that Krokos' function as commandant of the island's capital during these critical years is explicitly stated whereas with others it is simply assumed.

75. *The statue of Lochos, son of Kallimedes, Governor of the Thebaid, erected by the officers (?) of a regiment of the Cypriot Garrison*: 127–124 B.C.

The 'right-hand quarter' of a pedestal, since its discovery in 1888 not recorded. The editors' letters are compatible with the mid-second century. *JHS* ix, no. 71; M. Segre, *Annuario* xxvii/xxix (1949/1951) 333 f.; *OpAth* i. 160, no. 28; *SEG* xiii. 574. Cf. Meyer 89 n. 324; *OGI* 147 n. 7; Lesquier 334; Martin 176; Cohen 33 n. 6; *Arch. Pap.* xiii. 28 n. 2; *Prosop. Ptol.* i. 187; *JEA* xl (1954) 138, nos. 83, 84; *REG* lxvii (1954) 181, no. 259; *Calderini–Paribeni* 172 ff.

[Λόχον τὸν συγγενῆ καὶ ὑπέ]ρ̣μα[χον καὶ]
[ὑπομνηματογράφον καὶ] σ̣τρατηγ[ὸν]
[αὐτοκράτορα τῆς Θηβαΐ]δος
[οἱ ἡγεμόνες τῶν ἐν τῆι ν]ήσωι
[τασσομένων - - - - - - - -]ν̣
[εὐεργεσίας ἕνεκεν τῆς εἰς ἑαυτούς].

L. 1: the semicircle which precedes *mu*, taken by the editors of *JHS* ix as part of *omicron*, since this letter on their own showing was small, may equally well have been the loop of *rho*. *JHS* ix: ['Αριστ]όμα[χον]; Segre: [Πτολεμαῖον 'Ανδρ]ομά[χου].

No *strategos* or father of a *strategos* of the Thebaid is known either with the name Andromachos or with any name of similar formation during the latter half of the second century B.C.—while at the end of the first line of such inscriptions as this rank or title is to be expected and not a personal name. For Lochos, son of Kallimedes, the only στρατηγὸς αὐτοκράτωρ of the Thebaid known, cf. **76**; V. Martin, op. cit. 175 f.; *OpAth* i. 156 ff.; *Prosop. Ptol.* i, nos. 10, 195.

76. *The statue of a daughter (?) of Lochos, Governor of the Thebaid, erected by the Lycian Regiment*: 127–124 B.C.

Pedestal broken into two closely fitting fragments, but in general complete. The main fragment in 1959 was to be seen on the temple site, the smaller in the Epigraphical Museum (unnumbered). Letters irregular and poorly cut, suggesting the last decades of the second century. *JHS* ix, no. 43; *OGI* 147; *Mnem.* vi (1938) 119; *OpAth* i. 156, no. 24; *SEG* xiii. 575. Cf. P. J. Mahaffy 396 n. 1; Meyer 89 nn. 324, 325, and 93; Peristianis 343; Lesquier 124; Cohen 33 n. 6, 34 n. 3, 93; E. Bevan 281; *RE* iv (1930) 217 (Bilabel); Griffith 134; C. Préaux, *L'Économie royale des Lagides* 526 f.; Otto–Bengtson 101 n. 4; Hill 175 n. 5; Launey 1033 n. 4; 1063 n. 11; *Prosop. Ptol.* i, nos. 10, 195; Bengtson iii. 110 and n. 2, 151 and n. 3; W. Peremans and T. van 't Dack, *Stud. Hell.* ix (1953) 13, 40 n. 5, 44 ff.; *JEA* xl (1954) 138, no. 83; *REG* lxvii (1954) 181, no. 259; *JHS* lxxix. 106 n. 36.

. . ν̣αντην Λόχου το̣[ῦ] Κα̣⟨λ⟩[λιμήδου]
[τ]οῦ συγγενοῦς καὶ ὑπερμάχου
καὶ ὑπομνηματογράφου καὶ στρατηγοῦ
αὐτοκράτορος τῆς Θηβαΐδος τὸ κοινὸν
τῶν ἐν τῆι νήσωι τασσομένων Λυκίων.

L. 1: *OGI* - - φ]άν[τ]η[ν] Λ[υκ]ουρ[γί]δα κ.τ.λ.; l. 2: [Μ]ούσης Πιερίδος καὶ Ὑπερείας. My reading and restoration I defend in *OpAth*, loc. cit. For Lochos, son of Kallimedes, cf. **75**; further, Roussel–Launey, *Ins. Délos* 1526; Otto–Bengtson 100 ff.; M. Rostovtzeff 921, 1554; *OpAth* i. 156 ff. There I suggest that Lochos, like Krokos, sharing his king's exile, was ὑπομνηματογράφος to the latter in Cyprus between 131 and 127; that he then commanded Euergetes' forces in the siege of Alexandria, and on the surrender of that city was rewarded with the *strategia* of the Thebaid. I take στρατηγὸς αὐτοκράτωρ (as does Préaux) to be a Cypriot gloss on the title στρατηγὸς τῆς Θηβαΐδος, prompted by the fact that Krokos, then ruling Cyprus with the same vice-regal powers, was στρατηγὸς αὐτοκράτωρ. Clearly these men stood close together in the king's esteem, for the title ὑπέρμαχος or King's Champion Lochos shares with Krokos (on my emendation of *Ins. Délos* 1528), but is otherwise unique. The military κοινὰ are confined to the reign of Euergetes II and to the outset of his successor's (91). They are discussed by Launey, loc. laud., 1032 ff.; cf. further *OpAth* i. 151 ff. The Lycian κοινόν, like the Cilician, occurs only in Paphos (**73**, **79**, **80**, and **89**). That Lycian troops were stationed in this city throughout the preceding century is, however, attested by **4** and **8** above.

77. *The statue of Diasthenes, erected by the Lycian Regiment*: 131–127 B.C.

A pedestal in two closely fitting portions, in 1955 still to be seen on the temple site. Letters suggest the last quarter of the second century. *JHS* ix, no. 65; *OGI* 146; *OpAth* i. 144 n. 25, 161 f. Cf. Meyer 93; J. N. Svoronos iv. 285; J. Lesquier 124; G. T. Griffith 134; Launey 1033; *JHS* lxxix. 106 n. 36. Trindl 192 no. 17; 209 n. 17.

Τὸ κοινὸν τῶν ἐν τῆι νήσωι
τασσομένων Λυκίων Διασθενῆ
τὸν συγγενῆ τοῦ βασιλέως
φιλαγ̣αθίας ἕνεκεν.

Diasthenes' connexion with Cyprus is discussed in *OpAth* i. 162 n. 100. There I infer from the absence of office and any reference to the royal house that he accompanied Euergetes on the latter's flight in 131 B.C. He may safely be identified with the Diasthenes who shortly before 125/4 was *strategos* of the Peritheban nome (*UPZ* 162, 2 l. 27); and his career has a remarkable similarity with that of Lochos. For Hippike, daughter of Diasthenes, *athlophoros* of 119/18, cf. *JEA* xl (1954) 56. For the omission of any reference to king and royal family in the motive-formula, cf. **83** and **91**, with my comments in *OpAth* i. 144 n. 25.

78. *The statue of Theodoros, Governor of Cyprus, erected by the city of Salamis*: *c.* 124 B.C.

A fragment of a marble block, complete only to the left, now in the Epigraphical Museum (KM 52). With this is to be associated the 'first block of an inscription, broken at bottom', not seen since its discovery in 1888. Letters regular and well cut, of the third quarter of the second century. The former (*a*): *JHS* ix, no. 89; Strack no. 126; *OGI* 156. Cf. P. J. Mahaffy 396 n. 1; Meyer 89 n. 326; J. N. Svoronos iv. 317; Cohen 4, no. 11; 33 ff.; J. Lesquier 336; Hill 175 and n. 4; Trindl 190, no. 4; 230, no. 5; 232 n. 2; Launey 244 n. 7, 649; Bengtson iii. 151 and nn. 1, 2; *RE* iv (1930) 217 (Bilabel). For the latter (*b*): *JHS* ix, no. 23; Strack no. 128; *OGI* 158. Cf. Meyer 94 n. 351; Cohen 4, no. 13; J. Lesquier 334; Launey 245 n. 2. (*a*) and (*b*) are joined in *OpAth* i. 139, no. 16; *SEG* xiii. 576. Cf. *JEA* xl (1954) 138, no. 83; *REG* lxvii (1954) 181, no. 259; *SCE* IV. iii. 234; *JHS* lxxix. 105 n. 30. For a photograph of (*a*), *OpAth*, loc. cit. 140, fig. 6.

Θεόδωρον Σελεύ[κου, τὸν συγγενῆ τοῦ βασιλέως]
καὶ στρατηγὸν αὐτοκρά[τορα καὶ ναύαρχον καὶ ἀρχιε]-
ρέα τῆς νήσου, ἡ πόλις ἡ Σα[λαμινίων ἀρετῆς ἕνεκεν καὶ εὐνοί]-
ας ἧς ἔχων διατελεῖ εἴς τε Β[ασιλέα Πτολεμαῖον καὶ Βασίλισσαν]
5 Κλεοπάτραν [τ]ὴν ἀδελφὴν κ[αὶ Βασίλισσαν Κλεοπάτραν τὴν γυναῖκα]
[Θ]εοὺς Εὐεργέτας καὶ τὰ τέ[κνα αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς εἰς ἑαυτὴν εὐεργ]-
[εσίας ἕ]νεκ[α καὶ] δικαιοσ[ύνης τῆς πρὸς ἅπαντας].

For Theodoros, cf. **69**; further, *OpAth* 163 ff. I there conclude that he became *strategos* of Cyprus about 124 B.C. on the close of the civil war. The present inscription from the presence of αὐτοκράτωρ I believe to be the earliest of his *strategiai*, for it would imply that, despite the formal end of hostilities, the situation still remained critical. To the eight further inscriptions of Old Paphos which document this *strategia* is to be added *OGI* 161 of Salamis. We have here the only instance in the epigraphy of Cyprus of a city dedicating a statue in a temple outside its own civic territory: the Aphrodite temple, for all its fame, was no cosmopolitan Delos.

79. *The statue of Theodoros, Governor of Cyprus, erected by the Lycian Regiment*: 123–118 B.C.

An undamaged pedestal, still to be seen on the temple site. The inscription, although extending to the right edge of the stone, is incomplete, and clearly was concluded on a contiguous block now lost. Similarly, in its left margin, 0·235 wide, the end of **81** was subsequently incised. Letters of the mid-second century. *JHS* ix, no. 12; Strack no. 117; *OpAth* i. 139, no. 17 (photograph, fig. 7); *SEG* xiii. 577. Cf. Cohen 4, no. 17 and n. 10; J. Lesquier 124; W. H. Buckler, *JHS* lv (1935) 77 n. 31; Launey 465; *REG* lxvii (1954) 180 no. 258; *Calderini–Paribeni* 166 n. 8, 167 n. 16; *JHS* lxxix. 105.

Θ̣ε̣[όδωρον] Σ̣[ελεύ]κο[υ] τ̣[οῦ Βίθυος? τὸν συγγενῆ]
τοῦ βασιλέως, τὸν στρατηγὸν καὶ ναύαρ[χον]
καὶ ἀρχιερέα, τὸ κοινὸν τῶν ἐν τῆι νήσωι τασ[σομένων]
Λυκίων ἀρετῆς ἕνεκεν καὶ εὐνοίας τῆς εἰς [Βασιλέα]
5 Πτολεμαῖον καὶ Βασίλισσαν Κλεοπάτραν τὴν ἀ[δελφὴν καὶ]
Βασίλισσαν Κλεοπάτραν τὴν γυναῖκα Θεοὺς [Εὐεργέτας]
καὶ τὰ τέκνα αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς εἰς ἑαυτὸ εὐεργ[εσίας].

L. 1, not noticed by the editors, is nevertheless recognizable, very close to the upper surface of the stone. It is clear that on the left of Theodoros stood the statue of his wife, also set up by the Lycians (**80**). On his right they subsequently added that of his son (**81**). For the omission of αὐτοκράτωρ and the consequent date of the inscription, cf. under **78**.

80. *The statue of Olympias, wife of Theodoros, Governor of Cyprus, erected by the Lycian Regiment*: 123–118 B.C.

A pedestal, lost to left and right, now in the Epigraphical Museum (KM 67). Letters as in **79**. *JHS* ix, no. 47; *OGI* 162; *OpAth* i. 140 no. 19; *SEG* xiii. 580. Cf. Meyer 93, 94 n. 351; J. Lesquier 124; Cohen 4 no. 15; M. Hombert and C. Préaux, *Chron. d'Égypte* xxv (1938) 147; G. T. Griffith 134; Launey 465, 1063 n. 2: *Calderini–Paribeni* 167 n. 16; *JHS* lxxix. 105.

[Ὀλυμπιάδα τ]ὴν Θεοδώρου τοῦ [συγγενοῦς]
[τοῦ βασιλέ]ως, τοῦ στρατηγοῦ κ[αὶ ναυάρχου]
[καὶ ἀρχιερέ]ως, γυναῖκα τὸ κοι[νὸν τῶν]
[ἐν τῆι νήσω]ι τασσομένων Λ[υκίων].

OGI: [Ὀλυμπιάδα] and [ναυάρχου]. Cf. **79** for the companion inscription.

81. *The statue of a son of Theodoros, Governor of Cyprus, erected by the Lycian Regiment*: 123–118 B.C.

A pedestal, much weathered and broken at the edges, copied by me in 1937 but since then not seen. Letters of the mid-second century. The end of this inscription is cut in the margin of **79**, the pedestal which carried the statue of Theodoros himself. *JHS* ix, nos. 45 and 12. Cf. Cohen 4, no. 18 and n. 10. These were joined in *OpAth* i. 142, no. 21 (photographs, ibid., figs. 7 and 8); further *SEG* xiii. 583. Cf. *JEA* xl (1954) 138, no. 83; *REG* lxvii (1954) 180, no. 258; *Calderini–Paribeni* 167 n. 16; *JHS* lxxix. 105.

[τὸν δεῖνα, τῶν πρώτων φίλων],
[τ]ὸν [υ]ἱὸ[ν] τὸν Θεοδ[ώρου τοῦ συ]γγενοῦς
τοῦ βασιλέως, τοῦ στρατηγοῦ καὶ
ναυάρχου καὶ ἀρχιερέως, τὸ κοινὸν
[τ]ῶν ἐν τῆι νήσωι τασσομένων Λυκίων.

The association cannot be questioned: no letter is missing, while the third *omega* of l. 5 is actually shared by the two stones. For this son, whose name we do not know, cf. also **85**.

That the statues of **79**, **80**, and **81** formed a group on one continuous pedestal is clear, recalling similar honours paid by Paphos to Polykrates (**43**, **45**).

82. *The statue of a daughter (Polykrateia ?) of Theodoros, Governor of Cyprus*: 123–118 B.C.

A pedestal, broken away left and right, now in the Epigraphical Museum (KM 70). Letters well cut, of the third quarter of the second century. *JHS* ix, no. 82; *OpAth* i. 141, no. 20; *SEG* xiii. 582. Cf. *JEA* xl (1954) 138, no. 83; *REG* lxvii (1954) 180, no. 258; *Calderini–Paribeni* 167 n. 16.

[Πολυκράτειαν? τὴν] Θεοδ[ώρου, τοῦ συγγενοῦς τοῦ]
[βασιλέ]⟨ω⟩ς, τ[οῦ] στρατηγ[οῦ καὶ ναυάρχου καὶ ἀρχιερέως]
[καὶ τ]ῆς γυ[ναικὸς] αὐτοῦ ’Ολ̣[υμπιάδος θυγατέρα]
[- -]

L. 1: *JHS* ix: ▨ ι Ο Σ. L. 2: *JHS* ix: Ο. Σ Τ ▨ ΣΤΡΑΤΗΓ.

For a discussion of these readings, and a defence of these restorations, cf. *OpAth*, loc. cit. For Polykrateia, daughter of Theodoros, cf. *Chron. d'Égypte* xxv (1938) 138 ff. That this statue belongs to the preceding family group **79**–**81** is improbable, since the name of Olympias would then be redundant; while the height of this stone, 0·19 m., conflicts with 0·26 of **79**, 0·28 of **80**.

83. *The statue of Theodoros, Governor of Cyprus, erected by the Cilician Regiment*: 123–118 B.C.

A pedestal, 'the surface gone in the middle, twice used' (*JHS* ix); first recorded by Ali Bey between 1803 and 1807, subsequently by Ross in 1845, by Waddington in 1862, and by the excavators of 1888, it is now either lost or destroyed. Letters of *LBW* and *JHS* ix are of the second century. Ali Bey, *Travels* i, pl. 35, i; *CIG* 2635; W. H. Engel i. 134, no. 4; L. Ross, *Rh.Mus.* vii (1850) 520 (= *Arch. Aufsätze* ii. 628, no. 15); *LBW* 2796; E. Oberhummer, *SbBayAk.* 1888, 327 A; *JHS* ix. 225, no. 2; Strack no. 127; *OGI* 157; *OpAth* i. 140, no. 18, and 144 n. 25; *SEG* xiii. 578. Cf. W. R. Paton, *CR* iv (1890) 283; W. Larfeld, *Burs. Jahresb.* lxxxvii (1897) 293; Meyer 93; J. Lesquier 124; Cohen 4, no. 12; *RE* s.v. Seleukos 13 (Stähelin); Launey 244 n. 7, 245 n. 2, 479, 649, 683, 1033, 1062; Trindl 190, no. 4, 230, no. 5, 232 n. 2; Bengtson iii. 147 and n. 4; *Calderini–Paribeni* 167 n. 16.

Θεόδωρον Σελεύκου, τὸν συγγενῆ τοῦ βασιλέως,
τὸν στρατηγὸν καὶ ναύα[ρχον κ]αὶ ἀρ[χιερέα],
τὸ κοινὸν τῶν ἐν τῆι νήσωι τασσομένων Κιλίκων
εὐε[ρ]γεσίας ἕνεκεν τῆς εἰς ἑ[αυ]τό.

The text of Ali Bey and therefore of *CIG* is without value. I give here the text of *JHS* ix, with, however, Waddington's Θεόδωρον (for Θεόδοτον which *JHS* ix offers, presumably through inadvertence).

For the omission of king and royal house from the motive-formula, cf. **77** above.

84. *The statue of Theodoros (?), Governor of Cyprus, erected by the Regiment of Ionians and their associates*: 123–118 B.C.

A pedestal of white marble, intact except to the extreme left, now in the Epigraphical Museum (KM 11). The letters are typical of mid-second century writing. *JHS* ix, no. 60; *OGI* 145; *OpAth* i. 143, no. 23, and 144 n. 25; *SEG* xiii. 579. Cf. P. Perdrizet, *RA* xxxv (1899) 44 ff.; Meyer 93; Peristianis 344; J. Lesquier 124, 144; G. T. Griffith 134; Hill 178; Launey 432 f., 1080; *SCE* IV. iii. 235; *Calderini–Paribeni* 167 n. 16; *JHS* lxxix (1959) 123.

[Θεόδωρον? Σελεύκου? τὸν συγγενῆ τοῦ]
[βασι]λέως καὶ στρατηγὸν καὶ ναύαρχον
[κ]αὶ ἀρχιερέα τὸ κοινὸν τῶν ἐν τῆι νήσωι
τασσομένων Ἰώνων καὶ τῶν
συνπολιτευομένων εὐεργεσίας
ἕνεκεν τῆς εἰς ἑαυτό.

The editors dismissed l. 1 to 'an upper block'. As in **79**, however, this line was cut immediately below the upper edge of the inscribed surface. Indeed, my squeeze suggests here the bases of letters.

Omission of any reference to king and royal family in the motive-formula points to the latter part of Euergetes' reign—the civil war (**77**) and the years immediately following (**83**)—when, with divided loyalties, the loyalty-formula fell into disuse. Since the titles of this *strategos* exclude alike Krokos and Helenos, in the present state of our knowledge Theodoros is the only claimant. For the συμπολιτευόμενοι, cf. Dittenberger's comments under *OGI* 143; Launey 1080; *JHS* lxxix. 123. The Ionian Regiment, not elsewhere attested, may well owe its origin to the Roman annexation of Asia in 133 B.C.

85. *The statue of a son of Theodoros, Governor of Cyprus, erected by Helenos, an usher to the Court*: *c.* 120 B.C.

Fragment of a pedestal, with the probable exception of the upper surface broken away on all sides. Found by children in 1953 on the temple site, now in the Chiftlik Museum (KX 131). Letters of the last quarter of the second century. *JHS* lxxix. 96, no. 1 (with photograph).

[Ἀφροδίτηι Πα]φίαι·
[τὸν δεῖνα, τῶν πρώτων φίλ]ων, τὸν Θεοδώρ[ου]
[τοῦ συγγενοῦς τοῦ βασιλ]έως καὶ στρατηγ[οῦ]
[καὶ ναυάρχου καὶ ἀρχιερέω]ς υἱόν, Ἕλεν̣[ος]
[Ἀπολλ - - - ου Κυρηναῖος], τῶν ἰσοτίμ̣[ων τοῖς]
[πρώτοις φίλοις καὶ εἰσαγγ]ε̣λ⟨έ⟩ω[ν]?

These readings and restorations I defend in *JHS*, loc. cit. I there argue, p. 115, that Helenos came to Cyprus about the year 120, as a distinguished courtier in the confidence of Euergetes and Kleopatra III, to attend (and I have no doubt to watch) their exiled elder son, the later Soter II. Here Helenos honours the *strategos* of the island in the person of his son (cf. **81**). For the εἰσαγγελεῖς, ushers to the Court, and the ἰσότιμοι τοῖς πρώτοις φίλοις, ibid. 107 and n. 41, 108.

86. *The statue of Theodoros, Governor of Cyprus, erected by Helenos of Kyrene, usher to the Court*: *c.* 119 B.C.

A pedestal, discovered in 'three bits' in 1888. Of these I revised the largest in 1936, which was built into the wall of a house immediately to the north-east of the temple area; but in 1948 it was no longer to be seen. The two small 'bits' have long vanished. Letters tilted, lightly cut, suggesting the last decades of the second century. *JHS* ix, no. 81; *JHS* lxxix. 97, no. 2. Cf. Cohen 91 n. 1.

[Θεόδωρον? Σελεύκου? τὸν συγγενῆ]
[τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ στρατηγὸ]ν̣ καὶ
[ναύαρχον καὶ ἀρχιερέα, Ἕ]λενος
Ἀπο[λλ - - - ου Κ]υρηναῖος τῶν
ὁμ̣[οτίμων τοῖς συγγ]ε̣ν̣έ̣σ̣ι καὶ εἰσαγγελέων.

For reading and restoration, cf. *JHS* lxxix. 97. Helenos, now promoted to the higher rank of the ὁμότιμοι τοῖς συγγενέσι (op. cit. 107 and n. 40), honours (as I believe) Theodoros himself, his virtual equal in rank. We here learn that he was a native of Kyrene—and it would indeed appear that Helenos accompanied Euergetes when in 145, on Philometor's death, that prince seized the throne of Egypt.

87. *The statues of Helenos, Governor of Cyprus, of his wife (?), and their daughter (?), erected by the priests of Paphian Aphrodite*: 117 B.C.

A pedestal, broken away to the left, now in the Epigraphical Museum (KM 58). Letters lightly cut, with slight serifs, characteristic of the last quarter of the second century. *JHS* ix, no. 1; *OpAth* i. 164, no. 30; *SEG* xiii. 584; *JHS* 97, no. 3. Cf. Cohen 5 n. 4; Hill 199 and n. 1; Bengtson iii. 145 n. 3; 235, no. 144; *Calderini–Paribeni* 167 n. 16; *JHS* lxxix. 110, 114, 129.

[οἱ ἱερεῖς τῆς Παφίας Ἀ]φροδίτης
[Ἕλενον τὸν συγγενῆ τοῦ βα]σιλέως καὶ στρα[τη]γὸν
[καὶ ἀρχιερέα καὶ ἀρχικύ]ν̣ηγον τῆς νήσου
[καὶ τὴν δεῖνα τὴν γυναῖκα? κ]αὶ Ἡλιοδώραν τὴν
[θυγατέρα? εὐεργεσίας ἕνεκε]ν τῆς εἰς ἑαυτούς.

Since the pedestal necessary to carry this inscription must have been well over 1 metre in width, it was composed (as the arrangement of dowel-holes on the upper surface suggests) of two or more blocks. It is already certain that there were two statues; it may well be that here we had three, Helenos between wife and daughter. This document with **88** demonstrates that this man, having come to Cyprus (I argue) to attend Soter, on the death of Theodoros about the year 118, succeeded him in the *strategia*. The absence of the *nauarchia*, the significance of ἀρχικύνηγος (which in Cyprus meets us here and in **88** only) are discussed in *JHS* lxxix. 129 and 114 respectively. For the priesthood of Paphian Aphrodite, cf. our **70** above, with *OpAth* i. 165.

88. *The statue of Ptolemy, elder son of Euergetes II, erected by Helenos as Governor of Cyprus*: 117 B.C.

Two fragments, closely fitting, of the left-hand half of a pedestal, found in the course of the excavations of 1888, rediscovered by us in July 1953 under the surface at the north-east corner of the temple area, now in the Chiftlik Museum (KX 68). The shorter face of this stone carries a complete inscription of Severan date, published by Hogarth and his colleagues (who did not associate the fragments) as parts of two distinct documents, *JHS* ix, nos. 97 and 114.[11] The lettering suggests the close of the second century. *JHS* lxxix. 98, no. 4, 111 f., 113, 128.

Βασ[ι]λέω[ς Πτολεμαίου Θεοῦ Εὐεργέτου υἱὸν]
Πτολεμ[α]ῖον ῞Ελ[ενος, ὁ συγγενὴς καὶ στρατηγὸς]
κ[αὶ ἀρχι]ερεὺς καὶ ἀρ[χικύνηγος τῆς νήσου, ὁ]
[κατὰ τὴν] νῆσον ἱε[ρεὺς - - - - - - - - - - - - - -]
[Ἀ]φροδ[ί]τη[ι Παφίαι].

The inscription is complete above, to left and below. The extant portion is divided by a broad vertical crack, and furthermore is for the most part defaced, either lightly or totally. The condition of this difficult text I describe in detail in *JHS* lxxix, loc. cit. In my presentation of it I differentiate defaced letters from those lost through fracture of the stone by underscoring.

Helenos here erects the statue of a prince who is none other than that elder son of Euergetes and Kleopatra III whom since approximately 120 he had attended in his Cypriot exile, the prince who in 116 was nevertheless to ascend the throne and is known to us as Soter II. I discuss in *JHS* lxxix. 112 f. the suppression by this inscription of the fact of Soter's seniority, and the significance of its omission of Kleopatra's name. We have here the nearest approximation to an honour to be paid by Cyprus to Euergetes II, his names being placed in an emphatic position at the head of the inscription.

89. *The statue of Hermogenes, son of Hermogenes, set up by Diodoros, son of Lampon, of Pelusium*: 145–115 B.C.?

Undamaged pedestal of a local reddish marble, now in the Epigraphical Museum (KM 53). Rough lettering suggestive however of the reign of Euergetes II. *JHS* ix, no. 8.

Ἀφροδίτηι Παφίαι·
Διόδωρος Λάμπωνος
Πηλουσιώτης Ἑρμογένην
τὸν υἱὸν Ἑρμογένους.

For the ethnic Πηλουσιώτης there is seemingly no parallel. Pelusium was not one of the three πόλεις of Ptolemaic Egypt. A frontier fortress and a customs station, of the status of its civilian inhabitants little indeed can be said.

90. *The statue of Onasas, erected by his father*: 125–100 B.C.

A squat pedestal of a local pink marble, broken away behind, to left and right. It is unlikely that any of the original upper surface survives, although there are vague depressions suggesting dowel-holes. H. 0·115; w. 0·215; th. 0·24. Found on June 18th, 1953, during the clearing of the west side of the Chiftlik buildings; now in the Chiftlik Museum (KX 132). The letters, somewhat roughly cut but clear and regular, have conspicuous serifs and are from 0·011 to 0·024 in height. The inscription appears complete, except to the left. Forms Α Κ Ν Ο Σ Υ, suggesting the last quarter of the second century.

Unpublished. PLATE 2.

[ὁ δεῖνα τοῦ δεῖνα τὰ ἑα]υτοῦ τέκνα
[τὸν (τὴν) δεῖνα καὶ - - καὶ Ὀ]νάσαντα

For the name Onasas in Paphian territory, cf. *SGDI* 30 of Stavros tis Mytou (not Myrtou as wrongly recorded); *Arch. Pap.* xiii (1938) 17, no. 5, of New Paphos.

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[11] Respectively *IGR* iii. 954 and 955, joined by me in *BSA* xlii. 216, no. 6.

91. *The statue of Helenos, Governor of Cyprus, erected by the Cilician Regiment*: 114–107 B.C.

Undamaged pedestal, still to be seen on the temple site. Letters of the second half of the second century. *JHS* ix, no. 20; *OGI* 148; *JHS* lxxix. 101, no. 7. Cf. Strack *ad* 149; Meyer 94 n. 351; G. Lefèbvre, *Ann. Serv. Ant.* ix (1908) 236 ff.; Peristianis 343; J. Lesquier 334; Cohen 6, no. 20 and n. 1; *RE* vii. 2847, s.v. Helenos (Otto); G. Corradi 279, n. 1; Bevan 123; *RE* xvi. 1894, s.v. Nauarchos (Kiessling); *JHS* lvii. 36; M. Hombert and C. Préaux, *Chron. d'Égypte* xxv (1938) 139 f.; Otto–Bengtson 12 n. 6 and 220; Hill 201 f.; Trindl 190, no. 2, 194, no. 26, 209 n. 26; Launey 479, 1033, 1063; Bengtson iii. 233, no. 140; *OpAth* i. 147 ff.; *Stud. Hell.* ix (1953) 15; *SCE* IV. iii. 236 n. 2; *Calderini–Paribeni* 167 n. 16.

Τὸ κοινὸν τῶν ἐν τῆι νήσωι τασσομένων
Κιλίκων Ἕλενον τὸν συγγενῆ καὶ τροφέα
τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ στρατηγὸν καὶ ἀρχιερέα
τῆς νήσου φιλαγαθίας ἕνεκεν τῆς εἰς ἑαυτό.

JHS ix: ἑαυτούς.

We have here the final occurrence of the military κοινά of Euergetes' Cypriot reorganization: a fact which would suggest rather the beginning than the end of Ptolemy Alexander's Cypriot kingship, which extended from 114/13 to 107 B.C. Helenos now appears in his second *strategia*, his predecessors being Soter in the final year of his father's reign (*JHS* lxxix. 115) and Ptolemy Alexander from 116 to 114/13.

92. *The statue of Helenos, Governor of Cyprus, erected by the priesthood of Paphian Aphrodite*: 114–107 B.C.

A pedestal, still to be seen on the temple site, undamaged but somewhat weathered. The lettering is of the late second century. *JHS* ix, no. 109; *OGI ad* 148; *JHS* lxxix. 101, no. 8. Cf. Strack *ad* 149; G. Lefèbvre, *Ann. Serv. Ant.* ix (1908) 236; Cohen 6, no. 21; *RE* vii. 2847 s.v. Helenos (Otto); G. Corradi 279 n. 1; *JHS* lvii. 36; Otto–Bengtson 12 n. 6; M. Hombert and C. Préaux, *Chron. d'Égypte* xxv (1938) 139; Hill 202 n. 1; Launey 479, 1033, 1063; *OpAth* i. 147 f.; *SCE* IV. iii. 236 n. 2; *Calderini–Paribeni* 167 n. 16.

Ἕλε[νο]ν τὸν συγγενῆ καὶ τροφέα τοῦ
βασιλέως καὶ [σ]τρατ[η]γὸν καὶ ἀρχιερέα
τῆς νήσου οἱ ἱερ[ε]ῖς τῆς Παφίας
Ἀφροδίτης εὐεργεσ[ίας] ἕνεκα τῆς εἰς ἑαυτούς.

For the priesthood of Paphian Aphrodite, cf. **1**, **70**, **87** above.

93. *The statue of Ptolemy Alexander I, erected by Isidoros of Antioch, son of Helenos*: 114–107 B.C.

An undamaged pedestal, later used to carry the statue of the Emperor Tiberius (*JHS* ix, no. 6), now in the Epigraphical Museum (KM 23). Letters poorly cut, erratic, seemingly of the late second century. *JHS* ix, no. 5; Strack no. 149; *OGI* 181; *JHS* lxxix. 120. Cf. Cohen 6 n. 1; W. Schubart, *Klio* xii (1912) 367; Durrbach 206; *Ins. Délos* 1534; Trindl 196, no. 39; K. C. Atkinson, *Aegyptus* xxxii (1952) 211 n. 7; U. Wilcken, *Arch. Pap.* xv (1953) 52 f.; *JHS* lxxix. 106 n. 36, 111 n. 57.

Βασιλέα Πτολεμαῖον Θεὸν
Ἀλέξανδρον Ἰσίδωρος Ἑλένου
Ἀντιοχεὺς ὁ συγγενὴς καὶ
ἀρχεδέατρος εὐεργεσίας ἕνεκεν.

From this and the following inscription it is now clear that during his Cypriot kingship Alexander fancied himself as the *God Alexander*—whereas abroad (as **2** demonstrates) he was *Ptolemy also known as Alexander, the God Philometor*. ἀρχεδέατρος occurs here only in the epigraphy of the island: the 'chief taster', a functionary of Achaemenid origin, nominally responsible for the domestic economy of the royal household. His presence, together with the ὑπομνηματογράφος of **95**, is evidence that Alexander maintained a court in Cyprus. Whether Isidoros, presumably the honorand of **5**, is the son of Helenos of Kyrene is very uncertain; cf. *JHS* lxxix. 120 f.

94. *The statue of Ptolemy Alexander I, erected by Ptolemaios and Ischyrion, commanders of the naval squadrons based on the island*: 114–107 B.C.

A pedestal, complete except at corners and edges; now in the Epigraphical Museum. A longer side of this same stone carries a Severan inscription (*JHS* ix, no. 86): it would seem that in early Hellenistic times it formed half of a composite statue-base. The letters, lightly cut and regular, appear somewhat earlier than in fact they are. *JHS* ix. 93; *JHS* lxxix. 119, no. 11. Cf. *OpAth* i. 133 n. 8, 148; *JEA* xl (1954) 138, no. 83. Photograph in *JHS* lxxix, pl. 3.

⟦[Β]ασιλέα Πτολεμαῖον Θεὸν Ἀλέξα̣ν̣[δρον]⟧
⟦[Πτολ]εμαῖος καὶ Ἰσχυ[ρί]ων, τῶν πρώτω[ν]⟧
⟦[φίλ]ων τεταγμένοι δ' ἔπαρχοι τῶν κα[τὰ]⟧
⟦τ[ὴν] νῆσον ἀποστόλων, εὐεργεσί[ας]⟧
5 ⟦ἕνεκεν τῆς εἰς ἑαυτούς⟧.

The inscription is systematically but lightly defaced. The first editors are content to offer merely [- - - ὁ δῆμ]ος (ὁ) Ῥοδίων εὐεργεσί[ας - - - ἕνεκα], κ.τ.λ.

For the title of this Ptolemy, cf. **93**. We have there seen that the younger son of Euergetes favoured this title during his Cypriot kingship, between the years 114/13 and 107. That his *strategos* Helenos did not possess the *nauarchia* we have already noted: it would appear (as I argue in *JHS* lxxix. 123 f.) that Ptolemaios and Ischyrion, men otherwise unknown to me, in compensation commanded such naval forces as Alexander possessed. That he was not without a fleet is suggested by the fact that in 107 we find him at Pelusium lying in readiness to seize the throne of Egypt.

95. *The statue of Aristonike, daughter of Ammonios, wife of Aristokrates, kinsman and* ὑπομνηματογράφος, *erected by the city of Paphos*: 114–107 B.C.

A pedestal, copied in 1862 near the church of St. Luke at Kouklia. It was there seen in 1888, but is now lost: built presumably into the reconstructed church. The letter-forms of Waddington are of the second century. *LBW* 2793; E. Oberhummer *SbBayAk*. 1888, 330 n. 1; *JHS* ix. 260, no. 10; *OGI* 163. Cf. E. Ziebarth, *Gr. Vereinswesen* 77, 3; F. Poland, *Gr. Vereinswesen* 592, 37; Cohen 90; M. san Nicolo, *Aeg. Vereinswesen* i. 46; P. Collomp, *La Diplomatique des Lagides* 44, 45, and 48; Hill 185 n. 7; Trindl 200 no. 70, 214 n. 70; *OpArch* vi (1950) 75 n. 5; *Prosop. Ptol.* i, no. 7; *OpAth* i. 136 n. 14, 161 n. 97, 162; *JHS* lxxix. 106 f., nn. 36, 57, 121.

Ἡ πόλις ἡ Παφίων
Ἀριστονίκην τὴν Ἀμμωνίου γυναῖκα δὲ Ἀριστοκράτους
τοῦ συγγενοῦς καὶ ὑπομνηματογράφου κ[α]ὶ τῶν κατὰ Κύπρον
περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνιτῶν φιλαγαθίας ἕνεκεν τῆς
5 εἰς ἑαυτήν.

The ὑπομνηματογράφος, *writer of memoranda* to the king, was one of the grand functionaries of the realm. Aristokrates, otherwise unknown to us, being an honorary member of the Cypriot Dionysiac guild, thanked for the services he renders it, clearly functioned in Cyprus. Lochos, son of Kallimedes (as we have found in **76**), held this office for Euergetes during the period of the court's sojourn in the island in time of civil war. The absence of royal names from the title of the Dionysiac Artists limits this inscription to the period between 142 and 105 B.C.; and, accordingly, we are by elimination able to ascribe Aristokrates to the reign of Alexander.

96. *A statue erected by the garrison of Cyprus*: 112/111 B.C.?

A pedestal in general complete but weathered, damaged at edges and corners; now in the Epigraphical Museum (KM 47). On the right face of the stone is the Augustan text, *JHS* ix, no. 68 (itself clearly palimpsest). The letters, narrow and tilted, suggest the end of the second or the outset of the first century. *JHS* ix, no. 67.

[τὸν δεῖνα (rank) τὸν τεταγμένον τῶι] τ̣ρίτωι ἔτει ἐ̣[πὶ]
[- - - - - - ὑπὸ Βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου Θεοῦ] ⟦[Ἀλεξάνδρου]?⟧
[οἱ ἐν τῆι νήσωι? τασσόμε]νοι στρατ̣ιώτ̣αι εὐεργεσί[ας]
[ἕνεκα τῆς] ⟦εἰς ἑαυτούς⟧.

To the left and above the inscribed surface has perished. What remains, furthermore, of lines 2 and 4 has been heavily erased. The editors attempt no restoration.

The military κοινά, characteristic in Cyprus of the times of the second Euergetes, survived into the reign of Ptolemy Alexander (**91**). Both during this last reign, however, and under Soter mention of the island's garrison is remarkably rare. While the authors of *JHS* xii, no. 20, of Salamis are with little doubt military, their designation is lost; *Arch. Pap.* xiii. 34, no. 16, of (I believe) 103 B.C. shows a concentration, clearly abnormal, of courtiers and officers at Citium—but that, with the present text, is all. The island's garrison was by now much reduced, with the two garrison cities of Euergetes' day, Salamis and New Paphos, each still maintaining a small force. The poverty of Egypt and the long dynastic feud which followed the death of Euergetes, as Kleopatra IV had demonstrated, told heavily upon the loyalty of the troops in Cyprus: with Syria now impotent, it was alike unnecessary and unprofitable to run the risk of further desertions, when Egypt and Cyprus were united, or, as under Ptolemy Alexander, closely linked. The sizeable army which Soter had at his disposal for his Palestinian adventures was doubtless composed in the main of troops who, sent against him by his mother, merely joined his cause. For the dating, erasure at the end of l. 2 of what seemingly was a royal name is surely significant. Alexander's Cypriot monuments were regularly defaced (**94** and possibly **93**; *JHS* xii (1891), no. 20, &c.)—whereas Soter's were not. The third year of the former—for his thirteenth was not recognized in Cyprus—fell in 112/11 B.C.

97. *The statue of Ptolemy Soter II, erected by the priests of Paphian Aphrodite*: *c.* 103 B.C.?

A pedestal of a fine grey marble, broken away slightly to left, right and behind; h. 0·365, w. 0·8 (max.), th. 0·64 (max.). Above, a foot-shaped depression and to the right a large, circular dowel-hole. Below are two roughly circular dowel-holes for an earlier statue of which the inscription, now lost, was probably on the left face of the stone. Unearthed in July 1952 beside the road between temple and Chiftlik buildings; now in the Epigraphical Museum (KM 50). Letters well cut, regular, with neat serifs or thickening at terminals; from 0·023 (*omicron*) to 0·036 (*phi*) in height. Forms ΑΔΕΗΘΚΜΝΟΠΣΦΩ. In quality the script is much superior to the average of Soter's reign.

Unpublished. FIG. 1.

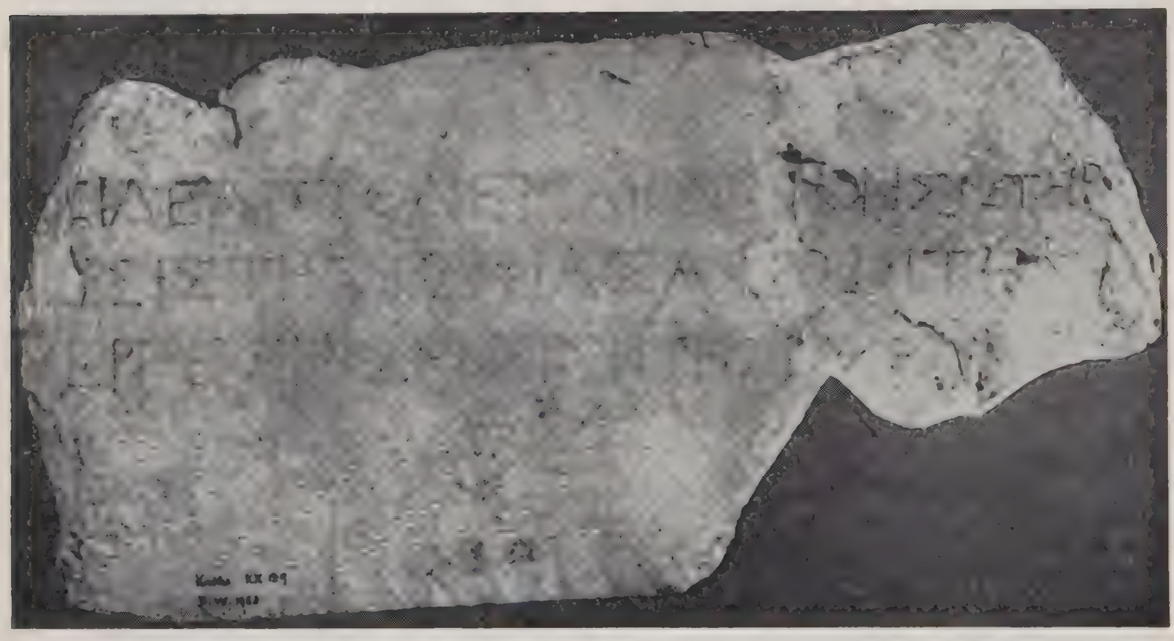

FIG. 1. **97**

[Βα]σιλέα Πτολεμαῖον Θεὸν Σωτῆρ[α]
[οἱ ἱ]ερεῖς τῆς Παφίας Ἀφροδίτης
[ε]ὐεργεσίας ἕνεκεν τῆς εἰς ἑαυ[τούς].

For the priesthood of Paphian Aphrodite, cf. **2**, **101** and *CIG* 2615, of New Paphos but now long lost, of which the second line should be restored to read: [οἱ ἱερεῖς τῆς Π]α⟨φ⟩ίας ['Αφροδίτης]. For a statue of Soter set up by Salamis, cf. *Arch. Pap.* xiii (1938) 36, no. 17. I date our inscription tentatively to 103 B.C., for by then it was clear that Soter was not to be ejected.

98. *The statue of Kallippos, son of Kallippos, secretary of the city, successful gymnasiarch of the year 106/5, erected by the city of Paphos*: 105 or 104 B.C.

A pedestal, first copied by von Hammer, subsequently cut down and sent to the British Museum. Letters deeply cut, erratic, with extravagant *apices* reminiscent of the Julio-Claudian style. J. von Hammer 180, no. 50; *CIG* 2620; Engel i. 134, no. 2; *BMI* (1883) ccclxxxv; Sakellarios 95 B; Strack 119; *OGI* 166. Cf. E. Ziebarth 77, no. 2 a; F. Poland 592, 36; Cohen 75; P. Collomp 45; *CERP* 488 n. 10; Otto–Bengtson 222; K. Spyridakis, Κυπ. Σπουδ. ii. (1938) 35; *Arch. Pap.* xiii (1938) 38; Hill 179 n. 1; *OpArch* vi (1950) 75 n. 5; *OpAth* i. 136 n. 14; *JHS* lxxix 109, 121 n. 93, 125 n. 108.

Ἀφροδίτηι Παφίαι·
ἡ πόλις ἡ Παφίων Κάλλιππον Καλλίππου, δὶς γραμμα-
τεύσαντα τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου καὶ ἠρχευκότα τῆς
πόλεως καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον καὶ Θεοὺς Εὐεργέ-
τας τεχνιτῶν, τὸν γραμματέα τῆς πόλεως, γυμ̣[να]-
σιαρχήσαντα καλῶς τὸ ιβʹ L.

Such municipal careers are rare in the epigraphy of Hellenistic Cyprus; cf., however, **99** and **110**. For ἠρχευκότα (τῆς πόλεως), cf. *BICS* vii (1960) 1 ff., where it is suggested that the term ἀρχός of Classical Paphos was retained for the civic archonship of the Hellenistic city. Dittenberger is at fault in connecting this participle with τεχνιτῶν. For the Dionysiac Artists, cf. in particular *JHS* lxxix. 121 n. 93, where is it argued that the inclusion of the Θεοὶ Εὐεργέται in their title denotes the Cypriot reign of the second Soter. Those inscriptions in which the Artists are thus styled have as their *terminus post quem*, accordingly, not the death of Kleopatra III in October 101 (as Otto–Bengtson maintain) but rather the spring of 105 B.C. Nor is Dittenberger happy in his interpretation of the date of this document: the year 12 (which can be referred only to Soter, since the twelfth year of Alexander was not recognized in the island) does not give the date of the inscription but, as its case demonstrates, it qualifies the participle γυμ[να]σιαρχήσαντα. The climax of Kallippos' career was successful service as gymnasiarch throughout the year in question. New Paphos was the capital of Cyprus, the gymnasium the social focus of the garrison. Clearly the significance of the year 12 was Soter's recapture of the island; Kallippos, we may conjecture, used his influence to secure for Soter the support of these troops.

99. *The statue of Potamon, son of Aigyptos, a distinguished citizen of Paphos, erected by the Union of Cyprus*: 105–95 B.C.?

A pedestal, virtually complete, now in the Epigraphical Museum (KM 45). On its right face is **25** above, defaced. Letters with conspicuous *apices*, closely resembling those of **98** and **107**—distinctive and, for Hellenistic Cyprus, unique. *JHS* ix, no. 105; Strack 120; *OGI* 164; Bengtson iii. 152 n. 2. Cf. Meyer 94 n. 349; E. Ziebarth 77; F. Poland 142, 592, no. 39; Cohen 35 f.; M. san Nicolo i. 199 n. 3; Plaumann, *DLZ* 1914, col. 110; F. Stahelin, *BphW* 1914, col. 659; Ch. Blinkenberg 33; M. Rostovtzeff, *CAH* vii (1928) 126; *Hellenistic World* 339; K. Spyridakis, Κυπ. Σπουδ. ii (1938) 33 f.; A. H. M. Jones, *The Greek City* 316 n. 15; Hill 78 n. 2, 178 n. 6, 185 n. 7; Bengtson iii. 152 f.; *OpArch* vi. 75 n. 5; Launey 852 n. 2; *OpAth* i. 136 n. 14; *SCE* IV. iii. 242; *JHS* lxxix. 121 n. 93.

Ἀφροδίτηι Παφίαι.
τὸ κοινὸν τὸ Κυπρίων Ποταμῶ̣ν̣[α] Αἰγύπτ̣[ου],
τῶν ἐν Πάφωι γεγυμνασιαρχηκότων
καὶ ἡγητορευκότων καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸν
Διόνυσον καὶ Θεοὺς Εὐεργέτας τεχνιτῶν,
εὐνοίας χάριν.

The Union of Cyprus, an institution characteristic of the Roman era, occurs for the Hellenistic here and in **107** only. For Potamon, son of Aigyptos, who shared with Onesandros the distinction, unique for a native Cypriot, of winning high office in the Ptolemaic bureaucracy, cf. **110**; for a possible descendant under the Empire, *BSA* xlii. 225, no. 10. For the remarkable ἡγητορευκότων, cf. *BMI* 975, of the mid-second century B.C., from Amathus; further, Meister ii, p. viii, and the Hesychian gloss ἀγήτωρ: ὁ τῶν Ἀφροδίτης θυηλῶν ἡγούμενος ἱερεὺς ἐν Κύπρῳ. For the Dionysiac Artists and the inclusion of the Θεοὶ Εὐεργέται in their title, cf. **98**. The preposition χάριν does not occur in Cypriot epigraphy before the first century B.C.

100. *The statues of the grandchildren of Stasikrates, erected by their father*: 105–88 B.C.

A pedestal, much weathered and at the corners broken away, now in the Epigraphical Museum (KM 64). Letters erratic and clumsy, suggesting the end of the second century or the outset of the first. *LBW* 2794; Cesnola 413, no. 2; E. Oberhummer, *SbBayAk* 1888, 334, no. 15; Strack 121. Cf. *JHS* ix. 260, no. 9; E. Ziebarth 77, no. 2 b; F. Poland 592, no. 38; Cohen 75; M. san Nicolo, *Aeg. Vereinswesen* i. 46 ff.; P. Collomp 45; *Mnem.* vi (1938) 108; Hill 185; *OpAth* i. 136 n. 14; *JHS* lxxix. 121 n. 93.

Ἀφροδίτηι Παφ[ίαι·]
[*c.* 4 ιπ]π̣ος Στασικράτου τῶ[ν πε]ρὶ τὸν [Διόνυσον]
[καὶ Θε]οὺς Εὐεργέτας τεχνιτῶν, τὰ ἑ[αυτοῦ τέκνα]
[Δ]η̣μόκριτον? Καλλίστιον [- - - - -]

For the inclusion of the Θεοὶ Εὐεργέται in the title of the Dionysiac Artists, cf. **98**.

101. *The statue of Thraikidas, erected by the priests of Paphian Aphrodite*: late second century B.C. or early first.

Pedestal of a local white marble, earth-stained, in two closely fitting fragments, complete except to the right. H. 0·19; max. w. 0·42; th. 0·29. On the upper surface a single circular dowel-hole, 0·03 in diameter. Beneath is a dowel-hole with behind it a foot-shaped depression: this, together with faint traces of erasure on the inscribed face, indicates that the pedestal has been inverted and reused. Found in July 1950 in the fill of a pit immediately to the north of the temple area; now in the Chiftlik Museum. Letters shallow, somewhat irregular, with thickening at terminals; from 0·017 to 0·022 in height. Forms Α Β Ε Θ Κ Ο Π Ρ Σ Φ Ω, suggesting the late second or the early first century B.C.

Unpublished. PLATE 3.

Θραικίδ[αν τοῦ δεῖνα, τῶν πρώτων φίλων τοῦ]
βασιλέω[ς καὶ - - - - - - - οἱ ἱερεῖς τῆς]
Παφίας Ἀφροδ[ίτης εὐεργεσίας ἕνεκεν τῆς εἰς ἑαυτούς].

For this priesthood under Soter II, cf. **97**, with my comments in *OpAth* i. 163. A Thraikidas, son of Hierax, was *strategos* in the first century of the region about Syene (*SB* v. 7578; *Prosop. Ptol.* i, no. 263).

102. *The statue of Nikias, son of Nikias, of Curium* (?), *priest of Asklepios and Hygieia for all Cyprus, erected by Ammonios the Kinsman*: 125–88 B.C.

A pedestal of a yellowish marble, lost to the right, now in the Epigraphical Museum (KM 76). Letters rough, deep and hastily cut—but not easily dated. *Mnem.* vi. 106, no. 4.

Ἀφρο[δίτηι Παφίαι]
Ἀμμώνιος ὁ σ[υγγενὴς καὶ - - - - - - - - - - - -]
Νικίαν Νικία Κο̣[υριέα? τὸν Ἀσκληπίου καὶ]
Ὑγιείας κ[ατὰ τὴν νῆσον ἱερέα].

My original restoration I now find totally inadequate. For another priest of Asklepios and Hygieia, of Roman times however, cf. *AJA* lxv. 116. An Ammonios τῶν πρώτων φίλων was *strategos* of the Thinite nome in 118 B.C. We have here, it would seem, the same man, promoted and serving Alexander—or Soter—in Cyprus.

103. *The statues of the sons of Phylagoras* (?), *the one mantiarch, the other priest of Aphrodite, Zeus Polieus and Hera*: early first century B.C.

A pedestal built into the outer face of the south wall of the church Katholike, beside the Aphrodite temple. The stone, seemingly complete, is clearly the right-hand block of a composite pedestal, designed to carry two statues. Letters poorly cut, with slight serifs, suggestive of the late second or early first century B.C. J. von Hammer 182, no. 53; *CIG* 2640; Engel i. 134, no. 6; Sakellarios 96 E; J. Hogg, *TRSL* vii (1863) 386; *LBW* 2795; Cesnola 415, no. 6; Hogarth 35 n. 2; Peristianis 445. Cf. *JHS* ix. 260, no. 6; *JHS* xii (1891) 241, no. 24; Hill 152 n. 3; M. Guarducci, *Riv. Fil* lxxvii (1949) 118 ff.; *OpAth* i. 154 n. 80; *Aegyptus* xxxiii (1953) 89 n. 4; *REG* lxvii (1954) 180, no. 257.

[οἱ ἐν τῆι νήσωι τασσ]ό[μενοι στρατιῶται? τὸν δεῖνα Φυλ]αγό[ρου?]
[τὸν συγγενῆ τοῦ] β̣ασ̣[ιλ]έως̣, τὸν μαντιάρχην, καὶ τὸν ἀδελ[φὸ]ν
[τὸν δεῖνα, ἱερέα] Ἀφροδίτης καὶ Διὸς Πολιέος καὶ Ἥρας, φιλαγαθίας
[ἕνεκεν τῆς εἰς] ἑαυτούς.

L. 1: *LBW*, . . . Ο . . .; other editors have seen nothing of this line. L. 2: *LBW*, . Α Ι . . . . Ο Ν ; Hogarth, Αἴ[γ]υ[πτ]ο[ν]. All editors have placed the lacunae to the right of the extant lettering, but on this side there is a wide margin, on the left no margin.

For the island's much reduced garrison, cf. **96**—my restoration, although tentative, being supported by the motive-formula; for φλιαγαθίας [ἕνεκεν] is foreign to the Paphian priesthood. It seems that this and **104** its companion inscription concern the same individual, for we find in them the same patronymic, the same remarkable title μαντιάρχης. The term occurs elsewhere, I believe, but once—in the preamble Κερελλαῖος μαντιάρχης ταῦτα λέγει of a Lycian epigram, Peek 1665, of the second or third century A.D. Indeed, Guarducci argues (loc. cit.) from the mere presence of μαντιάρχης that Kerellaios was not only Cypriot but Paphian. She is, however, clearly at fault in ascribing him to the fourth or third century B.C.: the mantiarch is alien to early and middle Hellenistic Paphos—emerging indeed only when Soter suppressed the *strategia* and with it the high-priesthood which the governor *ex officio* possessed. The cult of Zeus Polieus, the guardian deity of the city, does not occur elsewhere in Cyprus; but Hera owned an important temple at Agia Moni in the hills above New Paphos (*AJA* lxv. 105 ff.).

104. *Statue of a mantiarch, son of Phylagoras (?), erected by the priests of Aphrodite*: early first century?

A fragment of a pedestal, until recently still to be seen in the temple area. Letters poorly cut, with clumsy *apices*. *JHS* ix, no. 27. Cf. *OpAth* i. 154 n. 80.

[οἱ ἱερεῖς Ἀ]φ̣ρ̣ο[δίτης?]
[τὸν δεῖνα (*c.* 9) Φ]υ̣λαγόρου(?)
[τῶν ὁμοτίμω]ν τοῖς
[συγγενέσι, τὸ]ν μαντιάρχην,
[εὐνοίας ἕνεκ]εν τῆς
[εἰς ἑαυτο]ύς.

L. 1 was not noticed by the editors, who attempted no restoration. For μαντιάρχης, cf. **103**, the later inscription—since there our honorand is a kinsman, here τῶν ὁμοτίμων τοῖς συγγενέσι. For this rank, cf. **86** above, with *JHS* lxxix. 107 and n. 40. It would appear that, on the discontinuance by Soter of the *strategia* and consequently of its high-priestly powers, the anonymous priests of Paphian Aphrodite whom we meet under Euergetes and Alexander were now differentiated into their leader, the mantiarch, and his subordinates, the priests of Aphrodite. It is these last who here honour their superior—and of them one we have already encountered (**103**).

105. *Fragment concerning the Basilistae*: 105–88 B.C.?

A fragment of a pedestal of local limestone, in 1948 still to be seen in the temple area. By 1959, however, it had vanished. *JHS* ix, no. 124; E. Oberhummer, *SbBayAk* 1888, 324, no. 11. Cf. E. Ziebarth, *Rh. Mus.* lv (1900) 511; F. Poland, 128, 566, no. 303; Hill 185 n. 6.

[- - - - - - - - - - -] ΩΙ
[- - - - - - - -] Βασιλιστῶν

L. 1, not noticed by Oberhummer, was in 1948 no longer legible.

For the *Basilistae* in Cyprus, cf. Peristianis 945, no. 34, of Lapethos. For this association, primarily concerned with the dynastic cult, cf. *RE* suppl. i. 244 (Ziebarth). Its emergence in late Ptolemaic Cyprus was doubtless due to Soter's discontinuance of the *strategia* and the consequent dispersal of those priestly functions which the *strategos* had for a century monopolized: *OpAth* i. 166 n. 119.

106. *The statue of Ploutos, son of Ammonios, erected by his grandfather, Ploutos*: 120–80 B.C.

A pedestal, seemingly complete, since its discovery in 1888 not recorded. The lettering of the editors would appear to be rather late Ptolemaic than Roman. *JHS* ix, no. 58.

Ἀφροδίτηι Παφίαι·
Πλοῦτος τὸν τοῦ υἱοῦ
Ἀμμωνίου υἱὸν Πλοῦτον.

107. *The statue of Potamon, son of Aigyptos, Deputy Governor of the Island and Commissioner for Mines, erected by the Union of Cyprus*: *c.* 95–88 B.C.

A pedestal, broken away behind only, now in the Epigraphical Museum (KM 45). The letters, very late in appearance (with *eta* and *rho* indeed typically 'Imperial'), closely resemble those of **98** and **99**. *JHS* ix, no. 102; *OGI* 165. Cf. Lesquier 76; Cohen 35 f.; M. san Nicolo i. 199 n. 3; Plaumann, *DZL* 1914, col. 110; F. Stahelin, *BphW* 1914, col. 659; M. Rostovtzeff, *CAH* vii. 126; *CERP* 371; Hill 175 n. 7, 185, 202 and n. 2; K. Spyridakis, Κυπ. Σπουδ. ii (1938) 33 ff.; Rostovtzeff 339; *BSA* xlii. 227; *OpArch* vi. 26 n. 2; Launey 852 n. 2; Bengtson iii. 152 f., 236; *OpAth* i. 166 n. 119; *SCE* IV. iii. 242.

Ἀφροδίτηι Παφίαι· τὸ κο[ινὸν τὸ Κυπ]ρ̣ί̣ων
Ποταμῶνα Αἰγύπτου, τὸν ἀντιστράτηγον τῆς
νήσου καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν μετάλλων, τὸν γυμνασίαρχον,
εὐνοίας χάριν.

For the Hellenistic κοινόν of Cyprus, cf. **99**, of which the honorand indeed is our same Potamon. For this man and his possible descendants of the Augustan age, *BSA* xlii (1948) 225, no. 10. In neither inscription has he Ptolemaic court rank—an omission the more surprising in the present case, since here he holds offices which are more than civic. Neither office recurs in the epigraphy of the island. Soter (we have seen) in or shortly after 105 seemingly suppressed the *strategia*, retaining for himself its essential powers. For, although his reign is tolerably well documented, the inscriptions of Cyprus make no further mention of *strategoi*. The literary records inform us that a certain Chaereas was admiral in Cyprus in 88 B.C., and therefore very possibly he was *strategos* also; while Serapion and Demetrios were *strategoi* in 43 and 39 respectively (Bengtson iii. 235). But the evidence certainly supports the theory that for the reigns in Cyprus both of Soter and Ptolemy the Cyprian the office was in abeyance. Why Soter should promote a Paphian of notable loyalty to the Deputy Governorship is a fit subject for conjecture. Since this inscription is distinctly younger than **99**, which must likewise have 105 B.C. as its *terminus post quem*, we can hardly connect the *antistrategia* with Soter's absence from the island on his Palestinian adventure of 104/3 B.C. The copper mines of Cyprus in the first century B.C. were still of importance, for in 12 B.C. Augustus could lease Soli to Herod the Great for a lump-sum of 300 talents and half the annual produce (Hill 238); while under the Antonines (*OpArch* vi. 12 n. 2; Galen, *de Antidotis* (Kühn) xiv. 7) we meet an imperial procurator, likewise at Soli. We may note that Potamon combines the office of gymnasiarch of his native city with these services for the central government.

108. *The statue of Zois, erected* ex-voto *by her parents, Timagoras and Tryphaina*: 100–80 B.C.?

A pedestal, complete with regard to this inscription, now in the Epigraphical Museum (KM 61). The letters are deeply cut, ragged, with exaggerated serifs, suggesting the close of the Hellenistic period. *JHS* ix, no. 39.

Ἀφροδίτηι Παφίαι
Τιμαγόρας Εὐαγόρου καὶ
ἡ γυνὴ Τρυφαῖνα
Ζωΐδα τὴν ἑαυτῶν
θυγατέρα
εὐχήν.

109. *The statue of Asklepiades, priest of a temple (of Ptolemy?) of which he was himself the founder*: 105–80 B.C.

A fragment of a pedestal, discovered in 1888, examined by myself in the garden of the village police station in 1936 and again in 1937. It was then stolen and presumably sold abroad. Letters of the late second or early first century B.C. *JHS* ix, no. 120. Cf. *OpAth* i. 166 n. 119.

Ἀφρο[δίτηι Παφίαι]
[Ἀσκ]ληπιάδην Τ[- - - - - - - - - - - -]
[ἱερ]έα τοῦ ἱδρ[υμένου ὑπ' αὐτοῦ - -]
[- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -]

JHS ix: ἑα(υ)τοῦ.

For the phrase [ἱε]ρέα τοῦ ἱδρ[υμένου ὑπ' αὐτοῦ - - - - -], cf. **110**. Here too, it would seem, we have the dynastic cult: a cult which, previously directed by the *strategos* in the capacity of ἀρχιερεύς, had now devolved upon others.

110. *The statue of Onesandros, son of Nausikrates, priest of Ptolemy Soter II, Secretary of Paphos, Director of the Great Library of Alexandria*: 88 B.C.

A pedestal, broken away to the left, now in the Epigraphical Museum (KM 33). Letters careful, without *apices* or serifs: archaizing forms, as if of the reign of Philometor, but betraying this by a certain lack of consistency. *JHS* ix, no. 50; Strack no. 136; *OGI* 172; Michel 1186. Cf. Bouché-Leclercq iii. 67; Cohen 66, 74; Bevan 126; Hill 179 n. 1 and 182 n. 6; *OpAth* i. 25 n. 80; *Aegyptus* xxxiii (1953) 89 n. 4; *SCE* IV. iii. 236.

Ἀφρ[ο]δίτηι Παφίαι·
[ἡ π]όλις ἡ Παφίων Ὀνήσανδρον Ναυσικράτους,
[τὸν σ]υνγενῆ καὶ ἱερέα διὰ βίου Βασιλέως Πτολεμαί-
[ου θεοῦ Σ]ωτῆρος καὶ τοῦ ἱδρυμένου ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἱεροῦ Πτολε-
[μαείου, τὸ]ν γραμματέα τῆς Παφίων πόλεως τεταγμένον δὲ
[ἐπὶ τῆς ἐν] Ἀλεξανδρείαι μεγάλης βυβλιοθήκης, εὐνοίας
ἕνεκεν.

The letters underscored are now lost.

In *Arch. Pap.* xiii. 36, no. 18, of New Paphos Onesandros is named beneath the statue of his daughter. There his career is precisely the same, with, however, the significant exception of the culminating office. With the mantiarch of **103** and **104** he shares the distinction of being the only Cypriot known to have won court rank. That he already possessed this before the recall of Soter to the throne of Egypt in

88 B.C. is demonstrated by *Arch. Pap.* xiii, no. 18—for the present inscription must be connected closely with that event: this combination of local magistracy with the directorship of the famous library of Alexandria must mean that Onesandros had begun his year as Secretary to the city, presumably on Thoth I (September 14th) and that Soter, restored towards the end of this same month, either took with him or summoned this faithful supporter to receive his reward.

111. *Fragment of a marble plaque*: late Ptolemaic date.

Fragment of a marble plaque, according to its editors broken away to left and right; not seen since its discovery in 1888. The letters, as they show them, are of the second century. *JHS* ix, no. 9. Cf. *RE* iv. 246 (F. Bilabel); Bengtson iii. 236 n. 1.

[------]ΤΡΑΤ[----------]
[------]ΡΗΝΗΣ([--------]
----- Ἀμιάδο[υ ---------]
[-----]αλη καὶ Ἀ[---- εὐνοίας?]
5 χά[ριν],

JHS ix: [σ]τρατ[ηγόν] (l. 1) and [Κυ]ρήνης ὁ [δῆμος] (l. 2).

For the name Amiadas, derived (according to Bechtel, *Hist. Personennamen* 547) from the locality Amos in the Rhodian Peraea, cf. *IG* iv. 185. The preposition χάριν, we have seen (**99**), is not to be found before the first century: *OpArch* vi (1950) 9 n. 1 (where I discuss Cypriot motive-formulae). That the editors' restorations are (with Bengtson) to be rejected does not admit of doubt: we have here, I imagine, in addition to Amiadas, the debris of four personal names.

112. *A gold pin, dedicated to Aphrodite of Paphos by Euboula, wife of Aratos the Kinsman*: late second or early first century B.C.

A bronze pin, overlaid with gold, with little doubt the πόρπη χρυσῆ (1 Macc. x. 89), emblem of the συγγενεῖς of the Ptolemaic court (*Arch. Pap.* i (1900) 225); now in the British Museum. Illustrated in *JHS* ix, pl. xi, &c.; fully described in the two BM Catalogues cited below. The inscription consists of dots punctured into the shaft of the pin. The letters, which include lunar *epsilon* and *sigma*, are seemingly of late Hellenistic date. *JHS* ix. 165, 186, 222–3; W. Larfeld, *Burs. Jahresb.* lxxxvii (1897) 293; M. Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Kypros, die Bibel u. Homer* pl. xxxii, 35; Rouse, *Greek Votive Offerings* 253; *BM Catalogue of Sculpture* ii, no. 1510; *BM Catalogue of Jewelry* no. 1999; H. L. Lorimer, *Homer and the Monuments* 402 n. 10; *OpAth* i. 169 n. 133; P. Jacobsthal, *Greek Pins* (1956) 82 ff.; *REG* lxxii (1959) 271, no. 491.

Ἀφροδίτη Παφία Εὐβούλα εὐχὴν
ἡ γυνὴ ἡ Ἀράτου τοῦ συγγενοῦς
καὶ Ταμίσα.

The persons this inscription names are otherwise unknown. Nor is the status of Tamisa obvious, although she is seemingly associated in a subordinate capacity with Euboula in making this *ex-voto* offering to Aphrodite. As for Aratos the Kinsman, I see no reason to accept the suggestion of L. Robert that he was a *strategos* of the island.

113. *Dedication to the Paphian Aphrodite from Roman citizens in business at Paphos*: late second century B.C.?

An undamaged pedestal, now in the Epigraphical Museum (KM 30). On the opposite face is an inscription seemingly of the second century A.D., *JHS* ix, no. 25. Since the lettering of the present inscription extends to the left edge of the stone, it is clear that it was originally cut on two blocks. The letters have every appearance of being late Ptolemaic. *JHS* ix, no. 28; *CIL* iii. 12101; Dessau 7208; *IGR* iii. 965; *BSA* xlii (1946) 226 n. 106. Cf. F. Poland 599, no. 62; F. Zannetos, Γενικὴ Ἱστορία τῆς Κύπρου (1910) 436; V. Chapot, *Mélanges Cagnat* 82 and n. 3; Durrbach ad no. 104; Hill 240 n. 2; *RE* xviii. 2. 941 (E. Oberhummer); *OpArch* vi. 52 n. 2.

[CIVES·ROMANI·QVI·PA]PHI·NEGOTIANTVR
[Ἀφροδίτηι] Παφίαι
[οἱ πραγματευόμενοι ἐν] Πάφωι Ῥωμαῖοι.

Παφίαι is set back from the edge of the stone, clearly to balance Ἀφροδίτηι on the lost block. *CIL* with Dessau and *IGR* are at fault in assuming the loss of a line above.

An Italian trading colony was established at Alexandria as early as the time of Euergetes II (*OGI* 133, 135). Paphos, it would now appear, had a similar colony, to judge by the lettering of our inscription, at a slightly later date. Under the Republic or at the outset of the Empire this community speaks of itself as *c(ives) R(omani) Paphiae diocen(seos)* (*OpArch* 52 n. 2). The nature of the dedication they now make to Aphrodite is uncertain.

T. B. MITFORD

BYZANTINE SCYPHATE BRONZE COINAGE IN GREECE

(PLATES 4–6)*

THE Byzantine coinage in the twelfth century was of three kinds. There were gold *nomismata*, with a purchasing power which must have been a good deal greater than that of a present-day five-pound note, and also *nomismata* of 'pale gold'—gold alloyed with silver—of lower value; at the other extreme there were bronze coins, smaller than a modern farthing, which were the coinage of the market-place; intermediate, but still of low value,[1] there were coins about the size of a halfpenny, normally made of copper lightly washed with silver. The silvered bronze and the gold were not flat, as are most coins, but saucer-shaped. The reason for their unusual form is not known. Numismatists describe them as scyphate, and refer to the middle denomination in the later Byzantine system of coinage as Scyphate Bronze, to distinguish it from the petty bronze coinage. Scyphate Bronze was first struck under Alexius I (1081–1118). Substantive issues were made by John II (1118–43), and such coinage became extremely plentiful under Manuel I (1143–80) and his successors Isaac II (1185–95) and Alexius III (1195–1203). After the capture of Constantinople in the course of the Fourth Crusade, the successor-states to the Byzantine Empire at Nicaea, Salonica, and in Epirus continued to issue scyphate bronze coinage, although in much smaller quantities, until after the middle of the thirteenth century.[2]

The coins of the twelfth century bear no mark to indicate the mint at which they were struck. For many years it was supposed that they were all issued at Constantinople. This view has now been rejected,[3] with the recognition that the very different styles (and sizes) in which bronze coins of the same design occur are to be associated with separate mints, but the work of reattribution has as yet scarcely been begun. Since the inscriptions on the coins do not help to place them, and as there is no documentary record of the provincial towns at which mints were in operation, the only way in which types or stylistic varieties can be localized is by gathering information about their occurrence in hoards and site-finds from different regions.

In the first hey-day of the Byzantine bronze coinage, in the sixth century, there had been nearly a dozen mints at work. In the twelfth century the cities of Antioch, Alexandria, Rome, Ravenna, and Carthage were no longer in the imperial possession, and western Asia Minor and the Greek provinces, where Nicomedia, Cyzicus, and Salonica were the traditional mint-places, had come to assume a correspondingly greater importance in the political economy of the diminished empire. One looks, accordingly, for a Greek origin for some of the Scyphate Bronze issues in 'provincial' style.

The region where Scyphate Bronze circulated most extensively was that of present-day Bulgaria and the western coasts of the Black Sea. Scores of large hoards have been discovered there.[4] They almost always consist exclusively of coins struck before 1204. Out of the two dozen types which are known to have been issued before that date, a few are very common in the Bulgarian hoards, while most are absent or very scarce. Nineteen out of twenty of the Scyphate Bronze coins found in Bulgaria and Romania have been of five common types, to which it is convenient to give the following British Museum Catalogue references:

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* I am grateful to Mr. L. H. Bell for his expert help in making the photographs.

[1] There is little to be gained by attempting to compare prices in different societies. A figure of 'over five pounds' has been given simply so that the reader has an idea what kind of transactions a *nomisma* might and might not have been used in. See C. Clark, *The Conditions of Economic Progress* (1951). The exchange-rate of Scyphate Bronze against gold must, I believe, remain uncertain in view of the conflicting evidence and various weight-standards of the bronze, but one may say that they were comparable in purchasing power with British silver coins of today.

[2] Note the important Arta hoard, published by H. Mattingly in *Num. Chron.* 1923, 31 ff.

[3] Margaret Thompson, *The Athenian Agora*: ii. *Coins* (1954) 7; A. R. Bellinger, *Greek and Byzantine Studies* i (1958) 163 ff.; A. R. Bellinger and D. M. Metcalf, *Num. Chron.* 1959, 155 ff.

[4] They have been published, although for the most part only very summarily, in the pages of *Izvestiya na Arkheologicheskiya Institut* and *Studii şi Cercetari de Numismatica*

Bulgaria Manuel I, *BMC* Types 11 and 13/i
Andronicus I, *BMC* Type 3
Isaac II, *BMC* Type 4
Alexius III, *BMC* Type 4.

Apart from the city of Constantinople itself, about the monetary affairs of which regrettably little is known, the other regions where Scyphate Bronze was of importance were Greece and western Asia Minor. It seems clear that the circulation of the coinage was interrupted by the Rhodope and the region of the northern coasts of the Aegean; Salonica and Constantinople were the only important meeting-places from which currency may be supposed to have circulated both to the north and to the south. In Greece, too, the great majority of the Scyphate Bronze coins from the years before 1204 were of a small number of types. The issues of Andronicus are very rarely represented among the finds,[5] and Manuel's types are different from those in the Bulgarian list. Those of Isaac II and Alexius III are the same:

Greece Manuel I, *BMC* Types 11 with asterisks and 13/ii
Isaac II, *BMC* Type 4
Alexius III, *BMC* Type 4.

These four common types were supplemented by two or three others which are found regularly, although in much smaller quantities. Manuel's Type 13/ii, which is common enough in Greece, is found elsewhere only occasionally, and it has been argued that it must have been issued in the southern regions of the empire.[6] Less is known about the currency of Scyphate Bronze in Asia Minor, but its composition was certainly not the same as in Greece; the proportion of otherwise unrecorded types from the Pergamum and Sardes excavations[7] is so high that it is clear that the Maeander, Hermus, and other valleys of the western coasts were the home of many 'scarce types', of which the geographical circulation was very restricted. The composition of the Bursa hoard[8] suggests that in north-western Asia Minor, too, the currency differed from that in Greece. One of the problems of the Scyphate Bronze series is to determine whether a type which is scarce in a particular locality is so because it was issued there, but only in small quantities, or because it arrived there in the course of monetary circulation only in small quantities from another region where it was far more plentiful. Conversely, when a type is exceptionally plentiful in a hoard, one must assess how far it is because its issue was local, and how far it is to be set down merely to the age-structure of the hoard. The problem is complicated, for Greece and Asia Minor, by the occurrence of coins issued after 1204 by the Nicaean, Salonican, and Epirote rulers. There are probably even more types of Scyphate Bronze from the first half of the thirteenth century than there are from the second half of the twelfth, but all of them, in comparison with the standard issues listed above, are scarce, and all but two or three are very scarce; their attribution is difficult, particularly since each of the names Theodore, John, and Manuel was borne by more than one emperor. Sometimes, even, no clear legend has been recorded for a scarce type, and it sattribution can be no better than conjectural. It is unusual for Scyphate Bronze hoards to have a tight age-structure, and only a little less so for the date of their concealment to be more than a decade before 1204, so that it may even be open to question whether a scarce type belongs to the years before or after 1204. Only by the careful publication and discussion of many hoards from different regions will the dating and place of origin of each of the scarce types be elucidated.

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[5] The point was first noted by Mrs. E. Varoukha, in her publication of the Paros hoard; cf. also Bellinger, op. cit.

[6] Bellinger and Metcalf, op. cit.

[7] Pergamum: K. Regling in *Blätter für Münzfreunde* 1914, 5671–85 and 5703–18. Sardes: H. W. Bell, *Sardis* xi, Coins i, 1910–14 (1916).

[8] S. McA. Mosser, *A Bibliography of Byzantine Coin Hoards* (1935) 14 f., under 'Brusa'.

As a small contribution, three such hoards are presented here. Two of them are recent discoveries, found within a few years of each other, from northern Greece. The first find, consisting of nearly a thousand coins, was made in 1955 at Levkokhori, near Kilkis, about 25 miles north of Salonica. The circumstances of the second find are not certainly known, but it seems probable that it came from Thessaly in 1957. The whole of the Levkokhori hoard was acquired by the Greek National Numismatic Collection.[9] In 1958 the same cabinet acquired a parcel of 123 coins,[10] through a dealer in the town, who gave the information that they came from a hoard of about a thousand coins found somewhere in Macedonia in that year. Mrs. Varoukha-Khristodhoulopoulou, the Keeper of the Coin Collection, kindly gave me every facility to study the coins from both hoards. I happened to see, in the hands of another dealer in Athens, a large parcel of similar pieces, which, on account of the proportions of the types and stylistic varieties present and of their rather varied and unusual discoloration, I am inclined to think came from the same hoard as the parcel of 123 coins. I was told that it had been found somewhere in Thessaly, perhaps in the neighbourhood of Lamia or of Larisa, about two years previously (that is, in the summer of 1957), and that it was not the same as any that might have been discovered in Macedonia in 1958. The parcel consisted of, very roughly, 500 coins.[11] Possibly the finders of the hoard sold it in two parts, and gave confused or untruthful accounts of its provenance.

The critical fact about each of these hoards from northern Greece is that they contain, in small quantities, coins attributed to the emperor Theodore I of Nicaea (1204–22). The deposit of the hoards must accordingly have been some time at least after the capture of Constantinople. The great bulk of the coins, however, were struck before 1204, under the emperors Manuel I, Isaac II, and Alexius III. Another small hoard, found at Naousa on the island of Paros in 1924, should be set alongside the more recent discoveries, since it, too, contained a specimen of the type attributed to Theodore. A description of it was published by Mrs. Varoukha-Khristodhoulopoulou[12], but I have taken the liberty to present a further account after re-examining the coins. The name of Theodore cannot be read on any of the pieces from our three hoards, but the type is a well-known one of which the inscription can be seen on better specimens of other provenance. It shows, on the convex side, the Mother of God seated on a throne and holding the Infant Christ, and, on the concave side, two figures holding between them a double or so-called 'patriarchal' cross. The figure on the right, represented as a soldier, with cuirass, short tunic and spear (in place of the sword held by most other military saints on scyphate coins), is that of the emperor's patronal saint. The one on the left is that of the emperor, who is crowned and wears a *loros*, that is, a broad, jewelled scarf one end of which is drawn across the stomach and allowed to fall over the left forearm. (see PLATE 5, **55**). On practically all the Scyphate Bronze types the emperor wears either a *loros* or a *chlamys*.[13] His garment may be a useful aid to identification: it provides the easiest means of seeing, for example, that these badly struck coins of Theodore are not specimens of the somewhat similar *BMC* Type 3 of Isaac II. The reader may familiarize himself with the characteristic triangular representation of the *chlamys* and with the folds of the *loros* (the ornamentation of which will be mentioned below) by looking at PLATE 5, **bottom row** and PLATE 6, **top row**.

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[9] See *BCH* 1956, 228 for a brief notice of accession.

[10] *BCH* 1960, 498, where the coins of Theodore are attributed to Isaac II. This is an error for which I was responsible.

[11] I examined every coin in the parcel, but without counting them. As soon as possible, on the same day, and before it had occurred to me to calculate the proportions shown in TABLE 2, I wrote down the total numbers of coins of each scarce type or variety and the approximate proportions of the common types. The information from those notes has been reproduced without amendment.

[12] *ADelt* xiv (1931–2) 78–83. A different account of the hoard appears in Mosser, op. cit., under 'Naousa'.

The same type of coinage of Theodore occurred in the Gonia (Santorin) hoard, published by Svoronos in 1913, although it was attributed by him to Manuel I.[14] I have not seen the coins from the Santorin hoard, and the article describing them was not illustrated; it may nevertheless be useful to set out a provisional list of the types in the hoard, as far as they can be deduced from the published descriptions.[15] The proportion of the four common Greek types is unusually low at 75 per cent., and Manuel's *BMC* Type 13/ii is virtually absent.

Svoronos	*Type*	*Size*	*Qty.*	*%*
	The four common Greek types			
44–182	Manuel I, *BMC* Type 11	26–30	139	*31*
446–7	Manuel I, Type 13/ii [?]	27–28	2	..
251–334	Isaac II, *BMC* Type 4	25–30	84	*19*
335–445	Alexius III, *BMC* Type 4	24–30	111	*25*
	Scarce types			
1–43	John II, Type 6B (see below) [?]	27–29	43	*10*
183–227	Ratto 2143 [??]	25–30	45	*10*
228–50	Theodore I	25–30	23	*5*
			449	*100*

TABLE 1. Provisional list of types in the Gonia (Santorin) hoard of 1910.

That type shows, on the convex side, a similar design of the Mother of God and the Infant Christ to that already described, and, on the concave side, a single standing figure, that of the emperor. He wears the *chlamys*, a jewelled cloak fastened at the right shoulder and caught up by the left forearm as he holds an *akakía*, a little sack of silk filled with dust from the tombs as a symbol of his own mortality.[16] In his right hand he holds a *labarum*. (See PLATE 5, **bottom row**.)

The relative proportions of each of the four common types are far from constant in hoards from the Aegean coastlands, as may be seen from the map, FIG. 1, on which the coins from the excavations at Athens and Corinth have also been shown, although hoards and site-finds are not strictly comparable.[17] The quantity of Manuel's Type 13/ii, represented by the second column from the left in each little diagram, varies markedly; the type is almost absent from the hoards from Asia Minor and the islands, whereas it is abundant in the Levkokhori hoard and at Corinth. This is a valuable point to be able to establish: as most of the hoards are of about the

[13] For a general survey, see G. P. Galavaris, *Museum Notes* viii (1958) 99 ff.

[14] J. N. Svoronos, in *Journal international d'archéologie numismatique* xv (1913) 71 f., and Mosser, op. cit., where the attribution of 250 coins to John II has resulted from careless transcription of Svoronos's list.

[15] Where the type is not altogether clear from the description, the entry in TABLE 1 has been marked [?] or [??].

[16] Bellinger, op. cit., corrects *BMC*.

[17] Site-finds consist predominantly of petty coins. The smaller scyphate bronze coins might therefore be expected to be over-represented. Cf. the Brauron hoard, p. 47 and n. 22 below.

same date, the differences cannot be explained by reference to the changing composition of the currency over the years. The map shows that Type 13/ii as a whole, which has already been assigned to the southern parts of the empire, can be more closely localized, and suggests that it was current primarily in northern and central Greece.

Deposit	Manuel 11	Manuel 13/ii	Isaac 4	Alexius 4	*Total*
Hoards:					
Pergamum	15	**3**	21	45	84
Paros	46	**2**	20	28	96
Amorgos	36	**2**	27	23	88
Santorin	31	**0**	19	25	75
Arcadia	19	**19**	35	24	97
Thessaly:					
Dealer's parcel	c. 15	c. **33**	c. 25	c. 25	(98)
Museum's parcel	17	**30**	23	28	98
Levkokhori	9	**76**	4	9	98
Site-finds:					
Corinth	2	c. **70**	0	6	(78)
Athens	0	**30**	10	8	(48)

TABLE 2. Proportions of the four common Greek types in hoards and site-finds from the Aegean coastlands. (See also map, FIG. 1.)

The recognition that the type is to be associated particularly with Greece and that it rarely occurs in Bulgaria or even Asia Minor by no means exhausts its interest, for one must go farther and distinguish a number of styles in which it was struck. It may reasonably be supposed that coins in different styles, in this and other types, are the products of different mints. The pages that follow are devoted to the comments on this theme suggested by our three hoards.

Two main varieties of Manuel's Type 13/ii are common in Greek hoards, and both of them ought probably to be subdivided. The most easily identified is the small coin, first published as a 'demi-bronze' in the Ratto 1930 sale-catalogue (lot 2077)[18] and again shortly afterwards as a 'half-nomisma' in Goodacre's *Handbook*.[19] The great numbers of this variety in the Levkokhori hoard show that it was a substantive issue, and it is improbable for that reason alone that it was a fractional denomination. The coins are neatly engraved, and regularly, if somewhat weakly, struck on flans of good fabric but irregular shape, about 20–22 mm. in size (PLATE 5, **bottom row**). They made up no less than 70 per cent. of the hoard, a proportion which cannot be matched in any other find. Between a quarter and a third of the Thessaly hoard of 1957 was of the same variety (this and other differences make the alleged Macedonian provenance suspect), while in a recent hoard said to be from Arcadia it made up less than a fifth,[20] and in the finds from the islands of Paros, Amorgos, and Santorin did not occur at all.[21] The proportion, in a word, decreases as one goes south, away from Salonica. Three provenances for the small variety can be added to the list already published. The Brauron hoard of 1956, which came from the coast to the south of Athens, included one broken specimen,[22] along with 205 petty coins; secondly, the excavations at Nea Anchialos in 1930 yielded, besides a small hoard of Heraclian bronze, two copper coins which were published as being of the Comnenian emperors, and of which one was, in fact, a small example of Type 13/ii;[23] thirdly, a specimen was acquired by the Athens Museum which was said to have been found at Sparta in 1957; it is 19 mm. in diameter and weighs 1·2 grammes.[24] The known provenances of the variety are shown on the map, FIG. 2.

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[18] R. Ratto, *Monnaies Byzantines* (sale catalogue of 9 Dec. 1930, Lugano); a reprint (Amsterdam, 1959) is now available.

[19] H. Goodacre, *A Handbook of the Coinage of the Byzantine Empire*, part iii (1933) 279, no. 23 (author's collection).

[20] Bellinger and Metcalf, op. cit.

[21] The two coins in the Santorin hoard, listed in TABLE 1, were evidently of a larger variety, as were two others in the Amorgos hoard, measuring 29 and 28 mm. respectively: Svoronos, *Journal international d'archéologie numismatique* xiii (1911) 71 f.

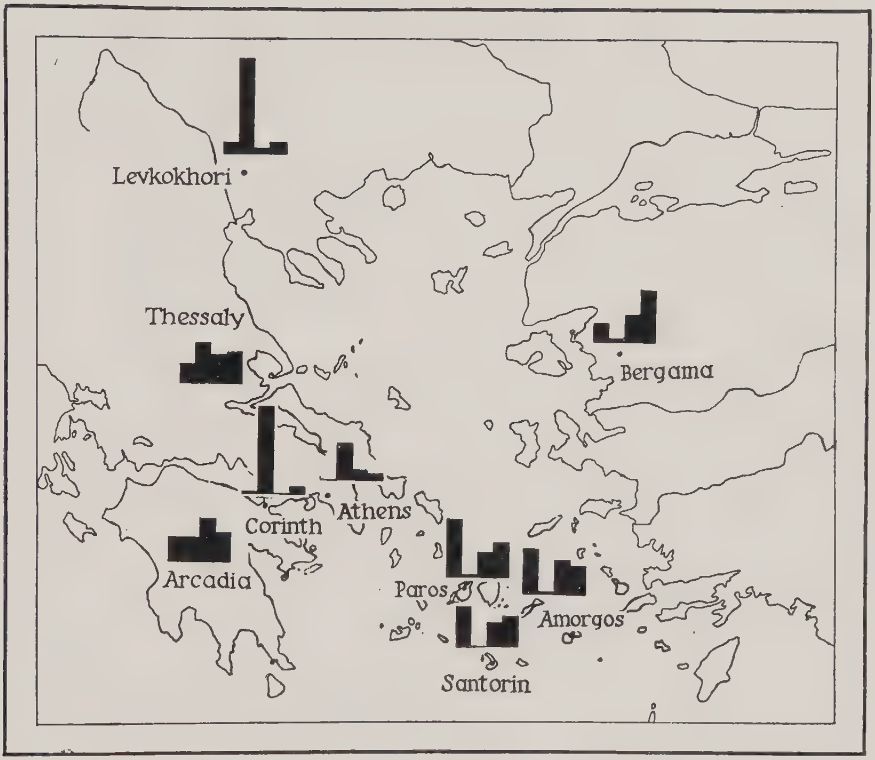

FIG. 1. MAP TO ILLUSTRATE THE RELATIVE PROPORTIONS OF THE FOUR COMMON GREEK TYPES OF SCYPHATE BRONZE IN HOARDS FROM THE AEGEAN COASTLANDS. (Source: TABLE 2)

Among the site-finds from Corinth in the years 1896–1929 there was a surprising number of coins of the type. Their size, which is unfortunately the only published clue to the varieties represented, ranged from 17 to 25 mm.; the available figures suggest that many of them were of the small variety.[25] (To give a better idea, the diameter of a sixpence is 19 mm. and that of a half-crown 32 mm., and these are quite close to the smallest and largest sizes in which Scyphate Bronze is found; a halfpenny is 25 mm. in diameter.) At Sardes the finds of Scyphate Bronze included no specimens of Type 13/ii; this agrees with the hoard-evidence already set out in pointing to a Greek origin for the type as a whole. In the excavations of the Athenian Agora a smaller proportion of Type 13/i has been found than at Corinth. The figures illustrate the differences which could exist in the composition of the currency between two towns not very far apart, and which have been noted for Corinth and Athens in connexion with other coinages.[26] The currency of late medieval Corinth included a significantly greater proportion of stray coins from distant regions than did that of Athens,[27] and there can be no doubt about the reason: Corinth was a port, whereas Athens lay a little distance inland. The more plentiful occurrence of the small variety of Type 13/ii at Corinth might be put down, at any rate partly, to the same reason. Largely on the grounds that the Levkokhori hoard is unlikely to have been carried to the place of its concealment except via Salonica, it seems very probable that the preponderance of Type 13/ii in the hoard reflects its importance in the currency of that city, and only a degree less probable that the small variety was minted there; more provenances, however, will be needed before the variety can be firmly attributed to Salonica. Also, the Levkokhori find must be seen in the context of a group of hoards from the region of the Rhodope. Few such hoards are known, and they are all from the years after 1204. One was discovered at Dorkovo,[28] a place which lies in a small enclosed plain a little to the south of the Maritsa valley, in 1940; two other find-spots, Mogilitsa 1934[29] and Ustovo 1936,[30] located in a valley-route through the Rhodope, point to trade from Salonica north-eastwards via Plovdiv and Edirne. If, as seems to be the case, this trade-route was of importance in the first half of the thirteenth century, light is thrown on the occurrence of large numbers of Type 13/ii in the important Postallar hoard, from near Edirne.[31] The absence of coins of the Empire of Salonica in the Levkokhori hoard suggests that its deposit was the earliest of the five. It is curious that such a relatively large number of thirteenth-century hoards of Scyphate Bronze should be from the line of the Salonica–Edirne route, from which evidence of monetary activity in the twelfth century is lacking, and I suspect that the difference reflects a real change in the pattern of the circulation of coinage after 1204, and not merely the chances of hoard-recovery. The same is probably true of the hoards from the Cyclades, for they are all from the thirteenth century; none is known from the twelfth.

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[22] *BCH* 1957, 498 briefly notes the accession of the hoard to the Greek National Numismatic Collection. The Scyphate coin is in good style.

[23] Its size was 16–20 mm., obverse die, *c.* 12 mm. The other coin was of Anonymous Type I.

[24] *BCH* 1958, 654.

[25] Only the coins found in 1925 were published one by one (A. R. Bellinger, *Catalogue of Coins found at Corinth, 1925,* (1930)); two specimens measured 22½ and 19 mm.

May not the small variety of Type 13/ii have been minted also at Corinth? Still smaller differences between varieties ought probably to be investigated, and it may turn out that another issue of Type 13/ii, very similar to the 'Salonican', but appreciably smaller and lighter, and struck on better-rounded flans, belongs to Corinth or to some other place in central Greece.[32] In support of the view that there may have been a mint at Corinth, one may mention that the princes of Achaia in the thirteenth century struck their earliest coins there, before moving the mint to the capital of the new fief.[33]

The other main type of coin of Type 13/ii common in Greek hoards is larger and of much inferior workmanship, alike in the cutting of the flans, the engraving of the dies, and the striking. The piece illustrated on PLATE 4, **284** is better than average. Unlike the small variety, which has no obvious stylistic parallels among other types, or rather, none which is plentiful, this medium-sized variety is of a similar style to the coins of Manuel's Type 11, with asterisks, which are commonly found in Greece. The engraving of each is linear in character (see PLATE 4, **195**). These medium-sized coins are, however, far from uniform, and there is no easy way of deciding whether differences among them reflect their having been struck at more than one mint, or are variations of no special significance in issues which continued for many years. Sometimes a hoard will contain a number of coins which can be seen to be a close stylistic group (e.g. nos. **2–20** below); such a group gives valuable guidance on the range of variation and the 'normal' appearance of the issues of one mint.

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[26] Bellinger, *Greek and Byzantine Studies* i (1958) 163 ff., and Metcalf, *BSA* lv (1960) 38 ff.

[27] e.g. French and Armenian coins.

[28] T. Gerasimov, *Izvestiya na Bulgarskiya Arkheologicheski Institut'* xiv (1940–2) 282 ff.

[29] *IBAI* xi (1937) 315 ff.

[30] Ibid. I have wondered whether these two might be parcels from the same hoard.

[31] Mosser, op. cit.

[32] See p. 49 below and no. **1189**.

[33] G. Schlumberger, *Numismatique de l'Orient latin* (1878).

An example of the problem is afforded by a small parcel of coins, which I saw in the hands of an Athens dealer in 1959, consisting entirely of Manuel's Types 11, with asterisks, and 13/ii. The smooth, light-brown patination was marred, on most or all of the coins, by patches of a hard, granular, green corrosion. The hoard was said to have been found in Attica. Type 11 accounted for at least two-thirds of the parcel. Most of the coins were extremely poorly made.[34] The two coins of each type illustrated on PLATE 4, **1184–7** were much better than average. While the two coins of Type 11 are quite closely alike, the similarity between the coins of Type 13/ii is not complete enough for it to be clear that they were struck at the same mint and at about the same date; the difference in their weight adds to the uncertainty.

There are, fortunately, other more obvious stylistic parallels between types. The best example is the sequence that was noted in the Arcadia hoard of 1958, which included Manuel's Types 11 and 13/i, Andronicus Type 3, and Isaac Type 4. It is encouraging that in the Thessaly hoard, very closely similar specimens of Manuel's Type 11 were found, together with numbers of Isaac's Type 4. Coins in this style are struck on neat and regular flans, and the engraving of the dies and particularly of the lettering is four-square and sturdy (PLATE 5, **57–58**). Bellinger has noted another style, on the basis of a hoard which turned up in Istanbul; the coins are small (*c.* 20 mm.) and are carefully struck on neat flans with smooth rims free from the striking-cracks so common on the specimens from our three hoards.[35] (Cf. the single coin in the Paros hoard, no. **49** below, the style of which proclaims it as an intruder in the currency of Greece.) They raise interesting questions about the number and situation of the mints which struck coins for Theodore of Nicaea.

A Constantinopolitan origin has been proposed for the stylistic sequence noted in the hoard from Arcadia. The four types in the sequence are in line with the 'Bulgarian' rather than the 'Greek' list of common types, so that a Greek origin for the style can probably be ruled out. The worn condition in which specimens are commonly found (see again PLATE 5, **58**) is a reason for thinking that they were the currency of a busy city, but there are larger, and heavier, coins in other styles which equally deserve to be considered for attribution to Constantinople. There are, for example, coins of Manuel's *BMC* Types 11 and 13/i (such as no. **55** below) which are struck on very large flans from relatively small dies of considerable artistic merit. Manuel's Types 9 and 12, as illustrated in *BMC*, are similar to each other in style; both of them are scarce in provincial hoards, but such little evidence as there is suggests that the sequence, in which ought perhaps to be included also Isaac's *BMC* Type 6, may be associated in some way with north-eastern Bulgaria. Hoard-provenances for the three types are shown on the map, FIG. 2.

In the present state of our information, it is simpler to list the different styles in which a type occurs than to identify with any confidence the same style in a number of different types, although the ultimate aim of studying style in the Scyphate Bronze coinage must be to discover what stylistic sequences of types there are, and to associate each of them with a mint or region. The Levkokhori, Thessaly and Paros hoards present an opportunity to make a first list of the styles in which one of the scarce types occurs. The coin shows a bust of the emperor on the concave side, and has been assigned to John II (1118–43) on account of its similarity to his

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[34] See the description below, under nos. **1184–7.**

[35] Bellinger, op. cit.

BMC Type 6, from which it differs in its smaller module, 'provincial' fabric and workmanship, and reverse design, which is sometimes a seated figure of Christ on a low-backed throne, in place of the bust of Christ on *BMC* Type 6. Three small specimens, described as 'demi-bronzes', are illustrated in the catalogue of the Ratto 1930 sale, in which they formed lots 2104–6. The type is not catalogued in *BMC*, but will be referred to as 'John Type 6B'.

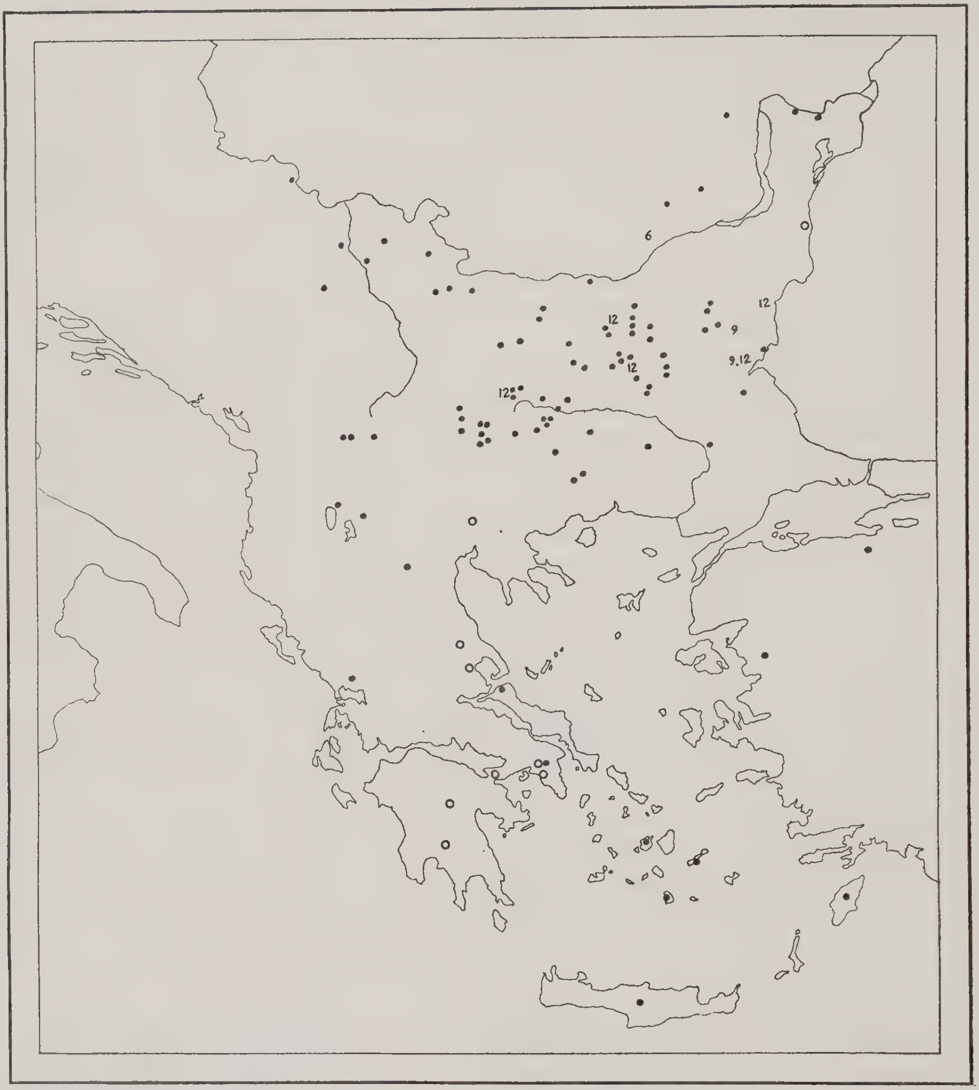

Fig. 2. Map to illustrate the occurrence of certain types of Scyphate Bronze. (i) Hoards and site-finds including the small variety of type 13/ii (cf. fig. 1, which illustrates all varieties of type 13/ii) (○); (ii) Hoards including Manuel's types 9 and 12 and Isaac's type 6 (9 12 6); (iii) Other hoards of Scyphate Bronze (•)

The emperor is shown wearing a crown and jewelled *loros*, on which usually twelve, but sometimes only nine, jewels can be seen in rows of three (plate 4, the five coins down the left-hand edge). He holds a cruciform sceptre to the right, and an orb on the left. The most intriguing feature of the type, and one which is of greater interest than might at first glance appear, lies in the details of the emperor's crown. It is shown in the way that is conventional on the coinage of the eleventh to thirteenth centuries, with jewelled pendants on either side. The accompanying plates show how the pendants are represented each by a vertical line, terminating in a dot or group of dots. The number and arrangement of these dots is by no means haphazard. A study of the gold coinage (which was very carefully manufactured) reveals that the standard form of the pendant in the twelfth century was ·.· until the reign of Isaac II, and that under Alexius III it was ⁝ (for illustrations of the various forms of the pendants, see FIG. 3; the two standard forms are numbered ΣΤ′ and ΙΒ′). The provincial Scyphate Bronze, on the other hand, less carefully made, usually has :, and sometimes only · (FIG. 3, ΙΔ′ and ΙΕ′), except that the bronze of Alexius III often corresponds with his gold; on the best bronze of the earlier emperors, the standard form ·.· is sometimes used. John's Type 6B is exceptional in that it regularly shows the pendants in the inverted form ∴ (FIG. 3, ΙΓ′); the arrangement is too complicated to be dismissed as carelessness, and it stands quite outside the scheme which has been described. The one other coin on which I have seen this arrangement is another scarce 'southern' type, Ratto 2143, from the Arcadia hoard. Such a small detail in the design of a scarce type is worth close scrutiny only because of the questions which it raises about mints and monetary organization. If both Ratto 2143 and John Type 6B were found only in a single fabric and style, one would bracket them as issues of the same provincial mint, not very different from each other in date, and put down the form of the pendants to an idiosyncrasy of the engravers at that mint. The important coin from the Paros hoard, no. **1** below, and three of those from the Thessaly hoard, nos. **51–53**, all quite different from each other, destroy any such simple hypothesis, for they show that the type was struck in at least four styles, and presumably at as many mints. There are, indeed, others: a specimen in a private collection (PLATE 4, **1188**), a stray find perhaps from Attica, is different again. It is similar to the smallest variety of Type 13/ii. The coin from Paros is related in style to the medium-sized variety of Type 13/ii, and perhaps especially to that from the same hoard, while nos. **52** and **53** from the Thessaly hoard can be matched in style by two of the varieties of Type 13/ii of the same provenance (PLATE 4, **78** and **338**). Type 6B, then, shows connexions, in its stylistic varieties, with Type 13/ii. The monetary organization behind its issue must have been the same, and we can say that it belongs to Greece, where it seems to have been struck at half a dozen mints. How and why were the engravers at each of the mints instructed to represent the pendants in such an unusual form? Can it have been a mistake? If,

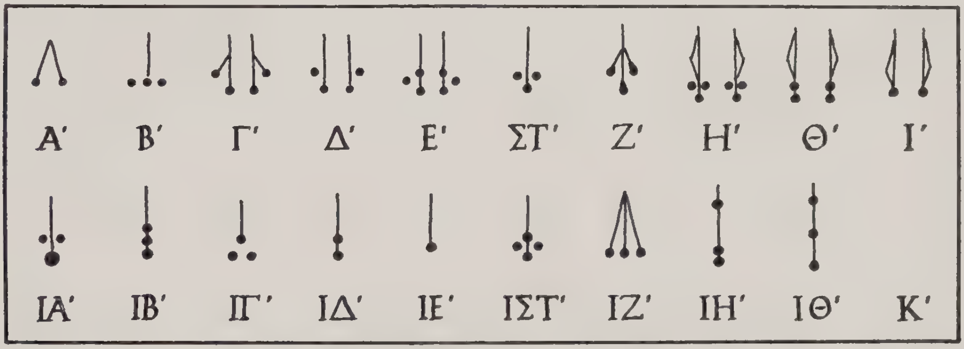

FIG. 3. The pendants of the Byzantine imperial crown as represented on the coinage of the ninth to thirteenth centuries. Α′–Ε′, early forms; ΣΤ′–ΙΕ′, twelfth-century forms; ΙΣΤ′, ΙΖ′, characteristic thirteenth-century forms; ΙΗ′, ΙΘ′, irregular issues

when a new type was to be issued, a drawing of it was made on a piece of paper and copied and sent out to each provincial mint, a clerical error might account for the inversion. Alternatively, there may have been some deliberate reason which is not now obvious.

Further study will be needed, not least of the 43 coins from the Santorin hoard (27–29 mm. in size), 37 site-finds from Corinth (20–25 mm. in size; two of the coins have asterisks on the reverse), and 14 coins in the Postallar hoard, all of which would seem, from the brief descriptions available, to have been of Type 6B. The legend IωANN . . ., published for the Santorin coins, is most unusual for the reign of John II. The Corinth coins yielded the reading +IωΔ (Ιωαννης Δεσποτης). The blundered inscription of no. **114** below takes on unexpected interest from its close similarity to that of a coin in the Arcadia hoard.

The 'southern' type illustrated in the Ratto catalogue, 2075–6 and 2143, is apparently a good deal scarcer than Manuel's Type 13/ii or John Type 6B. With the possible exception of no. **1172** below, our three hoards yielded only one specimen of it. Two or three stylistic varieties ought probably to be distinguished. Pendants in the inverted form occur on at least one of the larger and heavier specimens (Arcadian hoard 202), while lighter specimens such as those described in the Ratto catalogue as 'demi-bronzes' usually have pendants of two dots. Both varieties are similar to Type 13/ii and 6B in their general style, and may be provisionally assigned to Greece. I have wondered whether many of the coins from the Corinth excavations published as Manuel's Type 13/i may not have been of the same variety as Ratto 2143; certainly, coins ranging from 23 to 19 mm. in diameter cannot be of the same stylistic variety as the coins in *BMC*. If the proposed attribution of Ratto 2143 to Isaac II is accepted,[36] this might explain the apparent paucity of his issues at Corinth.

Although more specimens of Theodore's coinage have survived, they are generally so indifferently struck that their study is difficult; there are several varieties—whether or not from different mints—in the ornamentation of the emperor's *loros*, which may have five dots, or six squares with dots, at the centre, and two, three, or a diamond of four dots on the chest. These variations may link the type, in terms of mint-history, to Alexius III's Type 4. The details of the saint's cuirass also vary from one coin to another. It appears that many of the coins were struck on a standard of about 2 grammes. Their provenance and general style show that, whatever the correct interpretation of their history, they belong to Greece.

The metrology of the Scyphate Bronze series provides clues to the monetary organization which lay behind its issue, and its evidence may usefully be placed alongside that of style in any attempt to establish the numismatic history of the twelfth century. Byzantine metrology is a thorny field at best: Adelson's recent study of the lightweight *solidi* of the sixth and seventh centuries[37] illustrates once again how complex and disingenuous Byzantine monetary policy was and also how easily faulty statistical techniques and insufficient evidence can lead scholars to take incorrect views. The only certain fact in the metrology of the Byzantine coinage in its second hey-day (in the ninth to twelfth centuries) is that the gold *solidus* or *nomisma* was still struck at its traditional weight, theoretically 72 to the pound, and in practice something like 4·3 grammes. How much more difficult is the metrology of the carelessly manufactured bronze coinage!

Throughout the twelfth century and into the thirteenth, Scyphate Bronze coins in the best style were maintained at a quite constant average weight of about $3\frac{3}{4}$–4 grammes. The persistence of the weight-level indicates that the coins were struck at a fixed standard. They were, of course, merely a token coinage, of relatively low intrinsic value, but this is no reason why their weight should not have been carefully determined, as is that of modern copper coins. Assuming that the mint received instructions in terms of striking so many coins to the pound, the figure may well have been 84, at which rate the full theoretical weight of the coins would have been 3·89 grammes. (All the calculations below are based on a weight of 327 grammes for the Byzantine pound.)

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[36] Bellinger and Metcalf, op. cit.

[37] H. L. Adelson, *Light Weight Solidi and Byzantine Trade during the Sixth and Seventh Centuries* (1957).

Varieties in provincial style, on the other hand, regularly weigh far less than $3\frac{3}{4}$ grammes, and it is in fact clear that coins were struck on several lower weight-standards concurrently. Specimens of the small variety of Type 13/ii, of which there were so many in the Levkokhori hoard, for example, give a mean average of 1·62 grammes, or roughly 200 coins to the pound. The coins of the stylistic group which was noticed in the Arcadia hoard, and which was represented in the Thessaly hoard, were struck on a standard of about $3\frac{1}{4}$–$3\frac{1}{2}$ grammes. One wonders whether their standard may not have been 100 to the pound (3·27 grammes). The remaining provincial coins include issues on at least two standards intermediate between rates of 100 and 200 to the pound. One cannot distinguish stylistic groups with the same confidence, but it seems possible that there was a standard of about 2·4 grammes which is to be associated with Manuel's Types 11, with asterisks, and 13/ii, and that a standard of about 2·7 grammes was in use under Isaac II and Alexius III.

In just the same way as varieties in style are difficult to assess, differences in weight cannot always easily be interpreted, since there is certain to be overlapping in the normal ranges associated with weight-standards as close to each other as half a gramme in the weight of one coin; clear stylistic groups are, once again, a valuable guide to metrological standards and to the amount of variation which is normal. The close group noted in the Paros hoard (see nos. **2–20** below), for example, has a mean weight of 2·41 grammes, and a standard deviation, smaller than many which have been calculated from coins in our three hoards, of 0·29 grammes. Two other coins in the Paros hoard (nos. **22–23**), of the same variety of Manuel's Type 11, with asterisks on the reverse, as the group of nineteen, differed from them slightly in the form of the asterisk, which had a central dot. The weights of the coins, and of one or two other similar specimens, suggest that they were struck on a different standard, and that one should therefore distinguish them as a separate issue. There were six similar coins in the Levkokhori hoard, among ninety of Type 11. Two further minor 'varieties' in the form of the asterisks, which are noted below under nos. **194–283** and **1185**, cannot safely be assessed until more material has been published.

These are only some out of a number of scarce varieties of the common types, the theme of all of which is the asterisk, added to the design as a special mark. It occurs most commonly on Isaac II's *BMC* Type 4 to the lower left of the standing figure of the emperor (Ratto 2189). Sometimes, but not always, it is accompanied by a circular *loros*-ornament in place of the usual five dots (see nos. **34–35, 126, 129** below). Occasionally the circular *loros*-ornament is found without the asterisk (see no. **128** below). A second variety of Isaac's Type 4 has, like Manuel's Type 11, two asterisks on the reverse (see no. **127**). There was one of these in the Arcadia hoard and also a variant with crosses formed of five dots, in the same position. *BMC* incorrectly records varieties with only one asterisk on the reverse. The collection of provenances may quite possibly show that these minor varieties are localized in their occurrence: the circular *loros*-ornament, for example, may prove to be commoner in northern than in southern Greece.[38]

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[38] The arrangement of the letters in the legend shows considerable variety, and may prove to be of value in distinguishing provincial issues. Unfortunately, very few examples are struck up sufficiently for their complete legends to be read. See W. Kubitschek, *Numismatische Zeitschrift* 1918, 55 ff., where there is also some useful information about the weights of Scyphate Bronze coins.

There is a variety of Alexius III's *BMC* Type 4 with two asterisks, one above the other, between the two standing figures of the obverse design (see nos. **48, 161** below). A similar coin from the Levkokhori hoard has cross-and-pellet ornaments in place of asterisks (no. **1157**). The Ratto catalogue records a variety with four asterisks between the figures, but I wonder whether this may not in fact have been a double-struck specimen of the variety with two asterisks. Other varieties of Alexius III Type 4 differ in the form of the *loros*-ornament, which may include an annulet, or may consist of five dots or of an asterisk. Although very little is yet known about the occurrence of scarce varieties of the common types in Bulgaria and Asia Minor, the Tuzla hoard suggests that there are differences in the currency from that of Greece.[39]

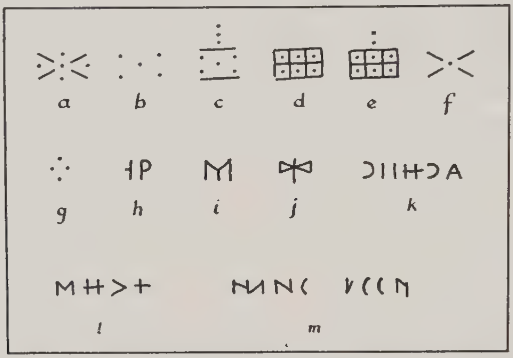

FIG. 4. DETAILS OF THE DIES OF VARIOUS SPECIMENS

The difficulties of discovering the weight-standards on which the scarce types were struck will be overcome only after the publication of a considerable number of coins. The specimen of Type 6B in crude style, from the Thessaly hoard (no. **51** below), weighs 1·4 grammes, for example, while the similar coin in the Arcadia hoard, which unquestionably belongs to the same issue, weighs 2·5 grammes. Such a large difference may be coincidental, but it suggests that the coinage was of less than the usual quality. The coin of Type 6B from the Paros hoard, weighing 2·3 grammes, may be guessed to be on the same standard of *c.* 2·4 grammes as other coins of somewhat similar style from the hoard. The smallest varieties of Type 6B seem to have been struck on a weight-standard distinctly lower even than the 1·6 grammes of Type 13/ii, perhaps no more than about 1·1 grammes (300 to the pound?). The stray find illustrated on PLATE 4, **1188** which has a bust of Christ as its reverse design,[40] weighs 1·2 grammes, and the very similar specimen Ratto 2105[41] weighed 1·03 grammes. Both definitely have nine, instead of the usual twelve, jewels on the emperor's *loros*.

Ratto 2143 seems to have been struck on more than one weight-standard; the specimens in the Arcadia hoard weighed 2·1 and 2·5 grammes, and Ratto 2075, it is implied, weighed about $2\frac{1}{2}$ grammes, while the coin described in the Ratto catalogue as 'demi-bronze' (lot 2076) weighed only 1·33 grammes, and no. **152** below weighs 1·75. The two groups would fit in with the standards of 2·4 grammes and 1·6 grammes of Type 13/ii. On the basis of half a dozen specimens, however, one can do no more than make preliminary guesses.

Differences in the smaller details of the design of individual pieces make it imperative to publish photographs of a great many coins, especially of types where stylistic varieties cannot at present be distinguished with confidence. If there were as many as half a dozen mints at work, the district in which each mint was situated can be discovered only in the light of scores of find-spots.[42] It is already possible, however, to see that the circulation of Scyphate Bronze was localized within a number of regions, and that there are three scarce types, and also, probably, certain varieties of the common types, which belong to Greece. John's Type 6B, Manuel's *BMC* Type 13/ii, Ratto 2143, and the coinage of Theodore in the styles illustrated have features in common with each other and with Manuel's Type 11, with asterisks. Varieties of the common types with asterisks otherwise come mostly from the reigns of Isaac II and Alexius III.

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[39] I. Băncilă, *Studii și Cercetări de Numismatică* (Academy of the People's Republic of Romania) 1957, 425 ff.

[40] Variant reverse types associated with a single obverse type may turn out to be a feature of the Scyphate Bronze series. Cf. Isaac's Type 6 as a variant of Type 4, and, of course, Manuel's Type 11, with and without asterisks.

[41] The reverse was not illustrated and not specifically described.

In the numismatic history of the Scyphate Bronze coinage in Greece, the issues of Manuel's reign of nearly forty years take the central place. Before and after the period 1143–80 there are three critical points: the variety of styles of John's *BMC* Type 6 [43] and 6B puts the date of introduction of the provincial coinages back beyond 1143, and almost to the earliest period of the issue of Scyphate Bronze; the absence in Greece of coins of Andronicus in provincial style and fabric suggests that there was a change in policy in 1183, by which the Greek mints were suppressed; the coinage of Theodore indicates that the regional tendencies were again briefly of importance. The copious coinages of Isaac II (who may well have reversed Andronicus's policy) and of Alexius III ought to be seen in the light of the intermission of 1183–5, and may be contrasted with the issues of John and Manuel in Greece. The difficulties of grouping the coins according to style seem to reflect the inactivity of the Greek mints rather than a drive towards uniformity in their issues. In this connexion, the very few Scyphate coins of small module of Isaac II and Alexius III are of especial interest, since they suggest that, although their output had dwindled, the Greek mints had not been closed down altogether. No. **190** below, of Alexius III's Type 4, weighs only 1·1 grammes. The unusual coin of Isaac II, no. **151**, can be closely matched in style and weight by another specimen said to have been found at Sparta. The introduction of varieties distinguished by asterisks, &c., may well be connected with reforms at the beginning of Isaac's reign. He seems to have raised and unified the provincial weight-standards in comparison with those which had been in force under Manuel.

Whether the small, light coins, as was implied by Ratto and Goodacre, were fractional denominations is a problem which belongs chiefly to the period before 1183, and for which the origin must be sought in the monetary policy of John II. It may well turn out that the pattern of monetary affairs in the reign of the preceding emperor, Alexius I, will throw light on the considerable variety among John's Scyphate Bronze. There are, alas, no clearly contemporary hoards, such as would provide direct evidence of the currency of bronze under John (partly because of the availability of gold for hoarding, and partly because of the peaceful conditions which the empire enjoyed under his government); the retrospective view afforded by hoards from half a century later is that Type 6B, and perhaps even each variety of Type 6B, was localized in its circulation. The evidence is somewhat better that similar stylistic varieties of Manuel's issues were narrowly localized. Thus it seems probable that different weight-standards were associated with different regions. If coins struck on different standards were not issued from the same mint and were not intended to circulate side by side, they cannot have been meant to be related to each other, in use, as different denominations. Their circulation, in the first half of the twelfth century, may even have been so largely confined to their regions of issue that the question of their relationship did not arise.

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[42] One might say that in principle the number of find-spots needed would increase roughly as the square of the number of mints; also, the find-spots need to be well spread.

[43] Note that even *BMC* Type 6 should be subdivided. There is one variety with pendants in the form ΣΤ′, and with a flourish or ornament of some kind on the staff of the cross, and a second variety (perhaps of slightly poorer fabric and workmanship and slightly lower weight?) with pendants in the form Ζ′, and with no ornament on the staff of the cross.

The comparative study of hoards is in certain respects like solving cross-word puzzles: at first the words entered on the diagram may not link up with each other, but in the later stages the problems become progressively easier and their solution more certain. The significance of the small coins in the Levkokhori hoard, the more varied character of that from Thessaly, and the regular composition of the 'island' group of hoards will no doubt stand out more clearly when more material has been published. The point where the answers begin to confirm each other has at present scarcely been reached. None the less, the complexity of the monetary history behind the Scyphate Bronze is already apparent, and it holds out the hope eventually of studying the regional economy of the Byzantine Empire in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in ways that are not made possible by the documentary record.

CATALOGUE OF THE HOARDS

(*Note: the imperial side of each coin has been described as the obverse*)

Naousa, Paros, 1924

On virtually every coin traces of silvering can be recognized in the hollows of the obverse type. It takes the appearance of a light gilding. Broadly speaking, all the coins are of the same fabric and style. More than half of the flans have striking-cracks.

John II, 1118–43

1. *Obv.* Bearded bust of emperor in *loros* and crown, holds cross and orb. The engraving is in very good style. There are twelve large jewels on the *loros*. The cross, left, and that on the orb resemble each other, the arms ending in dots. The pendants are in the inverted form associated particularly with Type 6B. The inscription is sketchily engraved, and is apparently blundered or meaningless. Cf. no. **51** and note (?) Δ to left and (?) also to right. Faint traces of a border at 2 o'clock, probably double linear.

Rev. Christ seated on low-backed throne; asterisk in field left and right. The execution of the drapery is skilful. Pellet in arms of cross in nimbus. The asterisk is of the variety which is 'solidly' engraved, the triangular rays being rather irregularly disposed (but cf. the remarks under nos. **194–283** below).

Type 6B. Varoukha-Khristodhoulopoulou no. 34. PLATE 4 (2·3 g.).

Manuel I, 1143–80

2, 3–20. *BMC* Type 11, variety with asterisks of 8 rays on the reverse. Fourteen coins are a close stylistic group. The remaining 5 are obscure because of poor striking; asterisks cannot be distinguished on them, but it is not possible to say that they are absent from the type.

Metrology. The 19 coins were weighed to the nearest 0·1 g. Mean, 2·41 g. (median, 2·4 g.), standard deviation 0·29 g., standard error of the mean, 0·066 g. The heaviest coin weighed 3·1 g. and the 3 lightest each weighed 2·0 g. PLATE 4, **2** (2·9 g.).

21. Similar to nos. **2–20**, but the asterisk is apparently of 6 rays (cf. the remarks under no. **1185** below).

22–23. Similar to nos. **2–20**, but the asterisk is formed from a central dot, with 8 rays disposed, somewhat irregularly, around it.

Metrology. The 2 coins weighed 3·1 g. and 2·7 g. As only 3 out of 19 coins among nos. 3–21 weighed 2·7 g. or more, it seems likely that this variety was struck on a heavier weight-standard, and was a separate issue.

PLATE 4, **22** (3·1 g.). Note that the central pellets are inaccurately represented on the plate because of air-bubbles trapped in the making of the plaster cast.

24. Similar to nos. **2–20** but from slightly larger dies, and (?) without asterisks.

25. *BMC* Type 13/ii (*BMC* 58), variety of medium size, but the style ought very probably to be differentiated from that of coins of medium size which occur in the Thessaly and Levkokhori hoards, as being neater. The legend, too, is far better. It appears to read ΜΛ ΗΛИ ΔЄCΠΤΗ . . . There are traces of a double pearl border on the obverse. Pendants of 2 dots (| Δ′). The reverse legend also is degenerate, reading as FIG. 4, i in place of ΜΡ. Traces of dotted border.

PLATE 4 (3·4 g.).

Isaac II, 1185–95

26–33, 34–35. These 10 coins are not so noticeably a close stylistic group as are nos. **2–20**. Three of them (2·8 g., 2·6 g., 2·6 g.) are slightly larger than the rest, but have no features which obviously distinguish them; on the heaviest, traces of a double dotted border can be seen.

Two coins are of the variety with an asterisk in the field on the obverse. (See PLATE 6, **34**.) Cf. V-KH, no. 33.

Metrology. The 10 coins were weighed to the nearest 0·1 g. Mean, 2·69 g. (median 2·75 g.), standard deviation 0·35 g., standard error of the mean, 0·11 g.

PLATE 6, **34** (2·0 g.).

Alexius III, 1195–1203

36–44, 45–47. *BMC* Type 4. Of these 12 coins, 3 ought perhaps to be distinguished by the prominently engraved end of the emperor's *loros* which hangs down between the 2 figures (see PLATE 6, **45**) where, however, this feature does not show too clearly), and by their lighter weight (2·5 g., 2·1 g., 1·9 g., mean 2·17 g.). The pendants of no. **45** are of the standard form with 3 dots (I B′). The remaining 9 coins, of which the style is illustrated by PLATE 6, **36**, a coin of unusually irregular shape (cf. no. **1159** below), exhibit no striking variation.

Metrology. The 9 coins were weighed to the nearest 0·1 g. Mean 3·08 g. (median 3·0 g.), standard deviation 0·16 g., standard error of the mean, 0·05 g.

PLATE 6, **36** (3·0 g.) and **45** (2·5 g.).

48. *BMC* Type 4, variety with 2 asterisks between the figures. The pendants are in the standard form with 3 dots (I B′).

V-KH, no. 47. PLATE 6 (3·0 g.).

49. *BMC* Type 4. This coin is particularly small and light, and is struck on a well-rounded flan free from striking-cracks. The reverse type is large and heavy in relation to the size of the flan. Five dots in nimbus cruciger, and neat lettering on reverse. See p. 49, and n. 35.

PLATE 6 (1·8 g.).

Empire of Nicaea: Theodore I, 1204–22

50. *Obv.* Standing figures of bearded emperor and soldier-saint holding spear. Traces of cross between them. Traces of small, neat 'inscription' to right, composed, perhaps, of meaningless strokes. The ornamentation of the emperor's *loros* is as FIG. 4*g* on the chest and apparently as FIG 4*d* in the centre (cf. no. **192** below). Cuirass with 4 (or 5?) horizontal rows of dots.

Rev. Obscure through poor striking.

PLATE 5 (2·0 g.).

(?) Thessaly, 1957

Synopsis of the parcels in the Greek National Numismatic Collection and in the hands of an Athens dealer in the summer of 1959:

Nos.	*Type*	*Museum*	*Dealer*
51–54	John II, Type 6B	1	3
55–76	Manuel I, *BMC* Type 11	21	about 15 per cent.
77	„ Type 13/i	1	0
78–82	„ Type 13/ii, medium	4	'a very few' among about 33 per cent.
83–117	„ „ small	32	
118	Andronicus, *BMC* Type 3	1	0
119–51	Isaac II, *BMC* Type 4	28	'a few in good style' among about 25 per cent.
152	(?) Isaac II, Ratto 2143	0	1
153–90	Alexius III, *BMC* Type 4	34	'a few in good style' among about 25 per cent.
191	„ imitation	1	0
192–3	Theodore I	0	'about 4'
		123	'roughly 500'

John II, 1118–43

51. *Obv.* Bearded bust of emperor, wearing *loros* probably with 12 jewels in squares (only 8 can be seen), and crown with pendants in the inverted form (I Γ′). He holds cross with arms terminating in dots, and (?) orb. Traces of lettering to left should be compared with those on the coin from the Arcadia hoard, referred to below. The resemblance is striking; the inscription should perhaps be regarded as a degenerated form of I ω.

Rev. Bust of Christ. The characteristic engraving of the face, noted on the specimen from the Arcadia hoard, cannot be seen. Weakly struck, but perhaps in rather better style.

Athens Museum (1). There is *not* an obverse die-link with no. 204, pl. xvi, 7, in the Arcadia hoard, but short of that the resemblance could not be closer. The similarity of the inscriptions is of particular note. See also under no. **151**.

PLATE 4 (1·4 g., cf. 2·5 g. for the Arcadia coin).

52. *Obv.* Bearded and moustached bust of emperor, wearing *loros* with 12 jewels in squares, and crown with pendants which are probably of the inverted form (I Γ′). Cross indicated by 4 dots, and dots at end of arms of cross on orb. Single linear border. Double-struck.

Rev. (?) Seated figure of Christ, holding Book of Gospels, on low-backed throne. (Double-struck: the 5 dots on the Book, parts of the nimbus, and the X of XC appear twice).

Athens Dealer (1) to Private Collection. The types are large in relation to the size of the flan (dies, *c.* 15 mm., flan, 20–23 mm.). The style of the reverse suggests a comparison with a medium-sized variety of Manuel's Type 13/ii (nos. 78–82, PLATE 4, **78**).

PLATE 4 (1·1 g.).

53. *Obv.* Bearded and moustached bust of emperor, wearing *loros* with 12 jewels in squares, and crown with pendants, one of which can be seen to be in the inverted form (I Γ′). Traces of cross of orb.

Rev. Figure of Christ: perhaps a truncated seated figure rather than a bust.

Athens Dealer (1) to Private Collection. Small dies (14 mm.) and flan (21–24 mm.). The style of this piece suggests a comparison with the small variety of Manuel's Type 13/ii.

PLATE 4 (1·7 g.).

Non-imperial?: imitation of John II, type 6B

54. *Obv.* Bearded bust of emperor, dress uncertain, crown with pendants of 2 dots, cf. the usual inverted form for Type 6B. He holds labarum with rectangular icon. Weakly struck.

Rev. Figure seated on high-backed throne. The engraving of the drapery is utterly unlike that of any standard Byzantine issue, so much so that this piece must be thought to be a contemporary imitation.

Athens Dealer (1) to Private Collection. Roughly made flan, not truly scyphate. PLATE 4 (3·7 g.).

Manuel I, 1143–80

55. *BMC* Type 11, the standard type, without asterisks. A large specimen in the finest style. The flan is of regular thickness. Double dotted border on both sides.

Athens Museum (1). PLATE 5 (4·4 g.).

56. As no. 55. Another coin in very fine style, and of good fabric, but not quite so large. The legend is of small, neatly formed letters, and is complete. The coin is very well struck on both sides. It shows traces of silvering.

Athens Museum (1).

57, 58 and 'a very few' others. As no. **55**. Fine style: these coins resemble very closely the illustrated specimen of Type 11 from the Arcadia hoard; there can be little doubt but that they are from the same mint. There are, nevertheless, differences among specimens of the variety, e.g. in the ornamentation of the emperor's *loros* and in the pendants.

57. Note the unusual form of the pendants (|′). The central pellet of the *loros*-ornament is square, and there is a similar square pellet on the chest.

Athens Museum (1). PLATE 5 (3·4 g.).

58. Three dots above the crown. The *loros* is as on no. **57**. Pendants of 2 dots (|Δ′).

Athens Dealer 'very few', of which (1) to Private Collection, illustrated on PLATE 5 (4·3 g.).

59. Type 11. Good style. Labarum in the form of a rosette.

Athens Museum (1).

60–65 and 'very few' others. [See also **66–73**, &c.: I am not clear whether there was a significant difference between the 2 groups.] Type 11, variety with asterisks in field left and right above throne on reverse. The 6 coins in the Athens Museum, which are of good style and fabric, are blackish in discoloration. On one at least, parts of a double dotted border can be seen. One coin out of the 6 has asterisks apparently of 6 rays, instead of the normal 8 (cf. the remarks under no. **1185** below).

Athens Museum (6), Athens Dealer, 'very few'.

66–73 and others (say 65 or 70). Type as no. **60** above and see comment. The style and fabric are in general much inferior to the preceding coins, and these specimens are not clearly a stylistic group. They are mostly brownish in colour. Asterisks of 8 rays, engraved by 4 intersecting lines.

Athens Museum (8), Athens Dealer (say 65–70).

74 and probably a few others. Type as nos. **66–73**, and of similar style and fabric, but of the variety in which the asterisks have a central dot (cf. nos. **22–23** above).

75–76 and probably a few others. Similar, but apparently with 'solidly' engraved asterisks (cf. the remarks under nos. **194–283** below).

Athens Museum (2), Athens Dealer (?).

77. *BMC* Type 13/i. A coin in the finest style, with large, clear lettering. MANȢ...ЄCΠTHC. Dot on staff of labarum.

Athens Museum (1). PLATE 5 (3·97 g.).

78, 79–82, and a 'very few' others, say a dozen. *BMC* Type 13/ii, variety of medium size, of a similar style to that of the larger group described in detail under the Levkokhori hoard (nos. **284–335**).

Athens Museum (4), Athens Dealer, about a dozen, of which (1) to Private Collection, illustrated on PLATE 4, **78** (2·7 g.).

83–85, 86–117 and 'a third' of the parcel at the Athens Dealer (say 150). *BMC* Type 13/ii, variety of small size, as described in detail under the Levkokhori hoard (nos. **336–1028**).

83. *Obv.* Bearded figure of emperor, wearing *chlamys* and crown with pendants of 1 dot. He holds labarum with dots at corners of rectangle, and a fifth dot in centre. Traces of crudely formed legend ((Π(... [=ЄCΠO]. Single linear border.

Rev. Mother of God, nimbate, seated on high-backed throne, holding the Infant Christ. Traces of MP ΘV. On each shoulder, ·⁚·. This specimen was selected because it shows the reverse type unusually clearly; the characteristic grouping of the hands of the Mother of God and the head of the Infant Christ should be noted. 1·9 g. Private Collection. PLATE 5.

84. The labarum is of unusual form (FIG. 4*j*). 1·6 g. Private Collection. PLATE 5.

85. Another specimen. 1·8 g. Private Collection. PLATE 5.

Athens Museum (32), Athens Dealer, say 150, of which (3) to Private Collection, illustrated on PLATE 5, **83–85**.

Andronicus I, 1183–5

118. *BMC* Type 3. Good style. ...NΔPOИIKOC... There were no coins of this type among those in the hands of the Athens dealer.

Isaac II, 1185–95

119–23, and 'a few' others (say, ten) [but see note on metrology following **124–50**]. Among the 28 coins of *BMC* Type 4 in the parcel in the Athens museum, 5 were distinguished as being of larger and more regular fabric (28–30 mm.), and finer style.

124–7, 128–50, and others (say, 110–20).

The remaining 23 coins of *BMC* Type 4 (nos. **128–50**) seemed to be a fairly close stylistic group, and were about 25–26 mm. in diameter. Among them there was one coin of the variety with an asterisk of 8 rays in the field to the left of the figure of the emperor (no. **129**), and one on which the ornament on the *loros* was in the form ⊙ (no. **128**, PLATE 6). This particular coin is unusual in that it is without the asterisk which usually accompanies the circular *loros*-ornamentation.

Most of the coins of *BMC* Type 4 in the parcel in the hands of the dealer were of the same style, with a few among them which were better, and which ought probably to be grouped with nos. **119–23** above. No. **124** was selected as a good average specimen, and nos. **125–6** from among a few with the asterisk on the imperial side. No. **127**, with asterisks on the throne on the reverse, was the only example of that variety which was seen, and no further varieties were seen.

124. Remaining traces of silvering gave a mottled effect.
[ΙC] Α
Traces of inscription beginning [Α] Κ. No border is visible.
[ΙΟ] C
PLATE 6 (2·7 g.). Athens Dealer to Private Collection.

125. Variety with both asterisk in field and circular ornament on *loros*. Traces of inscription beginning Ι
[CΑ] Α
[Κ] Ι
Traces of double dotted border on obverse. •••
PLATE 6 (3·3 g.). Athens Dealer to Private Collection.

126. Same variety as no. **125**. Slight traces only of inscription. Traces of double linear border on obverse.
PLATE 6 (2·8 g.). Athens Dealer to Private Collection.

127. Variety with asterisks on throne left and right, on reverse. The asterisks are apparently 'solidly' engraved (cf. the remarks under nos. **194–283** below). The obverse border probably consists of an outer linear and an inner dotted border, while on the reverse all that can be seen is a dotted border that could be the inner of two borders. Faint traces of inscription.
PLATE 6 (2·7 g.). Athens Dealer to Private Collection.

128. Variety with circular ornament on *loros* but without asterisk. Traces of double dotted border on obverse.
PLATE 6 (3·04 g.). Athens Museum.

129. Variety with asterisk on obverse. (The only such coin among nos. **128–50**.)

Metrology. The 23 coins, nos. **128–50**, were weighed to the nearest 0·1 g. Mean 3·28 g. (median 3·3 g.), standard deviation 0·59 g., standard error of the mean 0·13 g. The standard deviation is large, although not inordinately so. The heaviest 4 coins among the 23 weighed 4·9 g., 4·3 g., 4·0 g., and 4·0 g., and their omission from the calculations gives a much smaller standard deviation of 0·13 g. associated with a mean of 3·06 g. (median 3·0 g.). Also, the mean of a dozen coins with the several varieties with asterisks and circular *loros*-ornament, from various sources, was found to be 2·94 g., standard deviation 0·14 g., standard error of the mean 0·038 g. I think that I may have failed to divide up the coins of this type correctly, and that the four heavy specimens should have been listed with nos. **119–23**.

151. *BMC* Type 4, variety of small fabric and inferior engraving.

Obv. Three-quarters length figure of emperor, wearing *loros* ornamented as FIG 4*c*, and crown with pendants with 3 dots (ΙΒ′). He holds short cross to left. Traces of *dextera domini* to right, and of inscription, Ι to left and (?) Δ to right (for ΙCΑΑΚΙΟC ΔЄCΠΟΤΗC?). Single linear border.

Rev. Mother of God seated on high-backed throne. Traces of inscription (Ρ) to left.

Athens Dealer (1) to Private Collection. PLATE 6 (2·5 g.). This coin, which is unusual and characteristic in style, is rather similar to another said to have been found at Sparta in 1957 (see under no. **1190**). It must, therefore, be thought of as a regular, if scarce, stylistic variety. Cf. the similarly important parallelism noted under no. **51**.

(?) *Isaac II*

152. Type, Ratto 2143. *Obv.* Bearded standing figure of emperor wearing *chlamys* with dot for *tablion* and with somewhat exaggerated jewelling at outer edges, and crown with pendants with two dots. Short labarum with icon in the form of a rosette, and orb with cross with arms ending in dots? Traces of inscription right. Single linear border.

Rev. Bust of Christ, details uncertain (double-struck and weakly struck). Faint traces which might be construed as Є Μ to left of bust.

PLATE 4 (1·75 g.). Cf. Ratto 2076. For the tentative reattribution of this type to Isaac II, see Bellinger and Metcalf, op. cit. The 2 coins in the Arcadia hoard are larger and heavier (2·5 g., 2·1 g.), and one at least of them has pendants of the inverted form. A more closely similar coin, said to have been found at Sparta in 1957, is now in the Athens Museum (see under no. **1191**). Ratto 2076 weighed 1·33 g.

Alexius III, 1195–1203

153–4 and possibly one or two others. *BMC* Type 4, in fine style. These two coins are struck on large (30–31 mm.), well-rounded and deeply scyphate flans, and have the *loros* ornamented as FIG 4*a*.
Athens Museum (2).

155–8. Type as nos. **153–4**, but smaller (*c.* 25 mm.) and not in such good style. The four coins in the Athens Museum were discoloured black, showed ⊙ and other traces of the inscription, and had the *loros* ornamented as FIG 4*a*, in contrast with the remaining coins, nos. **162–89**, which, wherever the design could be distinguished, had it as FIG. 4*b*.
Athens Museum (4).

159–61 and others (say 110–20). From among the coins of *BMC* Type 4 in the hands of the Athens Dealer, four pieces were selected (nos. **159–61** and **190**). No. **159** is a specimen in better style than the average and was chosen for the unusually clear inscription; it also shows unusually high relief in the engraving of the figures. No. **160** was chosen for the shape of the flan. No. **161** is of a variety with an asterisk between the figures, and was, I think, the only such coin present (nor were there any of the variety in the parcel in the Athens Museum). No. **190**, an exceptionally small piece, was the only specimen in the parcel of such a reduced size.

159. *Obv.*.... ΛЄΞΙΟΔ...ΚωΜΝΗ... The *loros* ornament is in the form as FIG. 4*b*, and the pendants have 3 dots. The style of the labarum is more careful than usual, consisting of a large, central pellet, well rounded, with 5 smaller dots round it and a sixth in the centre. *Rev.* The lettering is large. The coin is mis-struck, having been struck twice, at 180°; the heads of the emperor and saint can be seen a second time on the middle of their bodies. There is a crack in the fabric of the coin above and between the heads of the

figures. A patchy survival of silvering gives the appearance of light gilding.
PLATE 6 (3·6 g.).

160. Type as above. The emperor's *loros* is ornamented as FIG. 4*c* and that of the saint as FIG. 4*e*. The pendants of the emperor's crown have 3 dots, while those of the saint's seem to have only 2 (it is usual for both to be the same). Double-struck. Patchy survival of silvering on a squarish flan.
PLATE 6 (3·3 g.).

161. *BMC* Type 4, variety with 2 asterisks between the figures. (Only traces of the lower asterisk can be seen at the edge of the impression.) The emperor's *loros* can be seen clearly on this specimen, and is ornamented as FIG 4*c*. Note that the pendants are of 2 dots. The orb has a cross in the form of 4 dots. The asterisk is irregularly engraved, and is probably of 6 rays. Single linear border. Double-struck. The flan is irregular in shape and of an almost black discoloration (a sign that the coin was originally well silvered?).
PLATE 6 (3·4 g.).
Athens Dealer (roughly 110–20) of which (3) to Private Collection.

162, 163–89. The remaining coins of Type 4 in the Athens Museum were 22–25 mm. in size, and of moderate workmanship. A typical specimen is shown on PLATE 6, **162**: the pendants are of 3 dots; 3·2 g.
Athens Museum (28).

190. Type as above, small variety. *Obv.* Bearded figures of emperor and saint. The saint's *loros*, as well as the emperor's, is ornamented as FIG 4*c*. The pendants of the emperor's crown are of the very unusual form shown in FIG. 3, ΙΗ′. Single linear border. There are traces which suggest that the type may have been overstruck on to an earlier one (e.g. on the emperor's *loros*).
Rev. Obscured by heavy 'shadowing' from the obverse.
Athens Dealer (one only?), (1) to Private Collection.
PLATE 6 (1·1 g.).

Non-Imperial?: imitation of Alexius III Type 4

191. *Obv.* Two standing figures, each in *loros* and crown. The figure on the right holds a short labarum, represented by 6 dots.
Rev. Nimbate, half-length bust of Christ, with long hair and garment of most unusual style (cf. a cope?). X to left.
Athens Museum (1). See the note under no. **1158.**
PLATE 5 (5·6 g.). The obverse cast is marred by bubbles.

Empire of Nicaea: Theodore I, 1204–22

192, 193 and two or three others. Out of 'about four' specimens among the coins in the hands of the Athens Dealer, no. **192** was selected as the clearest, and no. **193** on account of its unusually small size; the remaining pieces were of about the same size as no. **192.**

192. *Obv.* Standing figures of emperor and saint. Both are bearded. The ornamentation of the *loros* is as FIG. 4*g* on chest and as FIG 4*d* in centre (cf. no. **50** above). The cross is probably the usual double cross, obscured by mis-striking; both figures hold it. The pendants are of 2 dots. The emperor holds a cross left, with a small head composed of 4 dots. The saint's cuirass has 4 horizontal rows of dots (cf. nos. **50** and **1160**). Double linear border.
Rev. Mother of God seated on low-backed throne with jewels in squares (visible to left). Traces of indifferently engraved inscription left and right, $\overline{\ \ \mathrm{P}}\quad\overline{\mathrm{O}\ \ }$.
PLATE 5 (2·1 g.).

193. *Obv.* The *loros* ornament is as FIG. 4*g* on chest and as FIG. 4*b* in centre, and the pendants are of 2 dots. Details of the saint's dress are obscure. Single linear border.
Rev. No traces of reverse type visible, because of heavy 'shadowing' from the obverse type.
Athens Dealer ('about four') of which (2) to Private Collection.
PLATE 5 (0·6 g.). The lightest Scyphate coin I have seen.

Levkokhori, 1955

Manuel I, 1143–80

194–5, 196–283. *BMC* Type 11, with asterisks.

All these 90 coins, it seems, are of the same stylistic group, and of roughly the same size (20–25 mm.); they may be supposed all to be the work of one mint. The style of engraving (e.g. the robe of the Mother of God) might be characterized as linear—see PLATE 4, **194**, **195**. The types differ from the description given in *BMC* in respect of the obverse inscription, and the double border of dots. The inscription on the obverse, and the borders of dots on both sides of the coin, are often completely absent, and on all but a small proportion of the coins, only illegible traces of the inscription to the right can be seen. On one coin only out of 90 could ΜΑΝȢΗΛ be read in full. On this coin (as in traces on several others) the engraving of the inscription to right is 'sketchy' in comparison with that on the left of the same specimen, and is blundered and meaningless; see FIG. 4*k*. Another specimen appeared to read as FIG. 4*e*. One or two specimens showed ΔЄ, but an intelligible legend to right is less common than a blundered one.

The asterisks above the throne are generally of 8 rays, engraved by 4 intersecting lines. Occasionally the asterisks are very large. Two varieties in the form of the asterisk occur: one, which is evidently a substantive variety, with 6 specimens among 81 coins (on 9 specimens, no clear trace of asterisks could be seen, but for none of them could one say with certainty that asterisks were absent from the type), has a large central dot, and 8 rays disposed, not always very accurately, around it; the other, of which there was only the odd specimen, has a solidly engraved asterisk of which the triangular rays are rather irregularly disposed. (The normal asterisk may sometimes look like this through heavy striking, and I am not sure that it is a substantive variety. Cf. nos. **1**, **75–76**, and **1184**.)

Metrology. 64 coins were selected at random and weighed to the nearest 0·1 g. Mean, 2·44 g., standard deviation, 0·40 g., standard error of the mean, 0·05 g. The heaviest and lightest coins weighed 3·6 g. and 1·25 g.

No attempt was made, unfortunately, to distinguish the coins with asterisks with central dot. If, as the coins from the Paros hoard (nos. **22–23**) suggest, they were on

a higher weight-standard, these statistics may need slight downwards revision. The 64 coins included 6 weighing 3·0 g., and 5 weighing over 3·0 g.
PLATE 4, **194** (2·05 g.); **195** (2·25 g.).

284, 285–335. *BMC* Type 13/ii, variety of medium size. The figure of the emperor is more or less full length, and traces of the high-backed throne on the reverse can almost always be seen. These coins may be a stylistic group, perhaps related to nos. **194–283** by the style of engraving and striking described above as linear and fluid, and here even more sketchy. They are similar in size (20–25 mm.).

The types differ from the description given in *BMC* in the same respects as nos. **194–283** above. The inscription is commonly completely absent. Where it can be seen it is always circular. The part which can most often be read is ΔЄC.

Most of the coins have a blackish discoloration.

Metrology. Seventeen coins selected at random from those clearly belonging to the stylistic group were weighed to the nearest 0·05 g. Mean, 2·38 g. (median, 2·25 g.), standard deviation, 0·34 g., standard error of the mean, 0·08 g. The heaviest and lightest coins weighed 3·10 g. and 1·90 g.

PLATE 4, **284** (2·4 g.). Cf. especially the reverse of PLATE 4, **78.**

336–9, 340–1028. *BMC* Type 13/ii, variety of small size. (Ratto 2077, Goodacre no. 23.) All these coins form a stylistic group. The obverse is much more firmly engraved than nos. **284–335** above, and the reverse design is characteristic. The inscription is usually completely absent. Where it can be seen, it is always circular. The letters of ΜΑΝȢΗΛ are usually well cut. One coin only showed a full, clear reading of ΔЄCΠΟΤ .... The whole inscription, or, more commonly, the part to the right, is sometimes blundered or meaningless. A single, heavy, linear border is normally found. The standard form of the pendants for this variety is 1 dot. The form of the labarum varies. Its icon is commonly rectangular, with a dot in the centre, but is occasionally represented by a rosette of six dots plus one in the centre. There is sometimes a dot on the staff of the labarum. The reverse type is occasionally almost absent, and is usually weakly struck. On the better specimens, the design is normally limited to a half-length figure of the Mother of God, perhaps with traces of the high-backed throne; in other words, the edges of the design are omitted from the die. The specimens described and illustrated (nos. **336–9**) are better than average.

336. Note the characteristic branch-like form of emperor's hand, holding the labarum, and cf. no. **1186**. The shape of the icon is marked by four dots, and there is a fifth in the centre. The figure of the emperor is cut off at the bottom by a line of dots. The legend is degenerate (? Μ Δ).
PLATE 5 (1·5 g.).

337. This is the specimen, referred to above, with the exceptionally clear legend, ΜΑИȢΗΛ ΔЄCΠΟΤΗ... The pendants, with 2 dots, and the labarum, apparently represented as 4*g*, mark the coin out as being in unusual style. PLATE 5 (1·4 g.).

338. The *tablion* on the emperor's *chlamys* can be seen. This specimen shows clearly the very characteristic reverse design, with the head of the infant Christ and the hands of the Mother of God as its central element. PLATE 4 (1·5 g.).

339. The style of this coin is not so good, and the legend is degenerate (FIG. 4*m*). Labarum in the form of a rosette.
PLATE 5 (1·6 g.).

Metrology. Eighty-one coins were selected at random, and weighed to the nearest 0·05 g. Mean, 1·62 g., standard deviation 0·38 g., standard error of the mean, 0·04 g.

Isaac II, 1185–95

1029–66. *BMC* Type 4. These 38 coins showed a rather wider range of style than the groups so far described from the Levkokhori hoard. Seven coins were of better but by no means the finest style. Most of the coins were discoloured black.

Metrology. Leaving aside the seven better specimens, 31 coins were weighed to the nearest 0·1 g. and gave a mean of 2·69 g., standard deviation 0·40 g., standard error of the mean, 0·07 g.

Alexius III, 1195–1203

1067–1156. *BMC* Type 4. These 90 coins are in the common provincial style, and are not a noticeably close group. They generally lack an inscription on the imperial side. One coin was noted which had the orb in the form of a rosette.

Metrology. Thirty-three coins, selected at random from among those of average style, and weighed to the nearest 0·1 g., gave a mean of 2·68 g., standard deviation, 0·47 g., standard error of the mean, 0·082 g.

1157. Type as above, but variety with two crosses between the standing figures, below the orb. (Cf. no. **48** above, which, however, has two asterisks.)

Non-Imperial?: imitation of Alexius III Type 4

1158. *Obv.* The 2 standing figures are virtually identical. The ornamentation of the saint's *loros*, as well as that of the emperor, is as FIG 4*f*. The saint holds a jewelled sceptre right in place of a labarum. The pendants are in the irregular form illustrated in FIG. 3, | ⊖′. Crude style.

Rev. Bust of Christ engraved in crude and forceful style. Note the pellet for chin and eyes, the style of the hair, the radiate form of the cross in the nimbus, and the linear engraving of the drapery.

The obverse of this coin is quite similar to a piece in the Thessaly hoard, no. **191** above; the X of the reverse inscription should also be compared. Both coins are struck on deep, well-rounded flans. For the reverse, cf. *BMC*³ Pl. xxvi, 8 and Ratto 2278 (a silver coin attributed there to Manuel of Salonica), and, for the obv., the very similar piece in Bellinger, op. cit. pl. 8, 12.
PLATE 5 (2·2 g.). The casts are marred by bubbles.

Empire of Nicaea: Theodore I, 1204–22

1159–60, 1161–71. These 13 coins are so indifferently struck that it is impossible to be sure that the reverse design of each corresponds with the *BMC* type, and difficult to determine many of the details of the obverse type.

1159. *Obv.* The ornamentation of the *loros* is as FIG. 4*g* above and as FIG. 4*d* in centre. The pendants of the crown are of 2 dots. The arms of the cross which the emperor holds ends in dots and there appears to be a rosette of dots beside it (cf. no. **50**). Single linear border.

Rev. Mother of God holding the Infant Christ. Traces of inscription to left, as FIG. 4*h*. Note the modelling of the face. The nimbus is not crucigerous. Flan of irregular shape, similar to the coin of Alexius III in the Paros hoard, no. **36** above.

PLATE 5 (2·0 g.).

1160. *Obv.* The *loros*-ornamentation is ⁚ above and as FIG. 4*b* in centre. The pendants have 2 dots. Cuirass with 3 *vertical* rows of dots, cf. nos. **50** and **192**. Other details obscure.

Rev. Seated figure of Mother of God. The head-covering, with a jewel in the form of FIG. 4*g* at the centre of the forehead, can be seen clearly on this specimen. Traces of inscription P̄ .

PLATE 5 (1·8 g.).

Metrology. There are differences in size among the 13 coins and corresponding differences in weight: *larger* (22–25 mm.) 2·7 g., 2·7 g., 2·6 g., 2·0 g. (PLATE 5, **1159**); mean, 2·5 g.; *medium* 2·5 g., 2·4 g., 2·3 g., 1·4 g.; mean, 2·15 g.; *smaller* (20–22 mm.) 3·1 g., 1·8 g. (PLATE 5, **1160**), 1·5 g., 1·4 g., 1·2 g.; mean, 1·8 g.

Unattributed Coins

1172. Uncertain type. *Obv.* Standing emperor in *chlamys* holding cross with head of 4 dots. (Probably Ratto 2143.)

1173–83. Eleven coins of 'provincial' fabric, too poorly struck to be identified.

(?) Attica, 1959

The 15 or 20 coins that I saw were undoubtedly of the same provenance. Broadly speaking, all the coins were of the same fabric and the same 'linear' style referred to under nos. **194–283** above. Most of them were very indifferently made, and the coins illustrated on the accompanying plates were *substantially better struck than the average.* Most of the coins had striking-cracks. See pp. 49 f. above.

Manuel I, 1143–80

1184–5 and about a dozen others. *BMC* Type 11, with asterisks, in the general style of nos. **194–283** above.

1184. *Obv.* The *loros*-ornament is as FIG. 4*c*.

Rev. The asterisks are of the 'solidly' engraved variety (but cf. the remarks under nos. **194–283** above). There is a single dotted border, and 1 pellet in the arm of the nimbus cruciger.

Private Collection. PLATE 4 (2·5 g.).

1185. *Obv.* The *loros*-ornament is approximately as on no. **1184**. The pendants are of 2 dots. There are traces of an inscription to the right, and of a single linear border.

Rev. Both the asterisk to the left and the letters IC are unusually large. At first glance the asterisk might be taken to be 6-rayed, but this is because the vertical line is weakly struck; I wonder whether the same may not be true of some or all of the other '6-rayed' specimens, nos. **21**, **60–65** and one or two others. There is a double dotted border, which is also an unusual feature.

Private Collection. PLATE 4 (2·5 g.).

1186–7 and one or two others. *BMC* Type 13/ii, coins of medium size, in the general style of nos. **284–335** above.

1186. *Obv.* M [A] N… …Π….in lettering of quite neat style. The labarum is indicated by 6 dots arranged thus: ⁚:⁚, and the emperor's hand, holding the labarum, is in a style reminiscent of that on the small variety of the type (see under no. **336**). The pendants are of 1 dot. There are traces of a single linear border.

Rev. Weakly struck: details obscure.

Private Collection. PLATE 4 (2·2 g.).

1187. *Obv.* Traces of inscription… N… ΔЄCΠOTHC. The labarum is represented more conventionally than on the preceding coin; there are apparently 4 dots on the staff, but as the coin shows other evidence of double-striking on a vertical axis, there may have been fewer on the die. The pendants are of 1 dot.

Rev. The central part of the design is reminiscent of that on the small variety, as noted under no. **338** above.

Private Collection. PLATE 4 (3·2 g.).

Single-finds of Unknown Provenance

The following coins had been brought to Athens, where they were seen in 1959:

1188. John II, 1118–43, Type 6B, very small variety.

Obv. There are definitely only 9 jewels on the emperor's *loros*, and the pendants are of the inverted form, I Γ′.

Rev. Bust of Christ holding Book of the Gospels.

Private Collection. PLATE 4 (1·2 g.).

1189. Manuel I, 1143–80, Type 13/ii, very small variety.

Obv. Cf. nos. **336** ff., but the *chlamys* is of an inferior style.

Rev. Head of Mother of God with jewelled head-covering. Single linear border. Other details obscured by wear and by 'shadowing' from the obverse.

Private Collection. PLATE 4 (1·4 g.).

(?) **Sparta, 1957**

1190. Isaac II, 1185–95, *BMC* Type 4, variety of small fabric and inferior engraving.

Obv. Three-quarters length figure of emperor, wearing *loros* and crown. He holds short cross or labarum to left.

Rev. Mother of God seated on high-backed throne, holding the Infant Christ.

Athens Museum. Said to have been found at Sparta in 1957. Cf. *BCH* 1958, 654. The reverse seems to be in better style than that of no. **151** above.
PLATE 6 (2·7 g.).

1191. (?)Isaac II, Ratto 2143. *Obv.* All the details noted under no. **152**, except the orb, can be seen.
Rev. Bearded bust of Christ.
Athens Museum. PLATE 4 (1·3 g.).

D. M. METCALF

THE 'DOUBLE STOKING TUNNEL' OF GREEK KILNS

(PLATE 7)

IT has been and still is widely supposed that some Greek kilns had a stoking tunnel that was divided lengthwise into two parts.[1] The evidence is the representation of a kiln on the Corinthian clay plaque illustrated on PLATE 7*b*.[2] It is of the second quarter of the sixth century B.C. and was found in 1879 in the deposit at Penteskouphia near Corinth.[3] This representation is interpreted usually as a horizontal plan; at one end, misplaced for clarity, is the chimney, which should rightly be on the top, and at the other end is the stoking tunnel, divided down its length by a wall. Recently M. Bimson has protested that the view on the plaque is a vertical section across the chamber of the kiln, and that the support below the floor is a wall that does not extend into the tunnel.[4] That the plaque gives a section is true, but it is a section along the kiln and the support is a pier, probably circular. This was presumably so evident to Furtwängler, who first published the plaque, that he did not argue the interpretation;[5] but it seems that after all argument is needed.

Many of the plaques from Penteskouphia are decorated on both sides and ours is one of them. The side opposite that with the kiln is illustrated on PLATE 7*a*.[6] It shows a man and the hind part of a boar. Since the right edge is broken and it is very rarely that any of these plaques shows an incomplete figure, it can be calculated that we have less than half of the original scene. The same must be true also of the side with the kiln and, since very few of the plaques combine two scenes on one side,[7] there must be a considerable extension of this scene to the left. An examination of the other published plaques with kilns[8] leaves little doubt of what that extension was. The regular view of a kiln is from the side, usually an elevation, but in two instances a partial section (PLATE 7*c*–*d*).[9] Often there is a workman busy at the stoke-hole or the chimney.[10] In the two sectional views just mentioned faggots can be seen in the stoking tunnel and embers or other small pieces are spilling into the near part of the lower chamber. On the plaque we are discussing the cinders are shown in the same way and, though the stoking tunnel is missing, it is reasonably certain that the scene should be completed much as in PLATE 7c.

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[1] G. M. A. Richter, *The Craft of Athenian Pottery* (1923) 76. L. Hussong, *Zur Technik der attischen Gefässkeramik* (1928) 28–29, fig. 9. K. A. Neugebauer, *Führer durch das Antiquarium II; Vasen* (1932) 27. T. Schumann, *Berichte der deutschen keramischen Gesellschaft* 1942, 423–5. A. Lane, *Greek Pottery* (1948) 6. A. Winter, *Keramische Zeitschrift* 1957, 14–16.

[2] Berlin, Ehemals Staatliche Museen, F. 893. Ht. 9·8 cm. *AD* i, pl. 8. 19*b*. For the photograph published here I am indebted to Dr. A. Greifenhagen.

[3] Fragments of about 700 plaques showed intelligible traces of decoration or inscriptions. Most went to Berlin (now in the Ehemals Staatliche Museen) and were described by A. Furtwängler in *Beschreibung der Vasensammlung im Antiquarium* i (1885) 47–105, with illustrations later in *AD* i, pls. 7–8; ii, pls. 23–24, 29–30, 39–40. E. Pernice made some additions and corrections in *JdI* 1897, 9–48. Some other plaques went to the Louvre (O. Rayet, *Gazette archéologique* 1880, 101–7; M. Collignon, *Monuments grecs* xi–xiii. 23–32; F. Villard and G. Vallet, *Mél.* 1953, pl. 2).

[4] *AJ* 1956, 202–3 and the caption to pl. XIV*a*. Her use of 'wall' shows that she is thinking of a section across the kiln.

[5] *Beschreibung* 99 (F. 893). He does not say explicitly whether the section is across or along the kiln, but he mentions that the scene is incomplete on the left. Later students do not seem to have noticed this.

[6] *AD* i, pl. 8. 19*a*. For the photograph published here I am indebted to Professor C. Blümel.

[7] Berlin F. 783 (*AD* i, pl. 8. 24).

[8] *AD* i, pl. 8. 1, 4, 12, 15, 21, 22, 26; ii, pl. 23. 7*a*; pl. 24. 19; pl. 30. 15; pl. 39. 12, 13, 17; pl. 40. 9, 21: *JdI* 1897, 19, fig. 9, 37, fig. 28, 38, fig. 32: *Mél.* 1953, pl. 2. 1–2. Furtwängler (*Beschreibung* 70) inclined to the view of A. Milchhöfer that except for the one under discussion these structures were not potters' kilns but metal foundries. His arguments are insufficient.

[9] Ehemals Staatliche Museen, F. 611 (*AD* i, pl. 8. 26); F. 616 (*AD* i, pl. 8. 12). For the photographs published here I am indebted again to Dr. A. Greifenhagen.

[10] Where a man is shown standing on the stoking tunnel, he is probably to be understood as on the ground behind it: the tunnel would, I suppose, be too hot to stand on in bare feet. Ancient kilns seem usually to have been sunk in the ground to near the top of the stoking tunnel, and there was a pit for the stoker.

To this interpretation two objections might be made. First, the floor between the lower and upper chambers (which is, of course, perforated) is shown not as horizontal, but curving down to its centre: either the artist here was confusing a plan with a section, or else he was careless. Secondly, the object at the back of the lower chamber looks out of place.[11] But similar objections face those who interpret the representation as a plan; they in turn must explain the position of the chimney, and the object at the bottom on the right is still perplexing.

This plaque is the only evidence, apart from dubious theoretical justifications, for the use of a double stoking tunnel by the Greeks. No such tunnel has been noted in any Greek kiln yet found, and there are more kilns available than might be thought.[12] But it is perhaps natural to be deluded by the refinement of much Greek painted pottery into expecting some special elaboration in the structure of Greek kilns.

APPENDIX

Ancient Kilns in Greece

A. *Neolithic*

1. Olynthus. Late Neolithic. *Excavations at Olynthus* i. 12–18. Oval.

B. *Early Bronze Age*

1. Ay. Mamas, nr. Olynthus. Early Bronze Age. W. A. Heurtley, *Prehistoric Macedonia* 5–7. Round.
2. Sesklo. Kiln? Presumably Early Bronze Age.[13] N. D. Papahatzis, ἡ Περιοχὴ τοῦ Βόλου^3 20.

D. *Late Bronze Age*

1. Achladia, nr. Sitea. L.M. IIIB. *PAE* 1952, 646, fig. 25.
2. Berbati. L.H. IIIB. *Archeologiska Forskningar och Fynd* 32–46; *AIRRS* 1941, 165, fig. 1; *Bericht über den VI. Internat. Kongress für Archäologie* 296–7; *AA* 1938, 564, fig. 11. Oval.

3–4. Cnossus, nr. south-east corner of Palace. Two kilns (A and B). L.M. IA or L.M. II. Κρητικὰ Χρονικά 1957, 338; *Archaeological Reports 1957*, 24. Round.

5. Pylos, in north-east part of citadel. L.H. IIIB. *AJA* 1960, 155, pl. 40. 9. Round.
6. Thebes. L.H. III. *EA* 1909, 63.
7. Tiryns, Citadel L.H. III. *AM* 1913, 338–41, figs. 3–4. Round.
8. Zou, nr. Sitea. L.H. IA. *Archaeology in Greece 1956*, 23.

E. *Protogeometric and Geometric*[14]

1. Argos, east of new museum (square Δ. 3). 10th cent. B.C. *BCH* 1959, 768, fig. 24. Round.
2. Argos, south quarter (Sector B). 10th cent. B.C. *BCH* 1957, 677, fig. 31. Round.

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[11] Unless, as Furtwängler suggested in his description, it is a flame: it is coloured red, but there is red also on the necks of the pots above.

[12] e.g. P. Mingazzini, *Atti e Memorie Soc.M.Gr.* N.S. i (1954) 33–38; G. M. A. Richter, *Attic Red-Figured Vases*^{2} (1958) 33. I append a list of kilns in Greece that are known to me: it is not likely to be complete.

[13] I owe this information to Dr. D. Theochares. As he says, this kiln (or oven) must be later than the Neolithic structures among which it is built.

[14] A late Geometric kiln near the chapel of Ay. Panayitsa at Argos is mentioned in *Archaeological Reports for 1958*, 6: but according to *BCH* 1959, 755 it is not certain that a kiln was found. Cf. also the ovens of houses at Delphi, probably of the second half of the 8th cent. B.C. (*BCH* 1950, 321, fig. 9, and 328, fig. 49; 1951, 139; 1957, 708, fig. 3).

F. *Archaic*

1. Athens, Acropolis (between Classical and earlier walls). Before 460 B.C.[15] P. Cavvadias and G. Kawerau, *Die Ausgrabung der Akropolis* 120, pl. Z (point 75). Oval?
2. Athens, Agora: nr. Tholos. *c.* 650 B.C. *Hesperia* Suppl. iv. 6–7, figs. 4–5, pl. 1. Round.
3. Sparta, north-east of town and near river. Archaic (to judge by finds). *AM* 1887, 300.

G. *Classical*

1–3. Athens, Ceramicus: under new museum. Three successive kilns. 5th–4th cent. B.C. *AA* 1937, 184–5, figs. 4 and 11. Pear-shaped.
4–6. Athens, Ceramicus: Chabrias area. Three kilns (A, B, C). First half of 4th cent. B.C. *AA* 1942, 204–6, figs. 1–3. One at least (A) was pear-shaped.
7. Ay. Petros, Cynuria (east of road from Tripoli to Sparta). Not later than 3rd cent. B.C.[16] *AM* 1908, 177–84. Round.
8–10. Cnossus, Monastiriko Kephali. Three successive kilns (A, B, C). Early to middle 4th cent. B.C. *BSA* xlv. 165–92. Round.
11–12. Corinth: close to G. 13. Two kilns (?). Presumably, if kilns, earlier than G. 13.
13. Corinth, near modern road to Lechaeum. Tile kiln. 4th cent. B.C. A. K. Orlandos, Τὰ Ὑλικὰ Δομῆς τῶν Ἀρχαίων Ἑλλήνων i, figs. 41–42 (restoration improbable); *AA* 1942, 144; *Ancient Corinth, a Guide*², 113–14. Rectangular.
14. Olympia, under south colonnade of peristyle house V. Not later than 5th cent. B.C. *Ol.B.* iv. 57 and 96, pl. 21. Round.
15–20. Olympia, under South Hall. At least six kilns. Classical. *Ol.B.* iii. 33–34, figs. 21–22. At least one rectangular and one round.
21. Olympia, to south of east part of South Hall. Perhaps of same date as G. 15–20. *Ol.B.* iii. 34.[17] Rectangular.
22. Olympia, under room 7 of peristyle house II. 350–300 B.C. *Ol. B.* iv. 25–31, fig. 13, pl. 11; vi, pls. 2 (at II. 7) and 4 (at 4). Rectangular.

H. *Hellenistic*

1. Argos, under new museum. Probably 3rd cent. B.C. *BCH* 1957, 651, figs. 16 *bis*–17, 26. Rectangular.
2–5. Athens, Ceramicus: north-west of Round Bath. Four kilns or ovens. Probably 3rd cent. B.C. *AA* 1938, 609, Beil. 3; 1940, 322–3. Apparently one round, three pear-shaped.
6. Athens, Ceramicus: south-east of Round Bath. Hellenistic. *AA* 1936, 209, fig. 21 (at T). Pear-shaped.
7. Pella: kiln 2. Probably late 4th cent. B.C. *Archaeological Reports for 1958*, 13, fig. 16; *BCH* 1959, 702, fig. 20. Rectangular.
8. Troizen. Said to be Hellenistic. *AA* 1937, 185. Round.

J. *Roman*

1. Athens, Ceramicus: by column XIII of Pompeion. Between 86 B.C. and A.D. 140. *AM* 1931, 96–97; fig. 2, Beil. 3–5. *AA* 1937, 185–6. Rectangular.
2–3. Athens, Ceramicus: by propylon of Pompeion. Two kilns, one built inside the other. Between A.D. 267 and 395. Rectangular.

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[15] This kiln may, of course, be much earlier than Archaic.

[16] Said to be especially like the best preserved of G. 15–20 (*Ol.B.* iii. 34).

[17] Remains of other kilns are mentioned between the South Hall and the Bouleuterion.

4. Athens, Ceramicus: to west of Sacred Gate and inside Themistoclean wall. Fourth cent. A.D.[18] *PAE* 1873, 18–19, plan; *Greece* (Hachette World Guides), plan on p. 117. Rectangular.
5. Aulis, at north-west corner of nearest building south-west of temple. Late Roman. Τὸ Ἔργον 1959, 29, figs. 27, 29. More or less rectangular.
6. Gortys, Arcadia. Roman. *BCH* 1953, 268, fig. 63 (cf. *BCH* 1952, pl. 11). Rectangular.
7. Olympia, in south-west corner of Cladeus Baths. Between A.D. 175 and 300. *Ol.B.* iv. 66 and 95, fig. 33. Round.
8. Olympia, at north-west corner of Palaestra. Fourth cent. A.D. *Ol.B.* iv. 22–23, figs. 10–11. Rectangular.
9. Olympia, against south wall of Palaestra. Fourth cent. A.D. *Ol.B.* iv. 22–24, fig. 12, pl. 11. *Ausgrabungen zu Olympia* v, pl. 5. Rectangular.
10. Pella: kiln 1. Early Roman. Round.

K. *Byzantine*

1. Athens, North Slope of Areopagus (square P. 21). 7th cent. A.D. Round.
2. Olympia, in Sweating Bath ('Heroon' to north of 'Byzantine church'). Byzantine (or late Roman). *Olympia* ii. 106–7, figs. 59–60; *Ol.B.* iv. 39. Round.

R. M. Cook

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[18] It contained lamps which at the time of the excavation (1872–3) were considered to be of the fourth century A.D.; but anyhow from its position this kiln should be later than A.D. 267.

EARLY IRON AGE TOMBS AT KNOSSOS

(Knossos Survey **25**)[1]

(PLATES 8–11)

THIS group of tombs lies about 50 metres south-west of the main Knossos–Herakleion road, immediately opposite the new Sanatorium. Here in the autumn of 1953 Mr. David Smollett, then engaged in making the map for the Knossos Survey, noticed some large sherds which had been thrown into a rubbish pit on the edge of a small patch of ground newly ploughed for a vineyard (Plan, FIG. 1, a). The vineyard lay on the top of a slight knoll behind the café on the

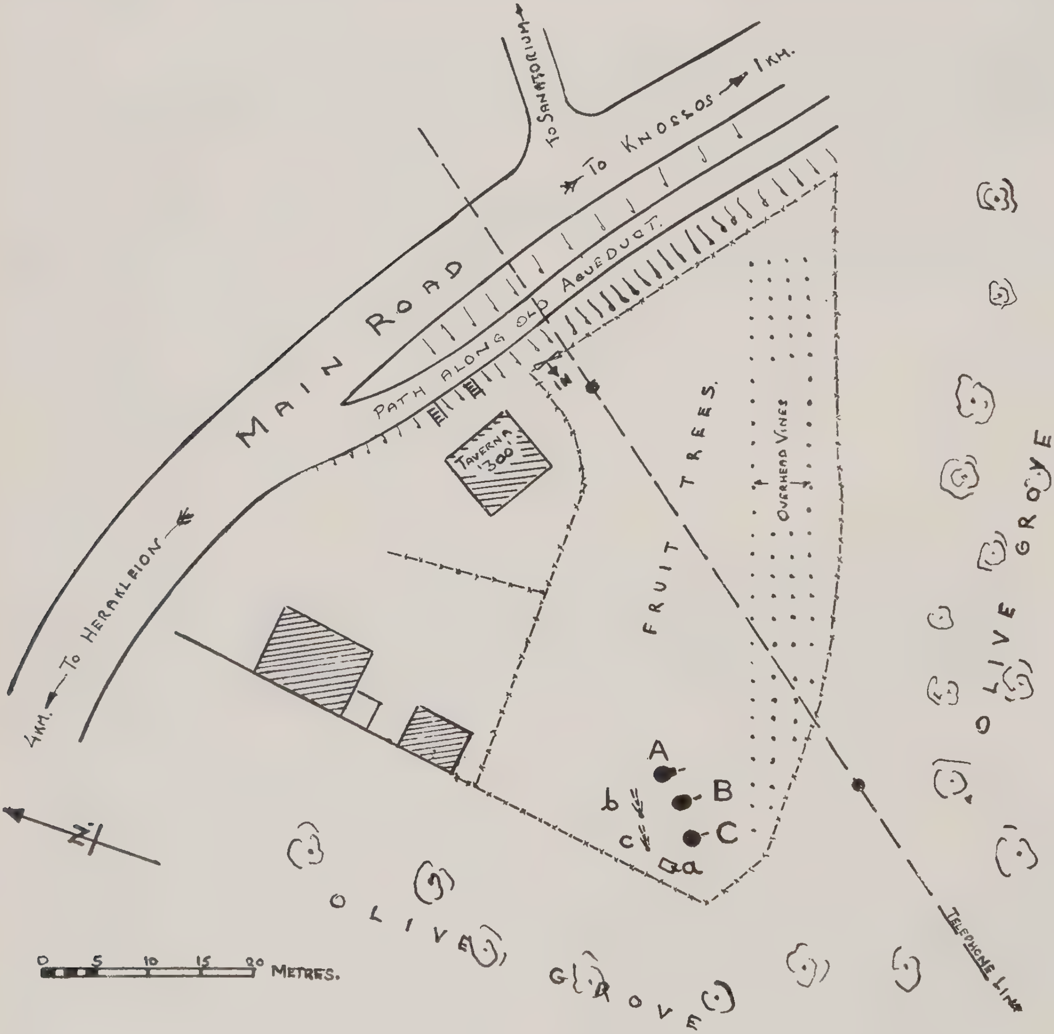
TO SANATORIUM
TO KNOSSOS → 1KM.
MAIN ROAD
PATH ALONG OLD AQUEDUCT.
TAVERNA 300
FRUIT TREES
OVERHEAD VINES
OLIVE GROVE
4KM. ← TO HERAKLEION
A
B
C
a
b
c
N
0 5 10 15 20 METRES.
OLIVE GROVE
TELEPHONE LINE

FIG. 1. PLAN OF THE AREA (by Mr. Smollett)

west side of the road. The knoll had until this time been occupied by a threshing floor, and was pointed out by the local inhabitants as the site of the 'Tomb of Caiaphas'. But the great Roman concrete-built tomb traditionally known as the 'Tomb of Caiaphas', was really, it appears, on the main road some metres away to the north-west (Knossos Survey **23**): it was destroyed about 1880 when the road was built.[2]

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[1] Hood, *Archaeological Survey of the Knossos Area* (published 1958).

The sherds recovered by Mr. Smollett, some of them large and freshly broken from fine Geometric vases, made it seem likely that there was a disturbed tomb of that period in the area. Permission was therefore sought, and readily granted by Dr. N. Platon, Ephor of Antiquities for Crete, to explore the field before it was planted with vines. Trials led to the discovery of three small collapsed chamber tombs, all apparently Iron Age in date, cut in the soft *kouskouras* rock. The tombs clearly belong to the same complex as tombs L, Π, and TFT which have been published by Brock in *Fortetsa* (1957). They stood in a row with their entrances facing south towards Knossos. Two isolated burials (Plan, FIG. 1, b, c), extended on their backs with their heads to the west and feet to the east immediately below the surface of the field, may be Roman or later; there was a bent iron nail by the left hand of burial c. The knoll with the tombs lies near the western edge of the big Roman cemetery which covered the region now occupied by the new Sanatorium (Knossos Survey **35**).

The tomb A (Plan, FIG. 2*a*, *b*; PLATE 1 top, photo by Mr. Smollett), from which the fragments of vases recovered by Mr. Smollett had come, was the only one with much in it. It had

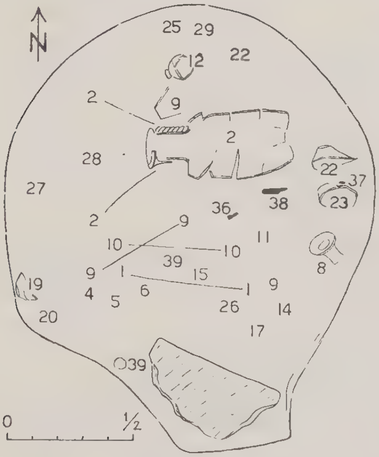

FIG. 2*a*. TOMB A, UPPER LEVEL

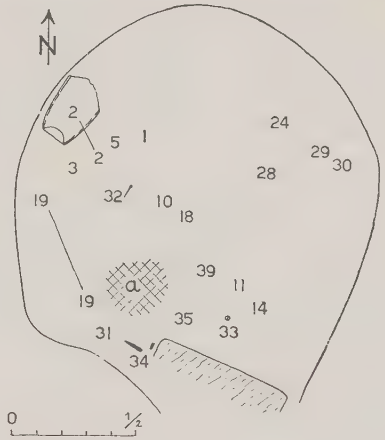

FIG. 2*b*. TOMB A, LOWER LEVEL

a chamber, roughly circular and about 1·50 m. in diameter, with the floor 0·50 below the surface of the field. The field had been ploughed to a depth of about 0·15 to 0·20 m., leaving only about 0·30 m. of undisturbed deposit in the tomb. How much of the contents of the tomb had been lost and destroyed before excavation is not certain. About two basketfuls of sherds, mostly of vases coming from this tomb, were recovered from the rubbish pit (Plan, FIG. 1, a) and from the surface of the field.

In the top of the undisturbed deposit in the chamber of tomb A were remains of broken vases together with a certain amount of burnt bone. The burnt bone, however, seemed to be concentrated to a depth of about 0·10 m. immediately above the floor in the area in front of the entrance, especially round the point a on the Plan, FIG. 2*b*. The burial or burials in the tomb were evidently therefore cremations, but it was not possible to judge in which of the much-shattered vases the burnt bones had been contained. Presumably, however, the large amphora (**2**) and perhaps **1**, **3**, **5**, **6**, and **7** had held cremations.

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[2] Xanthoudides, *Athena* xiii (1901) 305 f.

The vases from the tomb range from Late Protogeometric to Late Geometric or Early Orientalizing in date. The richest burials appear to have been of the Protogeometric B and Late Geometric periods. But there was no sign of any stratification in what was left of the tomb, and parts of the same vases seemed to occur at all levels. Fragments of the large amphora **2** for example were recovered from the floor. Apart from vases and iron weapons, finds from the tomb include a gold pin (**32**) and a gold and amber bead (**33**). Below the mass of vase-fragments on the north side of the tomb was a fill of clean, fallen *kouskouras* noticeably bare of sherds.

The floor of the tomb had been strewn with a layer of fine gravel about 0·05 m. thick. The gravel, according to the workmen, may have come from the beach of Pachyammo by ancient Amnisos, east of Herakleion Aerodrome.

All trace of the dromos had gone. The chamber was entered down a step in the entrance,[3] and only the bottom stone of the blocking wall remained in the step. This was lying at an angle, and had evidently been disturbed from its original position. It was of limestone, roughly squared (L. 0·56; max. W. 0·30; Ht. 0·12 m.), probably of Minoan workmanship and re-used. A similar but larger block (L. 0·73; max. W. 0·44; Ht. 0·23 m.; FIG. 3), lying on the surface of the field before the excavation began, had come from the blocking wall of this tomb, according to the owner of the land. This stone, squared on three sides and on both faces, was almost certainly Minoan. One face had a boldly carved cross-sign (0·10×0·12 m.) on it: according to the owner of the land the sign had been lying face downwards when the block was in position in the entrance to the tomb.

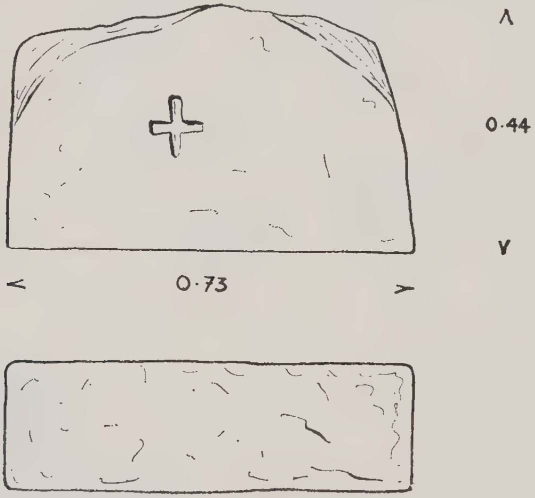

FIG. 3

The second tomb (B) was smaller, with a chamber between 1·20 and 1·30 m. in diameter. The lack of finds from this tomb and the character of the fill suggested that it had already been excavated in recent times. Perhaps it was one of the tombs dug by Payne in this area (Knossos

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[3] Cf. Brock, *Fortetsa* 2.

Survey **26**): Payne's tomb TFT was somewhere here. This was 'less than 1·25 in diameter', about the same size as our tomb B, and its name 'Threshing Floor Tomb' would very suitably describe the position of our tomb.[4] Tomb TFT contained fifteen cremation burials ranging in date from Protogeometric to early Orientalizing. But the plan of tomb TFT does not seem to agree with that of our tomb B; and its floor, to judge from the section published, appears to have been at a somewhat greater depth than that of tomb B, which was only some 0·80 m. below the surface of the field, with the entrance about half a metre higher.

From the upper part of the fill of tomb B were recovered many sherds, especially of the Geometric period, including the fine fragment (PLATE 11, FIG. 13, **vi**). In the lower part of the fill, with their bottoms only about 0·10 above the floor of the tomb, were three large stones (the largest L. 0·59; W. 0·30; Th. 0·14 m.), which might have originally come from the blocking wall in the entrance. From their position it seemed as if they might have been thrown into the tomb by the previous excavators when they filled it in.

No complete vases were recovered from tomb B, and the only finds, which were lying immediately above its floor, consisted of a few much-corroded fragments of iron, and remains of bronze trinkets—rings and fibulae. There were traces of human bones, including pieces of one or two skulls, which would suggest the presence of inhumation burials here and not cremations as in tomb A. A brownish stain in the northern part of the tomb seemed to represent decayed bone indicating the place where one or more bodies had lain.

The third tomb, C, like B, may have been already excavated. The floor of the oval chamber (L. 1·20; W. 1·48 m.) was about 1·30 m. below the surface of the field. Nothing was recovered from the chamber except some bits of a bronze fibula, and scraps of unburnt bone, including part of a skull which may have been lying in its original position on the floor. The bones were again unburnt, and this tomb, like tomb B, may be Protogeometric rather than Geometric in date. Only one side of the entrance into the chamber was preserved; the floor of the entrance was about 0·45 m. higher than that of the chamber.

These three tombs appear to belong to a single group. One had cremation burials, but the other two (as far as the remains left in them permit us to judge) contained inhumations at any rate during the first period of their use. Cremation seems to have been the general rite of burial throughout the early Iron Age (from Protogeometric times onwards) at Knossos. In the tombs excavated by Payne, Blakeway, and Brock, only one possible case of inhumation was reported.[5] This, however, was in Tomb L by Louka's Taverna (Knossos Survey **27**), only a few metres from our three tombs. But other Protogeometric tombs at Ayios Ioannis[6] (Knossos Survey **3**), and one with Early Protogeometric vases dug in 1958 on the path to Isopata,[7] certainly contained inhumation burials.

M. S. F. HOOD

THE FINDS

Tomb A

1. Amphora. PLATE 8. H. 0·64. Half of the body is missing. Pink clay with a pale-cream slip. Black stripes at the lip, base of neck, two on the body, and at the foot. Cross stripes on the strap handles. The base is flat. LPG. The angular, splaying lip, handle decoration, and absence of circles on the shoulder show that this is late in the PG series of neck amphorae. Cf. *Fortetsa* pl. 19. 285; *BSA* xxix (1927–8) pl. 5. 6; *BSA* 55 (1960) pl. 33. I 3, 4.

2. Amphora with twisted handles. PLATES 8–9, FIG. 4. H. 0·586. Pink clay with impurities. Dark-brown paint on a pale-cream slip. Cross bars on the top of the lip and a band within it. Maeander and zigzags on both sides of the neck. Cross bars on the handles. Figured panels on the shoulder: A—a horse at a manger with a star over its back; B—a horse at a manger with a cross-hatched rectangle over its back. Between the sides of the panels and the handle bases is a wart or mastos. On A the painter has forgotten to fill in one of the 'butterfly' motifs below the shoulder panel. A simple ring base. LG. Not a very common shape at Knossos in the Geometric period, cf. *Fortetsa* pl. 55. 880, 889; *BSA* xxix (1927–8) 248, nos. 68–70, pl. 7. 8. A compromise between the Knossian, full-bodied shape, and the Attic/Cycladic type (as *Fortetsa* pl. 43, and cf. *BSA* xlix (1949) pl. 21. 22). Neck panels and body stripes are typical of the period (*Fortetsa* pls. 48–53 *passim*). For the star as filling ornament see *BSA* xxxi (1930–1) pl. 16. 22; *Fortetsa* pl. 107. 1414; this is commoner in Attic.

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[4] Ibid. 60 f., pls. 2 (c) and 152 (Plan).

[5] Ibid. 3, 31.

[6] *BSA* 55 (1960) 128 ff.

[7] North of Knossos Survey **7**; *Archaeological Reports for 1958* 21.

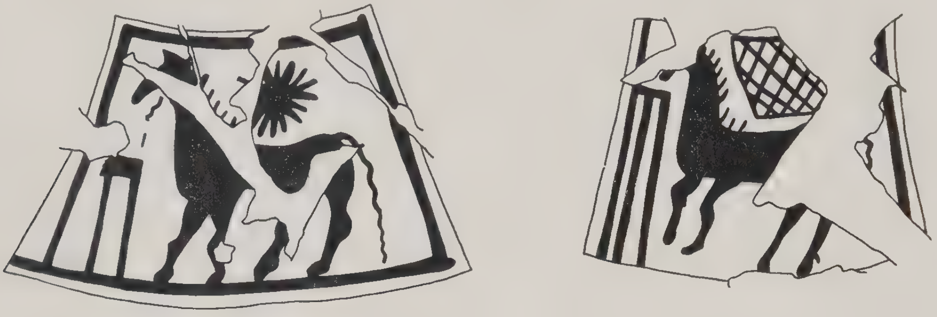

FIG. 4. **2,** DETAILS (1 : 2)

3. Amphora with double belly-handles. PLATE 9. H. 0·676. Pink clay with a pale-cream slip; black paint. In a reserved zone on the neck cross-hatched triangles. A reserved band on the shoulder. Cross-hatched maeanders on both sides in the handle zone. Triple stripes on the handles. The base is flat. LPG. An early, true maeander at Knossos, but the shape and the distribution of the decoration show that it is still PG. Cf. *Fortetsa* pl. 19. 301.

4. Double, straight-sided pithos. PLATE 10. H. 0·182 (to rim), 0·191 (to top of handle). Coarse red clay with mica. Flat bases. PGB. See **5**. Three rather slimmer examples of this double variety were found in a seventh-century context at Afrati (*Ann* x–xii. 265 f., fig. 323).

5. Straight-sided pithos. PLATE 10. H. 0·345. Coarse red clay with white inclusions. Half the body is missing. PGB. Cf. *Fortetsa* 147 f.

6. Ovoid pithos. FIG. 5. H. 0·372. About one-third is preserved. Pink clay; brown paint. Metope pattern with concentric circles in the handle zone. Only the stump of one handle is preserved, so it is not known whether the handles were double or single. LG.

7. Pedestalled crater. FIG. 5. H. 0·396. Less than one-quarter is preserved. Pink clay; brown paint. Streaky paint

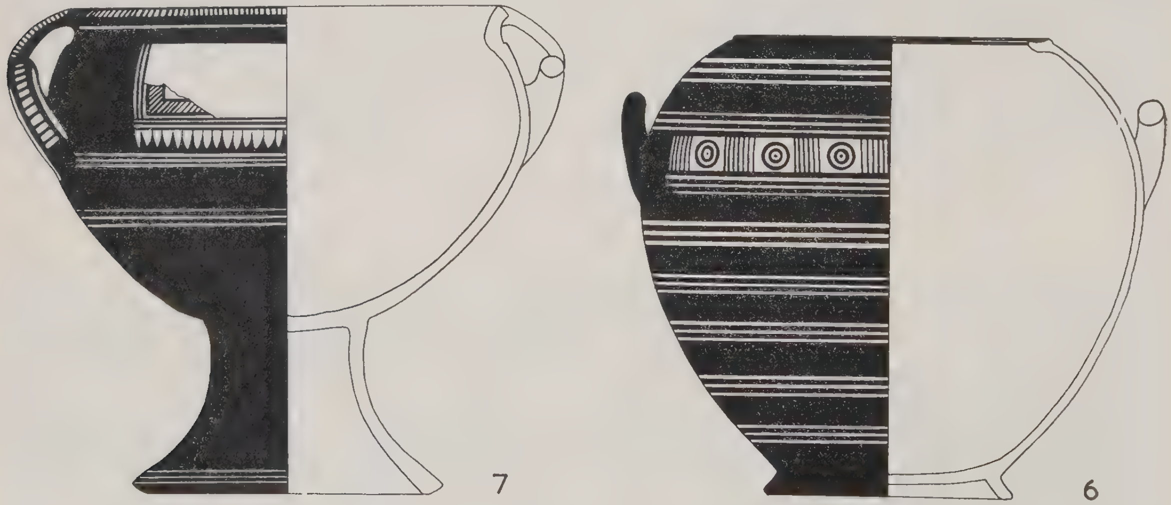

FIG. 5 (1 : 6)

within. All the profile and nearly all the decoration can be determined. A hatched maeander and rays in a panel in the handle zone. Probably imported; see below. A similar example in a MG context in *Fortetsa* pl. 44. 671.

8. Pedestal base of a vase. PLATE 10. H. 0·105, Diam. 0·123. Pink clay; brown and white paint. Diced bands, circles and zigzags in white. Four stripes within the hollow foot. In the top a hole 0·017 across is pierced, off centre, and presumably was continued into the body of the vase. LG–EO. The pierced base of the vase is due probably to considerations of firing or of the vase's former domestic use, rather than to any funereal purpose, as in the Attic grave-marking amphorae.

9. Oenochoe with a trefoil mouth. PLATE 9. H. 0·30. Buff clay with a pale-cream slip; brown paint. Half the body is missing. Zigzags in a panel on the neck and reserved stripes on the body. Flat base. LG–EO.

10. Oenochoe with a trefoil mouth. FIG. 6 (body only, H. 0·206). Buff clay with a pale-cream slip; brown paint. All but a scrap of the neck and half the body is missing. Such of the decoration as can be made out is shown schematically in FIG. 6. The cable pattern apparently ran beneath the handle. PGB. For the cable cf. *Fortetsa* pl. 29. 493.

11. Oenochoe with a trefoil mouth. FIG. 8. H. 0·051. The lower half is missing. Grey clay with a polished surface (bucchero). Probably MG. Cf. *Fortetsa* 157, Type 1 f, pl. 45. 670, and p. 187 for the technique.

12. Jug (*Fortetsa* Type 11A (iii)). PLATE 10. H. 0·149. Pink clay with a pale-cream slip; brown paint. Cross bars on the handle. Zigzag on the neck, groups of triangles on the shoulder. The conical base is slightly hollowed beneath. PGB. Cf. *Fortetsa* Pattern 4i.

13. Jug. Only the spherical body preserved. H. 0·064. Pink clay; no paint survives. Heavy walls, flat base.

14. Flat circular flask. FIG. 7. H. 0·138. Pale pink clay with

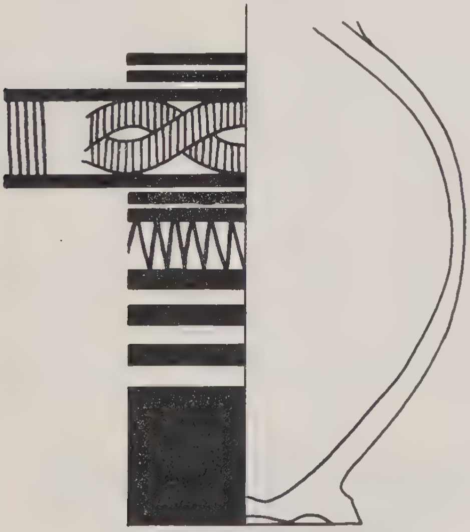

FIG. 6. **10** (1 : 3)

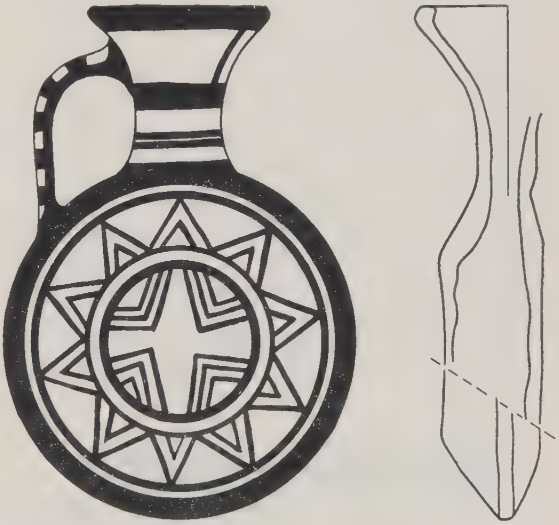

FIG. 7. **14** (1 : 2)

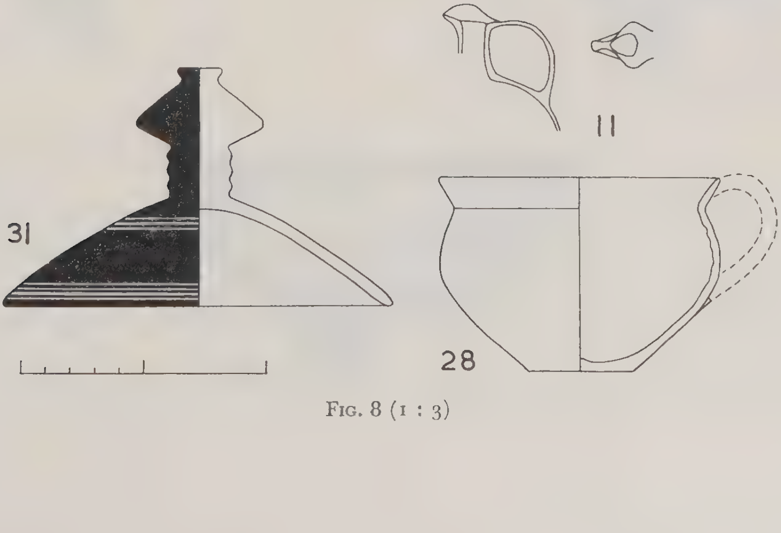

FIG. 8 (1 : 3)

a cream slip; brown paint, poorly preserved. About half the vase is missing. Concentric bands with triangles on one face. The same decoration on the other side, so far as this can still be made out. PGB.

15. Black on red jug. PLATE 10. H. 0·118. Red clay with a polished red surface; black paint. Three triple concentric circles on the shoulder, four lines beneath, and one by the base, which is flat. Cypriot Black on Red Ware I (iii). For examples in MG–LG contexts see *Fortetsa* 190.

16. Globular pyxis. PLATE 10. H. 0·168. Pink-red clay with a pale-cream slip; brown paint. Cross bars on the rim, and painted a little way within the lip. Hatched chequer in the handle zone. The foot is slightly hollowed beneath. Probably PGB. For the shape cf. *Fortetsa* pl. 35. 529; for the decoration *BSA* xxix (1927–8) pl. 5. 10.

17. Skyphos. Fragment of flaring lip and one handle. Rim diam. 0·145. Pale-buff clay. In the handle zone decoration as *Fortetsa* Pattern 3v. Geometric.

18. Base of an open bowl. Diam. 0·065. Pink clay. Black paint in and out, with a reserved circle, 0·015 across, within.

19. Kalathos (lid). PLATE 10. H. 0·079, diam. 0·198. Pink clay with a dull-cream slip; brown paint. Two broad bands within and three groups of cross bars on the rim; as **21**. Arcades in panels and a band on the body; a Maltese cross beneath. PGB. Cf. *Fortetsa* 162.

20. Kalathos (lid). FIG. 9. H. 0·07, diam. 0·189. Fabric, interior and rim decoration as the last. Zigzag and diamond bands on the body; a Maltese cross beneath. PGB.

21. Kalathos (lid). FIG. 9. H. 0·086, diam. 0·186. Fabric as **19**. Two broad bands within and four groups of cross bars on the rim. Zigzags on the body; a circle beneath. PGB.

22. Kalathos (lid). PLATE 10. H. 0·078–94, diam. 0·203. Fabric as **19**. Three broad bands within and four groups of cross bars on the rim. On the body a hatched band and filled triangles. Unpainted beneath. PGB.

23. Kalathos (lid). FIG. 9. H. 0·091, diam. 0·20. Fabric as **19**. One-half is missing. Triangles on the rim. Three broad bands within. Zigzags and dots on the body. Three concentric grooves on the flat base. LPG–PGB. The plain base and its grooves (like stylized string marks) are early features. Contrast **19–22**.

24. Domed lid. PLATE 10, FIG. 10. H. 0·055, diam. 0·13–14. Pink clay with a pale-cream slip; brown paint. Two fastening holes by the rim, 0·018 apart. Roughly painted within. Stripes outside with a union jack centre. ? EG. Two smaller examples at Fortetsa (nos. 699, 709) in EG contexts; compare the more elaborate examples in *BSA* xxix (1927–8) 260, nos. 141–2, pl. 5. 10 (? PGB) and perhaps *BSA* vi (1899–1900) 83, fig. 25 left (Hogarth's Tomb 3).

25. Domed lid. PLATE 10, FIG. 10. H. 0·054, diam. 0·13. As the last, but the suspension holes 0·009 apart, a central wheel pattern, and no paint within. ? EG. See the last.

26. Domed lid. PLATE 10, FIG. 10. H. 0·057, diam. 0·122. As the last, the suspension holes 0·007 apart, and a cross at the centre. ? EG. See **24**.

27. One-handled cup. PLATE 11. H. 0·061. Pink clay with a pale-cream slip; brown paint. Decoration as **28**, but the paint has largely disappeared. Flat base. LG. Cf. *BSA* xlix (1954) pl. 26. 81.

28. One-handled cup (the handle missing). FIG. 8. H. 0·073. Pink clay with a blackened burnt surface. LG.

29. One-handled cup (the handle missing). PLATE 11. H. 0·067. Pink clay with a pale-cream slip; brown paint. Painted within. Outside, zigzags in a panel with three reserved lines below. A circle painted on the flat base. LG.

30. One-handled cup. Rim only. Diam. 0·08. Flaring lip. Pink clay. Painted in and out; fired red. Probably Orientalizing.

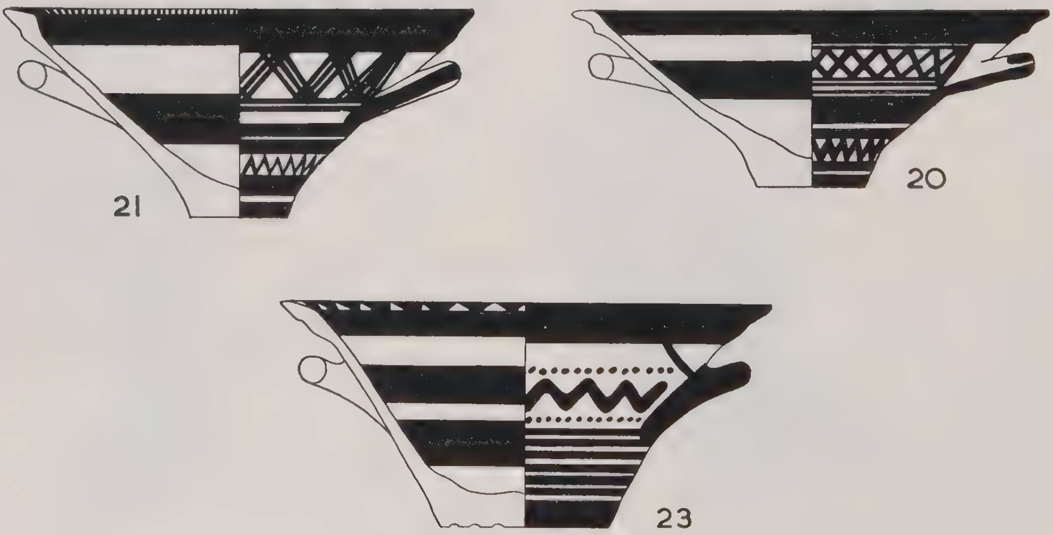

FIG. 9 (1 : 3)

31. Lid with knob. FIG. 8. H. 0·092, diam. 0·157. Pink-red clay; reddish paint. Reserved lines; unpainted within. Probably LG or EO.

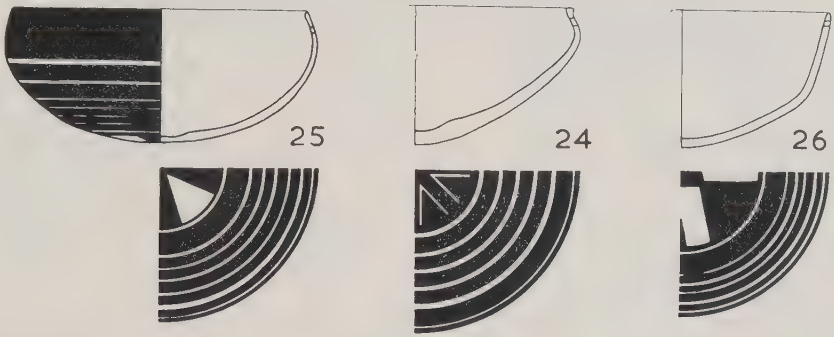

FIG. 10 (1 : 3)

32. Gold pin. PLATE 11, FIG. 11. L. 0·096. Bent half-way along the shaft. Bead and reel moulding below the head. E–LO. There are Cretan gold pins of this type from Afrati (*Ann* x–xii, pl. 12. P48), Khaniale Tekke, Knossos (*BSA* xlix (1954) pl. 29. 49; P. Jacobsthal, *Greek Pins* fig. 59), and the Idaean Cave (*AJA* xlix (1945) 315, fig. 23). On the dating of co-finds see Jacobsthal, op. cit. 17–20.

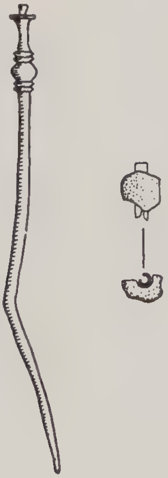

FIG. 11. GOLD PIN, **32**; GOLD AND AMBER BEAD, **33** (2 : 3)

33. Gold and amber bead. FIG. 11. L. of the gold tube set in the bead 0·012. Half the bead, of yellow-brown amber, is missing. Amber was rare in the other graves at Fortetsa (p. 209), but there was a bead set in gold in a tomb at Khaniale Tekke, near Knossos, *BSA* xlix (1954) pl. 28. 5, and for the gold core compare the crystal beads ibid. pl. 28. 30–42.

34. Iron blade of a short sword. FIG. 12. L. 0·195. Traces of the wooden scabbard are preserved. Cf. *Fortetsa* 192, pl. 171.

35. Iron hilt of a short sword. FIG. 12. L. 0·084. Traces of the wooden hilt-plates are preserved. One bronze rivet is in position. Beside it was found a cylindrical bronze knob, H. 0·01, which may have been the centre of a wooden pommel.

36. Iron hilt of a short sword. As the last, but very poorly preserved.

37. Fragment of the hilt or handle of an iron sword or knife FIG. 12. L. 0·029. Traces of the wooden plates are preserved. There are two rivet holes.

38. Fragment of the iron blade of a short sword. L. 0·085. Traces of the wooden scabbard are preserved.

39. Small fragments of sheet bronze. Some have a straight edge bordered by holes, others have parallel striations on the surface. It is impossible to determine the original shape or purpose, but they may be from a belt.

Tomb B

1. Fragment of a bronze hoop. L. 0·023.

2. Fragment of a bronze fibula with a twisted bow. FIG. 12. Cf. *Fortetsa* no. 263, pl. 167.

3. Fragments of bronze fibulae with plain wire bows.

4. Fragments of iron with no distinctive shape.

Tomb C

1. Fragment of a bronze fibula with a twisted bow, as B. **2.**

Other vases

Many of these fragments may be from vases once in one or other of the three tombs A–C. **vi** was found in the surface level above tomb B, and **v**, with other Geometric scraps, is from the sump of an *ergasterion* north of the tombs.

i. Fragments of ovoid pithoi. White lines and concentric circles on brown paint, and reserved lines. Pink clay. LG–EO.

ii. Fragment of a domed lid. Diam. *c.* 0·16. The rim is slightly everted. Pink clay with a cream slip; red paint. A

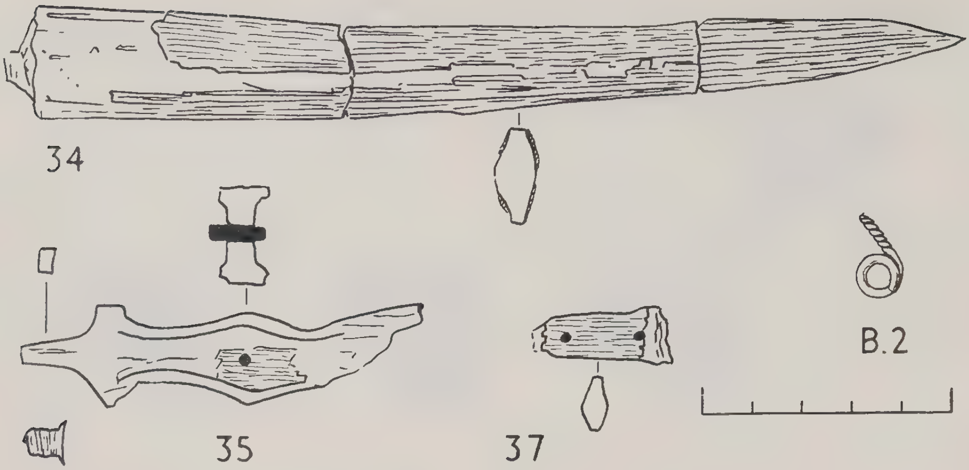

Fig. 12 (2 : 3)

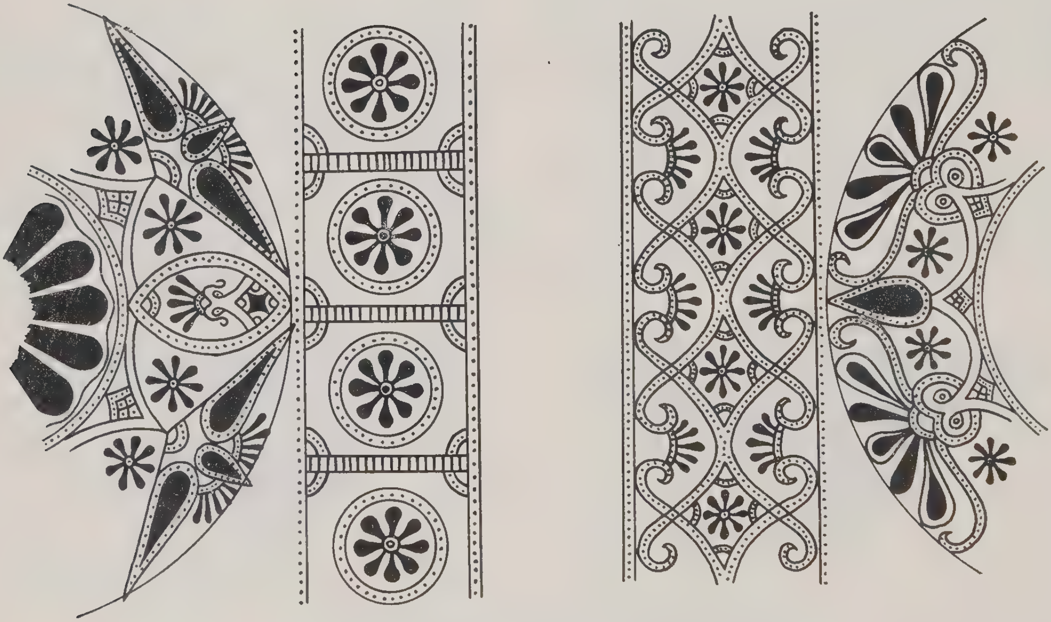

Fig. 13. Design from vase **vi** (1 : 2)

band of double diagonals, overlapping, by the rim; and a band of double arcs. PGB.

iii. Fragment of a domed lid, as the last. A band of alternate hatched triangles as *Fortetsa* Pattern 3ac. PGB.

iv. Fragments of a disk. PLATE 11. Pink clay. The decorated surface is slightly convex. Concentric incised lines, and zigzags at the edge. The zigzags painted over in cream, and the area within them black. Well-smoothed beneath, with perhaps two concentric painted bands. Orientalizing. Cf. the votive disks from Gortyn, as *Ann* xvii–xviii. 226, fig. 19 bottom left.

v. Fragment from the shoulder of a large closed vase. PLATE 11, FIG. 14. Pink clay; poor brown paint. To the right the painted base of a handle. Body of a quadruped with a short tail, perhaps a goat. Apparently a clay-ground vase and perhaps therefore Protogeometric.

vi. Fragments of an oenochoe with a spherical body. PLATE 11, FIG. 13. Pink clay; poorly preserved brown paint on a well-prepared surface. Very thin walls. The pattern is shown in a reconstructed drawing, FIG. 13. LO; mid-seventh century. Oenochoae with a similar scheme of decoration are *Fortetsa* pls. 58. 904, 76. 1126; *BSA* xlix (1954) pl. 24. 65. By the Fortetsa Painter, see below.

vii. Fragment of a black-figured cup. PLATE 11. Subject uncertain. Apparently Attic.

viii. Fragment of a closed vase. PLATE 11. Diamond and triangle in brown paint. EO.

ix. Fragment of a black lekythos; cylindrical body. Late sixth–fifth century. Apparently Attic.

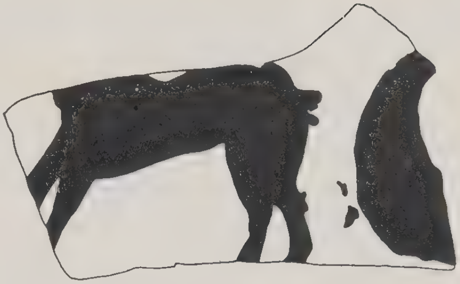

FIG. 14. VASE FRAGMENT **v** (1 : 2)

The Pottery

Several vases betray the direct influence of other Greek Geometric styles. Imports to Crete of this date are, so far as they can be certainly identified, predominantly Cycladic rather than Attic,[8] and with the Cyclades we must also range Euboea as a major exporter of this type of pottery in the eighth century.[9] The influence of these imports was felt in a number of ways: in the shape of some neck-amphorae,[10] in the rather restrained geometric patterns on many burial pithoi as well as minor vases (as the oenochoe **9**), and in details of the figure drawing. For the last we may note peculiarities like the raised wings of birds,[11] as well as a general looseness in the drawing,[12] as of the horses on **2**. The pedestalled crater, as **7**, is a shape introduced from the islands, but it is not always easy to be certain whether we are dealing with an import or a plausible Cretan imitation. The Cycladic fabrics are fairly distinctive, but Euboean or Attic Geometric can be very like the best Knossian. I believe our crater to be an imitation; some from the other Fortetsa graves seem certainly imported.[13]

An argument in favour of some measure of direct Attic influence might be afforded by the variety of figured representations on some Late Geometric Cretan vases which seem to go beyond the usual Euboeo-Cycladic repertoire. But we must remember that in Iron Age Crete there was a longer tradition of such figured representations than there was in Attica; notably on the EPG crater at Fortetsa with goats and ships,[14] and it may be that our **v** is another example of early animal drawing. The horses at mangers on the amphora **2** depend more directly on Attic models,[15] but the painter's inexperience is shown by the non-equine outlines

[8] Cf. *Fortetsa* 189–91; the fragments and vases cited below in note 13; *BSA* xlix (1954) pl. 25. 55; *Vrokastro* pl. 26. Later Cycladic imports may be the sherds from Eleutherna, *BSA* xxxi (1930–1) 109 f., figs. 34. 3–4, 35; the fabric sounds 'Naxian' and for the pattern on the larger fragment cf. the Naxian vase *EADélos* xvii, pl. 1 Ba1, *JdI* lii (1937) 177, fig. 12 (Aphrodite's dress), and *BSA* xliv (1949) pl. 7. There was a notable return traffic to the islands: to Delos, Thera, Melos, and Naxos; cf. Boardman, *Cretan Collection in Oxford* 131, 153, 155 f.

[9] On Euboeo-Cycladic Geometric pottery see Boardman, *BSA* lii (1957) 2–10. Only one skyphos with pendent semicircles has been found in Crete so far, at Knossos (*BSA* xxix (1927–8) 261, no. 147 pl. 6. 12). There are several Cretan imports in the Euboean western colonies, Cumae and Pithekoussai.

[10] *Fortetsa* pl. 43. 652, 673, 680–1, and p. 62.

[11] Cf. H. G. Payne, *BSA* xxix (1927–8) 289 f.; in Euboea, *BSA* xlvii (1952) pl. 3. A11; *PAE* 1955, pl. 43 a. 1. It was a detail learned also in the west from the Euboeo-Cycladic school, ibid. 10 n. 59.

[12] From the drawing of the sherds in *Vrokastro* 98, fig. 53 I would judge them to be Cycladic imports rather than Cretan imitations.

[13] *Fortetsa* pl. 44. 671 (import, and see p. 63 for comparisons); pl. 109, 1481 (? import); no. 490 (? import); *BSA* xlix (1954) pls. 21. 20, 25. 19, from Khaniale Tekke near Knossos, the second probably an import; *Vrokastro* 173, fig. 106 (? import); *ADelt* xiv. 5, fig. 5 right, from Anavlochos, a Cycladic import; *KChron* xi (1957) 330, Arkhanes; and cf. S. Weinberg, *Corinth* vii. 1 25 f., F. Johansen, *Exochi* (*Acta Arch.* xxviii. 1958) 106 ff.; *BSA* xxix (1927–8) pl. 6. 8, is much affected also by the Knossian Protogeometric bell-crater and the Protogeometric style of decoration still current in Crete.

[14] *Fortetsa* no. 45, pls. 4, 135. Yet earlier may be the birds on a fragment from the Spring Chamber at Knossos, *P of M* ii. 137, A1.

[15] Other atticizing drawing may be *Fortetsa* pl. 107. 1414; ships on a vase from one of the Khaniale Tekke

of the legs, which are practically human; on one side of the vase he drew the manger too high and the horse has to jump to it. The scheme of figured panel decoration on the shoulder would also be uncanonical in Attic.

Of the other vases there are four which call for individual comment. **14** is a shape met only twice otherwise at Knossos,[16] although something like it is known in East Crete at Adromyloi.[17] It is not easily paralleled in other Greek wares.[18] In both decoration and shape it reflects the familiar Cretan spherical aryballoi, but this is a version for the pocket, or, to judge from its clumsy construction, by a tyro potter.

The aryballos **15** matches many other vases of Cypriot type imported to Knossos in the eighth century.[19] Such imports have so far only been found in Crete at Knossos, and it was there that these vases had the most direct influence on the local pottery, in both shapes and decoration. This Cypriot (if such it be)[20] influence in Crete dies away by the end of the eighth century, at the time that it is beginning to be felt strongly in East Greece, where many clay figurines were imported and later imitated.

The bucchero fragment **11** represents a class which is becoming better known in Crete in plain, small vases, as this, and in others decorated with incision, paint, or relief.[21]

Finally **vi,** which is not from the main burial, must, when complete, have been one of the most elaborately painted archaic vases from Crete. Its decoration prompts the following discussion of it and some other Knossian vases in a similar style.

THE FORTETSA PAINTER

The oenochoe fragments **vi** belong to a small group of Knossian vases which are distinguished by the finesse of the painting and the execution of motifs which are otherwise common in orientalizing workshops at Knossos and elsewhere in Crete. I believe them to be the work of one painter. Brock has distinguished a number of groups of vases, perhaps by individual painters, in the course of his publication of the Fortetsa cemetery, and others can be picked out from his illustrations; but he wisely refrained from compiling detailed painter- and group-lists, which would have been quite unprofitable. A share of limelight might, however, be accorded to the Fortetsa Painter, as I would call him, for his meticulous drawing and skill in all-over compositions in which the fine detail contributes to the general effect without seeming fussy. His individuality is most readily appreciated when his contemporaries' treatment of the same motifs

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tombs which I will publish; the birds on a fragment from Ambelakia near Knossos, *KChron* iv (1950) pl. 16 second row 4th from right (? an import). The geometric birds have Euboeo-Cycladic peculiarities, as we have seen, and the later ones may be influenced by Near Eastern fashions (cf. Payne, *BSA* xxix (1927–8) 288 ff.). There are some Geometric Cretan figures which in a way recall Middle Minoan exercises in figure-drawing: *BSA* xii (1905–6) 47, fig. 24 (Adromyloi), *Fortetsa* pl. 144. 339; compare the MM fragments from Phaistos, *Boll. d'Arte* 1956, 254, fig. 33; 1955, 145, fig. 7.

[16] *Fortetsa* pl. 21, 312 (? LPG) and p. 34 for Cypriot parallels. Heraklion 2371 is an example from one of Hogarth's tombs near Knossos.

[17] *BSA* xii (1905–6) 45, fig. 22 bottom row, 54 f.

[18] Cf. Desborough, *Protogeometric Pottery* 118 f., for some one-handled lentoid vases: ibid. pl. 14 (*Kerameikos* iv, pl. 26. 2034) and *PAE* 1939, 32, fig. 5*a* (*AA* 1940, 179 f., fig. 36). There is a pilgrim flask from Crete, *Vrokastro* 126, fig. 75, and an Attic Protogeometric example, *Kerameikos* i, pl. 62. 536. For one-handled lentoids in Rhodes see *Clara Rhodos* iii. 149, fig. 142 below, and Ithaca, *BSA* xxxiii (1932–3) 48, figs. 24–25. Athens NM 18499 and 18505 are Attic Geometric, and NM 18036 apparently Corinthian lentoid flasks.

[19] *Fortetsa* 190 f. Group F; E. Gjerstad, *SCE* iv. 2, 269.

[20] It might be wise to reserve judgement on whether the Black-on-Red vases imported to Crete are Cypriot or from the Syria–Palestine area, with which Crete can be shown to have many connexions in the Geometric period and which was the inspiring source of these vases in Cyprus (cf. O. Tufnell, *Lachish* iii. 296 ff.).

[21] Cf. *BSA* xxix (1927–8) 276 f.; *Ann* x–xii. 532 f.; *Fortetsa* 187; *Ann* xvii–xviii. 230, fig. 23a.

is compared. No other succeeded in such delicate and accurate compositions without coarsening the execution or losing his way in the design.[22] I believe that he was also responsible for some innovations which momentarily enlivened Knossian vase-painting in the seventh century, but had no following. His works are:

1. Spherical oenochoe, frr. PLATE 11, FIG. 13, **vi**.
2. Cup, fr. Knossos Palace, west of the Theatral Area. *BSA* xxxi (1930–1) 81 f., pl. 17. 4, 6. Floral decoration in and out.
3. Cup, fr. Zapher Papoura. *BSA* xxix (1927–8) 262, no. 155, pl. 11. 1. Circles.
4. Kotyle. *Fortetsa* pl. 105. 1542. Birds and rosettes.
5. Aryballos, fr. Fortetsa (Payne, 1927). *BSA* xxxi (1930–1) 65, pl. 14. 12. Birds.
6. Aryballos. *Fortetsa* pl. 99. 1289. Floral and wheels.
7. Aryballos. *Fortetsa* pl. 100. 1223. Birds and rosettes.
8. Aryballos, fr. *Fortetsa* pl. 100. 1513. Birds.
9. Aryballos. Zapher Papoura. *BSA* xxix (1927–8) 255, no. 110, pl. 10. 2–3. Birds.
10. Aryballos, fr. Zapher Papoura. *BSA* xxix (1927–8) 255, no. 111, pl. 11. 3. Rosettes.
11. Aryballos. A. Paraskion. *AE* 1945–7, 67–69, figs. 15–16, no. 111. Rosettes.
12. Ring aryballos with foot. A. Paraskion. *AE* 1945–7, 67–69, figs. 15–16, no. 118. Floral.
13. Cylindrical lidded pyxis. A. Paraskion. *AE* 1945–7, 59 ff., no. 51, figs. 10, 13, 16, and 18. 75 for the decoration on the receptacle. Floral.
14. Alabastron. *Fortetsa* pls. 100–1, 1299. Black-figured sphinxes.

Where detailed descriptions are available the vases are found to be of exceptionally fine fabric and to have well-polished surfaces. Some individual motifs are repeated on them, but the common factor is execution rather than simple repetition. The birds on nos. 4, 5, 7, 8, and 9 bear a strong family resemblance.

As well as the common Knossian shapes, especially the aryballos, we may note the cup fragment 3 with elaborate decoration inside and out, which is unique. The kotyle is a fine essay in the Protocorinthian style, although the decorative elements in the handle zone are already Cretan.[23] The ring aryballos and cylindrical pyxis are also Protocorinthian shapes.[24] The sphinx alabastron is the most remarkable of his vases, and has often been illustrated and discussed. It is the treatment of the minor decorative zones which betrays the hand. The incised sphinxes owe much to Protocorinthian, as Payne and Brock have pointed out; especially to mid-seventh-century work such as is excellently illustrated by an olpe found at Knossos.[25]

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[22] Various individual vases and groups may be compared. Thus, the shaky, all-over decoration of the aryballos *Fortetsa* pl. 100, 1279; the group formed by *Fortetsa* pl. 99. 1534, Payne, *Necrocorinthia* 270, fig. 44*b* (*BSA* xxix (1927–8) 257, no. 127, 279, fig. 34. 37), and perhaps the Oxford owls vase (*CVA* ii, pl. 3. 1–4); the aryballoi *Fortetsa* pl. 99. 1275–6, 1238, and *AE* 1945–7, 67, fig. 15. 96, which seem related to a number of imitations of Protocorinthian kotylai: as *Fortetsa* nos. 1203, 1232, 1287, 1340, 1346, 1541, *BSA* xxix (1927–8) pl. 11. 5, and *AE* 1945–7, 63, fig. 13, 82–83, 85–86. In an equally accomplished but bolder style are the aryballoi *Fortetsa* pl. 72. 933, 961; the two fragments *Fortetsa* pl. 108. 1540, and *BSA* xxix (1927–8) 255, no. 108, pl. 10. 6, with which might be compared *Fortetsa* pl. 98. 1268, 1280; the interesting bottle *Fortetsa* pl. 100. 1374 with its dotting like that on some Cretan animal-vases, and with it the fragment of a bowl *BSA* xxxi (1930–1) pl. 17. 2 (*not* Protocorinthian as stated ibid. 85, 88). A few of these small vases can be related to the grave pithoi of the same period.

[23] The kotyle *Fortetsa* pls. 104–5 and 161, no. 1346, may be by an imitator; and note the imitation of a bird-bowl, *BSA* xxix (1927–8) 262, no. 157 *bis*, pl. 11. 4 (cf. pl. 11. 6).

[24] Platon relates the ring aryballoi to spherical flasks (*AE* 1945–7, 83 f.), but see F. Johansen, *Vases Sicyoniens* 83 f., pls. 7. 4 (with foot) and 8. 4 for the rectangular section to the ring in Protocorinthian; and P. N. Ure, *Hesperia* xv (1946) 49. Compare too the East Greek example in K. F. Kinch, *Vroulia* 45, fig. 20, *BSA* xliii (1948) pl. 40. 547 (Ithaka), and *Argive Heraeum* ii. 143, fig. 83. *Thera* ii. 314, fig. 501, from Schiff's grave, might be another Cretan example. The later, circular section (Ure, op. cit. 39 ff.; K. Schauenburg, *Jb. Röm.-Germ. Zentralmuseums Mainz* iv (1957) 63) is imitated at Afrati: *Ann* x–xii. 362, fig. 474, 494, fig. 593. The pyxis is more like those in Johansen, op. cit. pl. 12 than the Afrati vases (*Ann* x–xii. 481, fig. 592A for the shape).

[25] Payne, *Necrocorinthia* pl. 8. 1–6; *BSA* xxix (1927–8) 266 ff., no. 179, pl. 25.

The sphinxes on this, set beside those of the Fortetsa Painter, give the measure of his debt in technique, but the Cretan hand, though sure, is unfamiliar with some anatomical problems, and is also still much guided by Cretan tradition in the representation of sphinxes: the helmet,[26] and the straight-edged wing.[27] In other ways too the Fortetsa Painter betrays the indebtedness of himself and of his generation of Knossian vase-painters to Protocorinthian models. His birds are neither the sub-geometric island breed, nor the exotic fowl which decorate the polychrome pithoi, but they closely resemble Protocorinthian birds, for instance that on the Knossos olpe,[28] in outline and proportions if not inner markings. Even the dotted floral chains find ready parallels in Protocorinthian of the second quarter of the seventh century,[29] although the elements of these patterns had already been known for some time in Crete.

Imported Protocorinthian pottery inspired various imitations and essays in black-figure both at Knossos and in other Cretan towns, but the vase-painters were generally slow to reflect the notable achievements of their contemporary coroplasts, bronze-workers, and sculptors, and no distinctive school of Cretan black-figure was ever established.

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[26] Helmeted sphinxes regularly appear on early Cretan bronzes, but the helmets are pointed and oriental in appearance, not Hellenic as here. And note that what may be the earliest Greek helmeted sphinx appears on an Attic gold band, D. Ohly, *Griechische Goldbleche* 34–36, fig. 18 (A 17). For the Cretan sphinxes with helmets see E. Kunze, *Kretische Bronzereliefs* 179 f., pl. 2 (Idaean Cave), 252, fig. 31 and pl. 56*e* (Kavousi), *BCH* lxxiv (1950) pl. 38 (Delphi), *Fortetsa* pl. 169. 1569. Cf. *Syria* xxxiv (1957) 245, pl. 17 and 248, fig. 1 for Near Eastern examples; and *FD* v, pl. 19 (*KiB* i. 106, 3; Kunze, op. cit. 36) for one imported to Delphi. The white crown of Lower Egypt worn by sphinxes was misunderstood in the Levant, squashed sometimes (e.g. R. D. Barnett, *The Nimrud Ivories* pl. 19) or translated into the similar and more familiar conical helmet. Thus it passed to Cyprus (e.g. H. Bossert, *Altsyrien* figs. 69, 70) and Greece, where the helmet type was brought up to date, as on the Fortetsa Painter's vase and on a Melian hydria (Kunze, op. cit. pl. 55*c*), and perhaps on the gold band cited above in this note.

[27] Thus on Cretan bronze and gold reliefs and some vases; again an oriental feature. See Kunze, op. cit. 252, fig. 31, pl. 56*e* (Kavousi; sphinxes and griffins); *Fortetsa* pl. 169. 1569 (sphinxes); *BSA* xii (1905–6) 65, fig. 1 (W. Reichel, *Griechisches Goldrelief* 58, no. 48; Praisos, gold; ? sphinx); *Ann* x–xii. 323–5, fig. 420*a–d* (vase; griffin birds).

[28] Payne, *Necrocorinthia* pl. 8. 1 and cf. pl. 1. 5 (the blazon and the frieze below); Johansen, op. cit. pls. 31–33.

[29] Payne, op. cit. pl. 3.

MYCENAEAN OCCUPATION NEAR THE CYCLOPEAN TERRACE BUILDING AT MYCENAE

(PLATES 12–13)

In the excavations of 1950, 1951, and 1952 the area of the Cyclopean Terrace Building was one of the major objectives. The North Megaron or Cyclopean Terrace Building proper was at first the chief point of interest and the report on this building has been published.[1] There were also two other important buildings on the site: the South Megaron with its long terrace wall but no other remains, and the House of the Wine Merchant, which lay under and west of this terrace wall. No further work on these two buildings has been done to amplify or amend the views published in the first account.[2]

However, trenching in the general area produced, as well as these three main buildings, considerable evidence of other occupation and building which is worthy of note. Both the modern terrace walls were also investigated. The evidence is very scanty, but it seems likely that they follow the lines of ancient walls, not necessarily Mycenaean. The plan (FIG. 1)[3] shows the areas of the exploration.

A. *North Trenches*

In 1950 the group of trenches, I to IV, was dug north of the main Cyclopean Terrace Building to try to trace an extension of the east wall of that building and to investigate masonry appearing on the surface to the north-east.

This latter investigation, in trench IV, was not very rewarding, as the area proved to be full of the small stone fill which is such a feature of Mycenaean terracing. The masonry which originally appeared was much destroyed and no dating evidence was obtained.

The other three trenches of this group, however, produced more definite evidence of Mycenaean occupation. The surface layers were again composed of limestone rubble and fill containing pottery very mixed in date, with examples of all periods from Middle Helladic to Hellenistic. Below this was another layer of stones. The stones and rubble were deepest at the west. Below was a layer of burnt material. This lay over a hard earth floor and represented a quite distinct destruction level. The floor, however, did not extend to the east end of trench II, but faded out about half a metre to the west. Below the floor the earth was soft and rich right down to the natural rock. At the eastern end of trench I the burnt layer, which was very rich, contained many sherds and many fragments of plaster. These included heavy white floor plaster and painted wall plaster with decorations in red and blue monochrome, as well as red, blue, and yellow together. There were also fragments with dark lines on a white ground. These two styles recall the two fresco types found in and beneath the House of the Oil Merchant.[4] Some fragments of terracotta figurines, females of all types, animals and furniture, were found here also. In trench III there were a few fragments of fresco, but not the bulk of fresco or pottery that was found in trenches I and II. The rock here was at a much higher level.

The layer of burnt material was studied with particular care, as another such layer was discovered at point X on the plan during the 1923 excavations.[5] This, however, was at a higher

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[1] *BSA* xlix. 267.

[2] *BSA* xlviii. 15.

[3] The plan here published is based on that prepared in 1952 by Marian Holland McAllister.

[4] *Mycenae Tablets II* figs. 31, 42, 43.

[5] *BSA* xxv. 403.

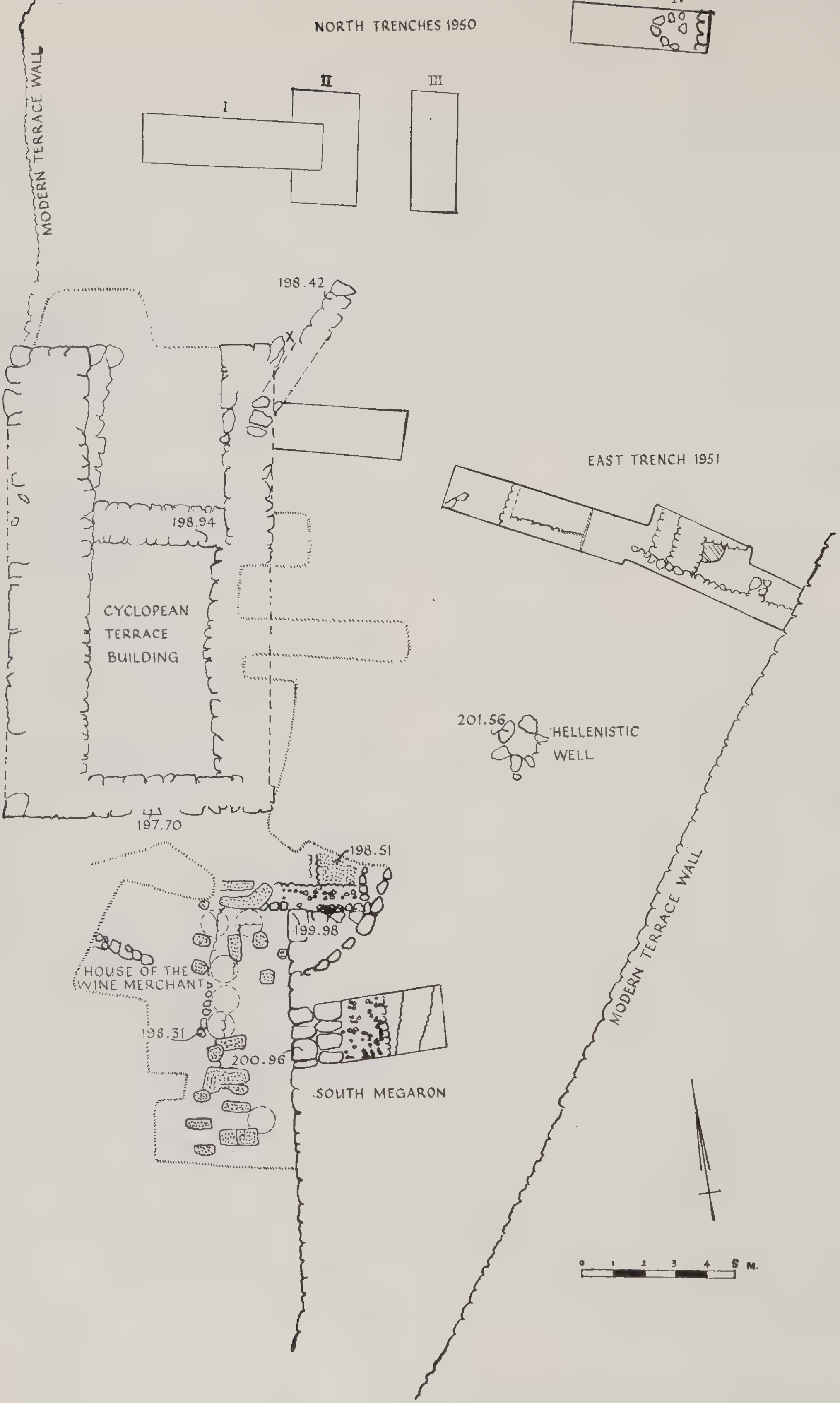
NORTH TRENCHES 1950
MODERN TERRACE WALL
I
II
III
198.42
X
EAST TRENCH 1951
198.94
CYCLOPEAN TERRACE BUILDING
201.56
HELLENISTIC WELL
197.70
198.51
199.98
HOUSE OF THE WINE MERCHANT
198.31
200.96
SOUTH MEGARON
MODERN TERRACE WALL
0 1 2 3 4 5 M.

Fig. 1. Cyclopean terrace building area

level and contained some obviously late pottery, as did a deposit in the same area found in 1951. In the black earth from the 1950 trenches there was a considerable amount of early pottery (L.H. I, II, and IIIA, which presumably shows earlier occupations such as those beneath the Cyclopean Terrace Building[6]), but the bulk was of L.H. IIIB. No sherds were obviously later. There was a very high proportion of domestic ware, including large stirrup jars, cooking vessels, tripod vases, strainers, ladles, and a bowl with a horizontal lug handle. The pottery from the soft earth below the floor was similar, though less in quantity.

Near the surface of trench III an unusual vase (PLATE 12*a*, FIG. 2) was found. This shape is not in Furumark's catalogue, but has been identified also at Pylos.[7] There was also the sherd (PLATE 12*b*), which bears a design rather like a sign or cipher.

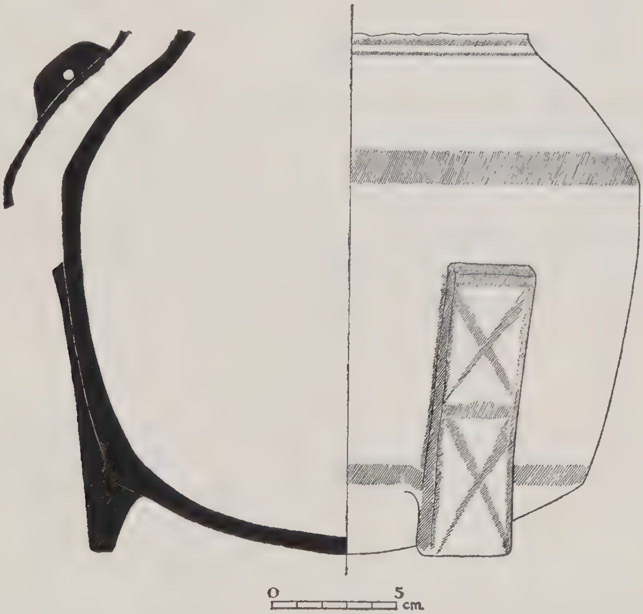

FIG. 2

Obviously a Mycenaean house or building of L.H. IIIB date, possibly superseding earlier buildings, stood in the area of trench I and was destroyed by fire. The rubble from its collapse was spread farther down the hillside and later used for purposes of terracing. Some of the stone from walls was doubtless used for other building.

B. *The East Slope Trench*[8]

In 1951 under the direction of Mr. Hood a trench was cut up the slope to the east of the Cyclopean Terrace Building itself. At the east there were, practically on the surface, wall foundations of a building that are probably not Mycenaean, with a Mycenaean building below it whose floor was only 0·20 m. above the rock. What is evidently the west outer wall of this building abuts on the back wall of another building which lies farther down the slope to the west. A pit filled with stones, a grave perhaps or the cutting for an earlier wall, ran under the walls of the lower house at the east (PLATE 12*c*), but this was not investigated. The eastern building had a beaten-earth floor and was apparently destroyed by fire, while the western, which had unfortunately suffered considerably from later wall robbing, seems to have had a floor partly rock-cut and partly laid in plaster. It too was probably destroyed by fire.

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[6] *BSA* xlix. 273.

[7] *AJA* 60, pl. 49. 6.

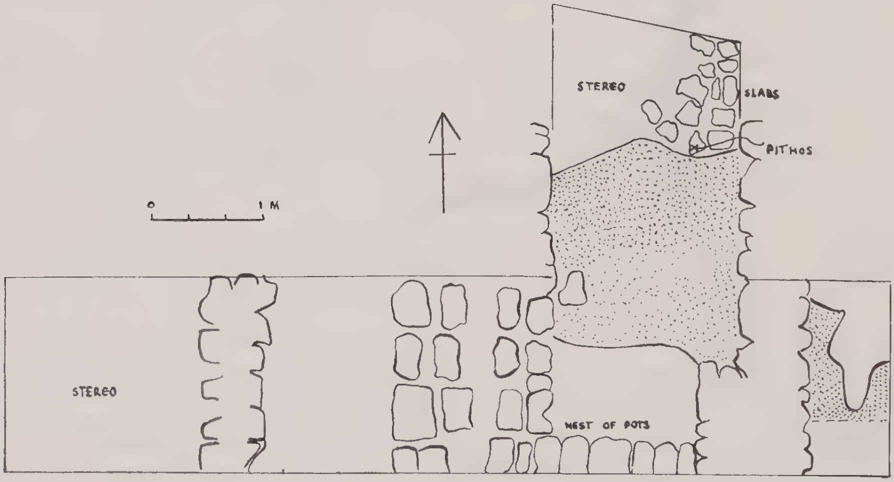
[8] This part of the report has been drawn up from Mr. Hood's notebook, plans and sections with the help of the published (*JHS* lxxii. 97) and unpublished accounts written by him in 1951, and from a complete reassessment of the pottery evidence. Mr. Hood has also kindly supplied me with photographs, of which Pl. 12*c* is one.

The pottery from the area, apart from the sections obviously contaminated by a wide variety of later wares, was of a uniformly good quality and could be dated in general to the early or middle part of L.H. IIIB. No L.H. IIIC pottery was found in any layer. The pottery was accompanied by terracotta figurines also of early L.H. IIIB date, and by a few odd finds of metal. This evidence conforms well with the general impression of occupation in the area.

C. *The 'South West' Trench*

More definite remains of a Mycenaean house[9] were found in 1950 about 30 metres to the west of the Cyclopean Terrace Building on a terrace about 6 metres below. Here finds of sherds in the ploughing had excited the interest of the owner, and a trench was laid out at the instigation of the foreman. Rock was struck almost at once at the west end of the trench. Farther to the east there was a somewhat greater depth of soil, though all the remains were quite close beneath the surface and the surface layers had been ploughed into the remains beneath.

The trench was crossed by three north–south walls (see plan, FIG. 3). The westernmost was only approximately 0·60 m. thick, and probably an internal wall, though the gap between it and the next was narrow. The second was much wider, being approximately 1·40 m. in width. Running from this to the next cross wall was a stretch of east–west masonry, the south face of which lay outside the area of the trench. The third cross wall against which this east–west section abutted had a set-back of approximately 0·30 m., making a small cupboard at the south end of the room about 0·75 m. deep. The east face of this third cross wall was straight.



South West Trench: Diagrammatic Plan

FIG. 3

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[9] Mentioned briefly *ILN* 23. xii. 1950.

Plaster floors were found in both the two eastern sections, that in the easternmost being the thicker and more solid. The floor did not, however, extend into the cupboard, which can only have had a floor of beaten earth. The plaster floors were laid on rock which was levelled where it sloped away at the north by means of stone slabs.[10]

A mass of broken pottery was found in the cupboard area, including a number of vases that could be almost completely restored. Many were plain vessels and kylikes, but there were also three interesting painted vases from which the building's destruction can be dated to early L.H. IIIB. Later sherds, notably deep bowls with panelled decoration and monochrome interiors, were found in the surface layers, however, as were sherds of earlier periods. The earth over the floors in both sections was much burnt, but the burning did not continue into the cupboard area, which must have been separated by some kind of door or partition. Of only one vase, the chevron spouted bowl, were fragments found both in the main room and in the cupboard. Indeed the pieces of this were found widely scattered throughout the whole area and certain fragments of it have changed colour in the burning. Various vases of heavy fabric in a badly burnt condition were found in the room with the cupboard, and a large jar (FIG. 4) was resting on the floor at the point marked on the plan. A large stirrup jar was found near the surface of the easternmost section. Other finds from the house debris included a conical spindle whorl and the upper half of a terracotta figurine of the Transitional type. This type appears to date from the L.H. IIIA/B period, which suits well the other evidence here.

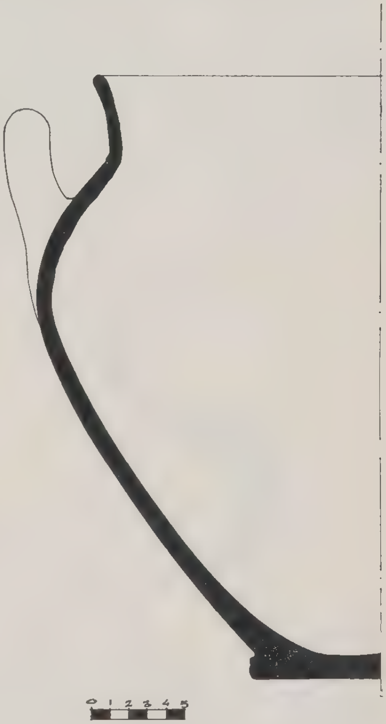

FIG. 4

An effort was made to trace the walls of this house to the north, but the earth was too shallow and they had been destroyed by ploughing. Further exploration of this area was prevented by commitments on other parts of the site.

Pottery from the Cupboard

Painted vases

Mug (50–148, Nauplia Museum 8471) with Running Spiral (PLATE 13*a*). Fine buff clay, lightly polished surface; brown paint, very worn, slightly shaded. Shape F 225, ridges at rim and waist. Di. rim 0·16 m. Bands at rim (in and out) and two at waist; concentric circles on base. Main design in each zone F 46:16 with bivalve shell filling. Late L.H. IIIA.

Deep bowl (50–150, Nauplia Museum 8361) with Spirals, large fragment (PLATE 13*b*). Pink core, buff slip, polished surface fired pinkish in places; even red paint, semi-lustrous, fired brown on one side. Shape F 284. Di. rim 0·163 m. Line on rim, single band below handle zone. One side has F 49 Curved Stem Spiral type 10, the other Stemmed Spiral of simple type with small circle below (F 51 no parallel type). Late L.H. IIIA or early L.H. IIIB.

Spouted Krater (50–149, Nauplia Museum 8942) with Parallel Chevrons, large section (PLATE 13*c*). Pink core with a little grit, not very well levigated, buff slip, polished; paint brown, shaded, rather worn in places, dull, fired red on one side. Shape F 281 with bridged spout. Di. rim 0·258 m. Band on rim and three bands below handle zone. Circumcurrent zone of vertical Chevron groups, F 58:17. L.H. IIIB.

Unpainted pottery

Unpainted *kylikes* formed the bulk of the pottery of the deposit.

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[10] A similar method of floor construction was noted by Mr. Petsas in the houses he was excavating at that time immediately to the north of this area (*PAE* 1950, 213).

Type **267** with an angular bowl was the most prevalent. FIG. 5 shows examples of the three varying heights. About fourteen almost complete examples and over 100 fragments were found. The fabric was of three kinds: first a pink or dark buff core with a greenish-buff slip; second a buff core often self-slipped; third a pink core slipped a pale buff. Variations in texture occurred in all three fabrics. They were all hard fired, but the surface inclined to be soft. The handles sometimes rise above the rim, sometimes do not. In the complete examples the bases are generally conical or concave. These would seem to be covered by the L.H. IIIA2 late and IIIB types illustrated by Furumark.

Type **274** with a conical bowl (FIG. 6, right) is also found, though not so frequently. These are noticeable for their lack of lip or very slightly offset lip. The fabric is generally a fine pink clay, very well levigated and better finished than the fabrics of type 267. A few examples are in the greenish-buff and buff fabrics as well. These all have vertical strip handles. This appears to be a type originating in L.H. IIIB.

? *Type* **264–5**. There is also a group with a fairly shallow globular body and sharply offset curving rim (FIG. 6, left). These are quite numerous and occur in the fabrics of type 267 as well as in the finer quality of type 274 but here sometimes in a fine buff clay. This seems to be nearest to type 264–5. The date is presumably similar to that of the other types.

Also there are a great many kylix fragments of which the type is not identifiable. Two joining fragments are burnt inside and may possibly come from a lamp. One unusual piece has a plastic knob on the side of the bowl (type 267). Of the base fragments six are flanged and two unfinished beneath, but the majority are of well-finished concave types. One has the mark of a reed or tool in the centre of its concavity.

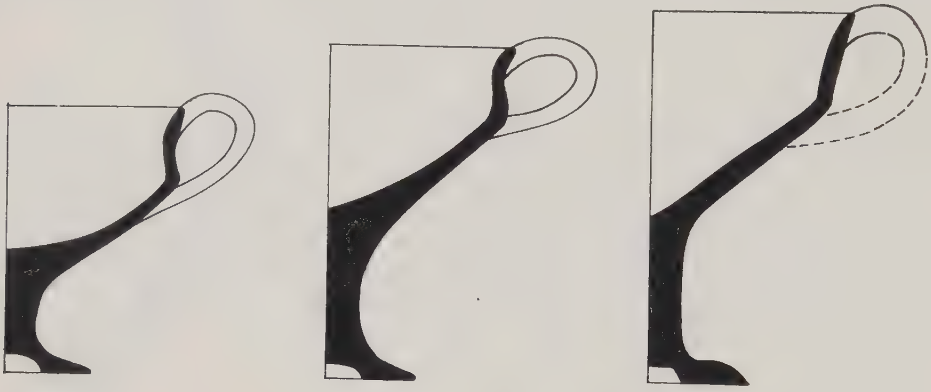

FIG. 5. FS 267

Another common shape is the *Shallow Angular Bowl* (F 295), though no complete example was found. Sixteen rim sherds and nineteen bases were discovered as well as body fragments and handles. The latter are always flattened and horizontal, lying just below the rim on the angle or carination. The bases are either flat or raised. The fabric is in general a pinkish-buff clay with a certain amount of grit, slipped and with a smoothed surface. A few are in a finer buff fabric, well levigated, and two pieces have the greenish slip noticed in some of the kylikes.

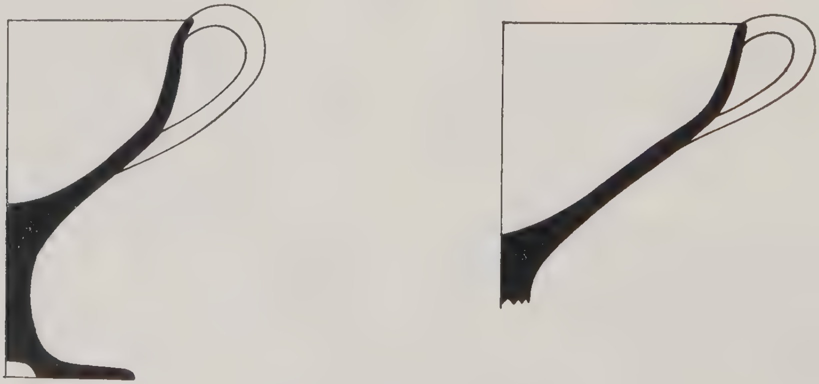

FIG. 6. FS 264 (L), FS 274 (R)

Plain jars or jugs are also well represented by over 100 fragments. The type is probably globular, shape F 68 or 109. The fabric is mainly a pinkish-buff clay with occasional fine grit, fired buff outside and polished or well smoothed on the outside and on the inside of the neck. Some have ridges at the base of the neck. The jugs have a vertical flattened handle from rim to shoulder and the jars rounded horizontal handles on the shoulder. The actual neck angle and rim type varies considerably.

Other shapes represented by a few sherds in the unpainted ware are the Mug, Alabastron (?), Deep Bowl Krater, and Stemmed Krater, a large bowl with spreading rim, and a small semi-globular cup. One bowl rim has grooves of a very metallic nature. The fabric of all these is similar to that noted above, though none has the greenish-buff slip. A few of the larger and better finished pieces have a polished surface.

Coarse ware

Coarse ware also formed a considerable proportion of the deposit. PLATE 13*d* shows two examples of the cooking-pot type of which the profile is illustrated in *BSA* xlix. 282, fig. 13. They are of red/grey clay, quite well levigated with a slight amount of fine grit. The surface is covered with a fine wash and well smoothed. It is now fired black over the reddish surface, and this is doubtless from use. There are also eight fragments definitely from this shape and about eighty sherds of this fabric.

PLATE 13*e*, however, shows another complete vase of this type of fabric. The shape is similar to F 295, well known in the lighter ware, but it is much more rounded and has a splaying lip.

There is also one foot from a tripod vessel and a section of the raised band of a decorated pithos.

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A CHARIOT LARNAX FROM MYCENAE

(PLATE 14)

THE two unusual fragments illustrated in PLATE 14 and FIG. 1 were found at Mycenae in 1950, but were not identified until 1957, when the pottery from the Cyclopean Terrace Building Area was being restudied for the publication which appears in this volume. They come from the East Trench which ran east–west immediately east of the east wall of the Cyclopean Terrace Building proper and which disclosed the drain marked in the plan.[1] They were found at a depth of more than 2·40 m., i.e. below the level of the drain. It seems likely that the fill of this area dates mainly from the period of the building of the Cyclopean Terrace Building (when the drain also must have been built) in the early part of L.H. IIIB, but the pottery in all layers of this trench was contaminated by stray sherds of later Mycenaean, Geometric, and Hellenistic wares. Therefore, though a date in the period preceding early L.H. IIIB is very likely, it cannot be assured.

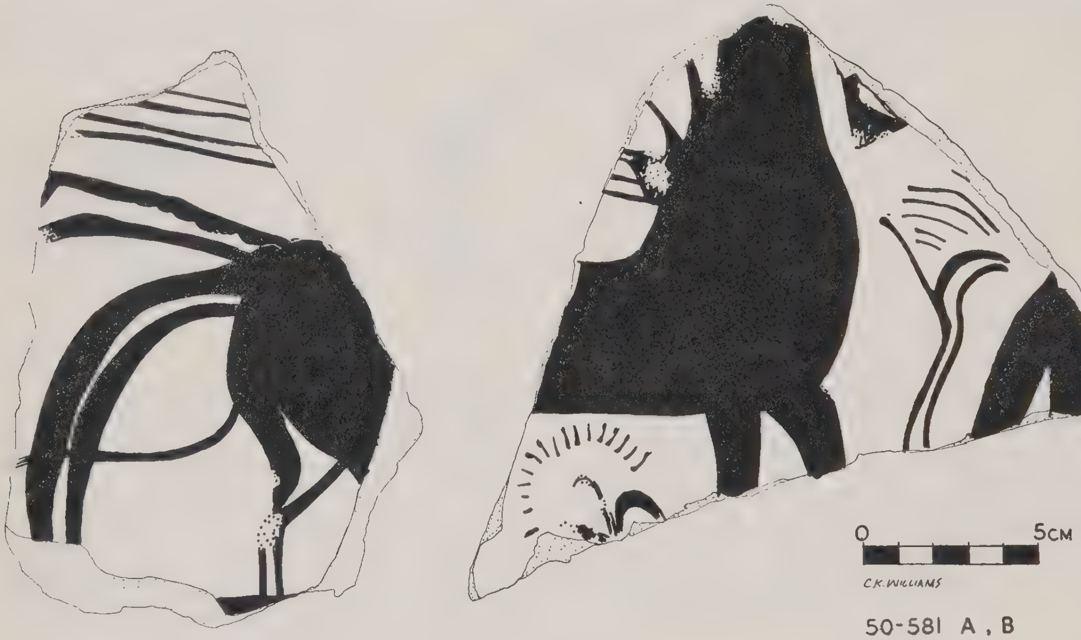

FIG. 1

The pieces, which are 0·02 m. thick, are made of a heavy buff clay with considerable grit and chaff covered with a light wash through which the grit shows, giving the appearance known as 'oatmeal'. The paint is a semi-lustrous red-brown. This fabric is similar to, though heavier than, that of the stirrup jars from the nearby House of the Wine Merchant. It is clear from the scene on the outside that the two fragments are not adjoining, but come from the opposite sides of the same vessel. The shape, fabric, and schemes of decoration seem to indicate that these are fragments of a bath larnax (FS 1).

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[1] *BSA* xlix. 270, fig. 11.

On the outside of fragment a (PLATE 14*a*) the rear of a pair of horses can clearly be seen. As so often in the representation of chariot groups the horses are shown almost as one, but the tail is double and possibly the hind leg, though this may be painted in outline. The chariot pole (in outline), the pole stay, and four reins are also clear. Fragment b (PLATE 14*a*) shows the forequarters of a similar pair of horses. Here the front legs appear double. In front of the horses at the extreme edge of the fragment there are what appear to be the legs of a man who would probably be walking in front of the chariot.[2] Between the man and the horses and beneath the horses' bodies are two floral filling motives. The former is Papyrus, F 11, the latter Flower, F 18. Both appear to be of L.H. IIIA2 types, though they cannot be exactly paralleled. Their presence in a chariot design is typical of the earlier L.H. IIIA series.[3] Although on a coarse fabric, the painting of these pieces is good and they must be considered as part of the well-known group of figure-style vases. On the inside there are two rows of wavy-line pattern which may possibly be the schematic tentacles of an octopus (PLATE 14*b*).

This shape of vessel has hitherto been considered rare on the mainland and painted examples rarer still. Furumark[4] lists eight, of which the Tiryns and the Prosymna examples are painted. The Tiryns example[5] is in white on coarse red, another stirrup-jar fabric, and has a running spiral design on the inside. The Prosymna one from Tomb 17[6] is probably of similar date to the Mycenae pieces (Furumark dates nothing in the tomb later than L.H. IIIA2 late),[7] and has a similar design on the inside. Unfortunately the outer design is not preserved on either of these examples.

To these may be added two examples from Agios Kosmas[8] and four *in situ* at Pylos. Three of these are unpainted and seem to have been used as water butts or settling basins for the palace water system.[9] The fourth,[10] however, 'Nestor's bathtub', is painted inside with spiraliform designs in white on dark and there are traces of paint outside. There is also an unpublished white-on-dark fragment from the German excavations at Tiryns in the storerooms of the Nauplia Museum, and other similar fragments may well exist among the sherd material from settlement sites.

There seems no reason to connect these Mycenae pieces with a burial. The only burials found in the area were those in the fill of the well[11] and in any case the use of larnakes or coffins in mainland tombs is rare.[12] Moreover, in the light of the evidence from Pylos it seems likely that bathtubs and water butts were much more common than the results of previous excavation have suggested, but the use of a chariot scene to decorate a bathtub is unusual by modern standards, and the only parallel to the scene is a burial larnax from Hierapetra[13] in Crete. Possibly larnakes served other household purposes to which a chariot scene was more suited.

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Additional Note. A square-sided larnax assigned to a mainland origin on grounds of style and decorated with the figures of mourning women was auctioned by Munzen & Medaillen, Basel, in November 1958. A similar fragment is published by von Bothmer, *Ancient Art from New York Private Collections* no. 103.

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[2] For a general discussion of the elements of chariot compositions see Furumark, *MP* 433.

[3] This feature is fully discussed by V. Karageorghis in his thesis, as yet unpublished.

[4] *MP* 585.

[5] Schliemann, *Tiryns* pl. 24*d*, *e*.

[6] Blegen, *Prosymna* 54, 249.

[7] *CMP* 131.

[8] Mylonas, *Agios Kosmas* 61.

[9] *AJA* 63, 123, fig. 8; 124, fig. 11.

[10] *AJA* 60, 99 f., fig. 20.

[11] *BSA* xlix. 273.

[12] The question is discussed at length by Persson (*New Tombs at Dendra* 111). For the use of larnakes and coffins in Crete see Hood, *BSA* 51, 86. Unexplained is the stone example from Kontogenada in Kephallenia, which is of Cretan type (*AE* 1933, 79, fig. 22).

[13] This is in the Hierapetra Museum and is to be published by Dr. Platon. The style is rough though vigorous, and quite unlike the Mycenae example.

SOME SITES OF THE MILESIAN TERRITORY

(PLATES 15–16)

THE territorial possessions of Miletus were acquired piecemeal over a number of centuries. They amounted to six or seven distinct pieces of land on the Asiatic mainland (apart from the adjacent islands, which again seem to have presented differences of status). A triple division of the Milesian territory on the mainland is already made by Herodotus. In the first place, in i. 18 he records that the Milesians suffered defeats at the hands of Sadyattes ἔν τε Λιμενηίῳ χώρης τῆς σφετέρης καὶ ἐν Μαιάνδρου πεδίῳ. It might at first sight appear that the Maeander plain here referred to was not Milesian territory. But Strabo (xiv. 647) seems to indicate that Magnesia, which lay far up the plain, suffered Milesian occupation after its destruction by the Treres in the seventh century; and there are various testimonies to Milesian possession of the lower Maeander plain in later times. Again, in vi. 20, Herodotus tells us that after the fall of Miletus (*c.* 494 B.C.) the captive citizens were removed by the Persians: τῆς δὲ Μιλησίων χώρης αὐτοὶ μὲν οἱ Πέρσαι εἶχον τὰ περὶ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὸ πεδίον, τὰ δὲ ὑπεράκρια ἔδοσαν Καρσὶ Πηδασεῦσι ἐκτῆσθαι. The distinction between the part round the city and that in the plain evidently corresponds to that already observed in i. 18; and it is matched by the distinction drawn in an inscription of Miletus (of the first half of the second century B.C.)[1] between the 'Milesia' proper and the Μιλησίων χώρα lying across the Latmic Gulf. Herodotus' triple division is thus clear: the 'home territory' around Miletus itself, the Milesian land in the plain, and third the mountain land, which is evidently Grion.

The 'home territory' of Miletus will naturally have included Didyma and the neighbouring coast. If we distinguish the *hyperakria* from it, the 'home territory' must comprise the Milesian territory west of Grion, or (on a modern map) west of a line joining the west end of the Bafa Gölü to Akbük bay. Teichiussa was evidently not contained in this 'home territory' since in the sixth century it had an ἀρχός (perhaps a Milesian governor rather than a local dynast), and in the fifth century, along with Leros, it occupies a quasi-independent position in the Athenian tribute lists.[2] These considerations led Bean and me to seek Teichiussa to the east of Akbük and to identify it with the one classical fortified site that we discovered in this region, that called Doğanbeleni near Kazıklı.[3] Shortly after our preliminary announcement was made, M. L. Robert speculated on the ancient name of the site, and ignoring our identification with Teichiussa he hesitantly suggested that it was Ioniapolis (see below, p. 98);[4] but soon afterwards, in a second article, he veered towards Bean's and my identification, which he seems to accept.[5] Nevertheless, not being aware (before the publication of our main article) of the force of our arguments, he brought forward a couple of objections to it, and challenged us to counter them. The criticisms of so eminent an authority would normally demand attention. But in the present case neither of the objections appears to possess the sort of validity that is required for serious argument.[6]

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[1] The treaty with Heracleia, *Milet* i. 3, no. 150 (*SIG*³ no. 633), ll. 73 f.

[2] See Bean's and my discussion in *BSA* lii (1957) 109 f. (and 135–37 for Leros and Lepsia). F. Gschnitzer, *Zetemata* (Monographien zur klass. Altertumswissenschaft 17: 1958) 121 n. 4, speaks of the old 'Sonderstellung' of Teichiussa and points out that the Greek city-state did not require such governors except in special circumstances like those of the Athenians in Oropos or the Spartans in Cythera. He also, like Bean and me, takes Leros to be a Milesian foundation of the age of colonization (op. cit. 120).

[3] Cf. the notice in *Anat. Studies* vii (1957) 24, and the location given on the *Classical Map of Asia Minor* (supplement to *Anat. Studies* vii, 1957); our discussion of the identification, *BSA* lii. 106 ff.

[4] *Rev. Phil.* 1957, 10 ff.

[5] *Rev. Phil.* 1958, 54 ff.

After the fall of Miletus the mountain land was given to Pedasian Carians to occupy. These Pedasians had their home on the Halicarnassus peninsula, Pedasa being one of a group of little Lelegian townships which survived there until the time of Mausolus. These Lelegian communities lived in little hill-top towns and seem to have been mainly occupied with herding. No doubt those of the Pedasians who were transplanted to Grion also occupied themselves in tending herds on the mountain. The only certain testimony to their survival comes in an inscription of Miletus, which gives the text of a treaty of sympolity by which the Pidasians[7] (until then ostensibly independent) were to be incorporated in the Milesian state. The inscription is *Milet* i. 3, no. 149, and is dated within a few years of 180 B.C. By the terms of the treaty the Milesians

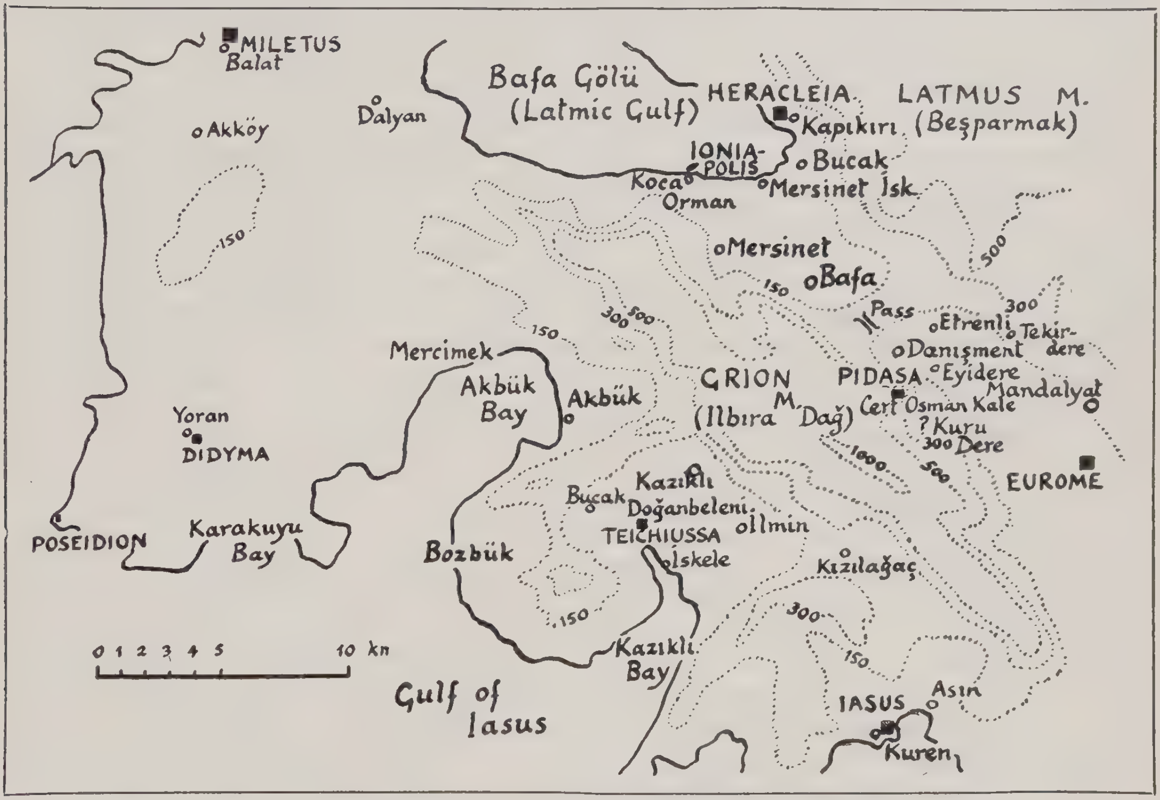
MILETUS
Balat
Akköy
Dalyan
Bafa Gölü
(Latmic Gulf)
HERACLEIA
LATMUS M.
(Beşparmak)
Kapıkırı
IONIA-POLIS
Bucak
Koca Orman
Mersinet Isk.
150
500
Mersinet
Bafa
150
Pass
300
Etrenli
Tekir-dere
Danışment
300
500
150
Mercimek
Akbük Bay
Akbük
GRION M.
(Ilbıra Dağ)
PIDASA
Eyidere
Mandalyat
Cert Osman Kale
? Kuru Dere
300
1000
500
EUROME
Yoran
DIDYMA
Kazıklı
Bucak
Doğanbeleni
TEICHIUSSA
Ilmin
İskele
Kızılağaç
POSEIDION
Karakuyu Bay
Bozbük
150
300
150
0 1 2 3 4 5 10 kn
Kazıklı Bay
Gulf of Iasus
IASUS
Asın
Kuren

FIG. 1. SKETCH-MAP OF THE MILESIA AND MT. GRION

were to send a garrison to Pidasa to repair the fortifications and guard the place (ll. 15 ff.); they were to construct a ὁδὸν ἐκ τῆς Πιδασίδος ζυγίοις πορευτὴν εἰς Ἰωνίαν πόλιν (ll. 44 f.); the *demos* of Miletus was to provide habitations to accommodate 390 beds (ll. 25 ff., presumably for those expected to move in from Pidasa and its territory), and among the concessions granted to the Pidasians was virtual immunity from harbour dues in perpetuity on the produce of those who owned vineyards in the Euromis (ll. 39 ff.). The position of Ioniapolis will be discussed later in this article. For the moment we may note, as a topographical clue, the connexion between Pidasa and the Euromis, which is reinforced by the indication, in a list of new citizens at Miletus,[8] of the adoption of a girl of Eurome into a Pidasian family.

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[6] (i) As Robert in fact does not deny, it is very far from likely that the πατριαί are territorial; and the connexion of the Posideis with Teichiussa seems in itself to be mere gossip; in any case it cannot be seriously maintained that the altar of Poseidon at C. Poseidion was the only one dedicated to that god in the Milesia (e.g. Pausanias (vii. 24, 5) mentions one in front of the city). The argument that Teichiussa should be near C. Poseidion therefore appears to me chimerical. (ii) Bean and I remarked on the testimony of Archestratus, but did not find it adverse (*BSA* lii. 111 n. 203); τρίγλα the (*barbouni*) is always best eaten at the beach.

[7] I keep to the current distinction between Pidasa (with *iota* in the first syllable) in the *hyperakria* and Pedasa (with *eta*) near Halicarnassus. It is not certain how much historical validity this distinction has. But there is no justification for the reversal of the two forms in J. and L. Robert's critique of Bean's and my discussion of the problems of Pedasa (*REG* lxxi. 314). This was probably no more than a momentary lapse of memory on their part; it seems to explain their reluctance (for which no other argument is offered) to share our uncertainty which of the two sites was the one garrisoned by Philip V. See below, pp. 95f.

The position of Pidasa has been a subject of considerable speculation and some positive assertions. On reading L. Robert's interesting article (already referred to) in *Rev. Phil.* 1957, I became aware that the site was still unknown; and I therefore took the opportunity, in the summer of 1959, of visiting the Milesian *hyperakria* in the hope of at last resolving the problem. In view of the known connexion of Pidasa and Eurome I decided first to explore the north-western face of Grion, with the intention of striking southward if my initial search proved unsuccessful. The names that I received for different parts of the mountain are: for the north corner opposite Heracleia 'Koca Orman Dağ'; for the south-eastern part opposite Eurome 'Kara Oğlan Dağ'; and in the south 'Kazıklı Dağ'. But the mountain as a whole seems to be generally known as the 'Ilbıra Dağ'. This is the name that Bean and the Akarcas have also given for the whole. Robert, in *Rev. Phil* 1957, 7, n. 3, reports having heard the name as 'Ilber' (with undotted *i*?); his suggestion that the true form of the name is 'Dilber Dağ' (i.e. 'Mont de la Bien Aimée') is etymologically unsound; but I have reason to be grateful to him, for the recollection of this romantic conceit helped to buoy up my spirits on the painful ascent of 'Sweetheart Hill'. Accompanied by my son, Michael Cook, I began the search for Pidasa from Mersinet İskelesi on the shore of the Bafa Gölü in the middle of the coast of the little plain below Bafa. There and at Bafa we inquired about ancient sites in the Ilbıra Dağ, and were told of a medieval castle (that on the north of the modern *chaussée* a little north-west of Bafa), a church in the mountain somewhere behind Bafa, and a notable fortification in dry stonework on the mountain above Danışment. Bafa is a small town a couple of kilometres north-west of the low pass which links the little plain at the head of the Bafa Gölü to the flat sleeve leading through to the Euromos and the Iasic Gulf. We saw there a heavy Ptolemaic bronze coin, four late imperial bronze coins and one Byzantine; also a fragment of a sculptured marble relief, perhaps from a sarcophagus. The flat sleeve across the pass from Bafa is planted with olives and some vines, and is lined with prosperous villages. On the south side is the village of 180 houses now called Danışment ('Danazman', 'Tanischmanli', &c., on the maps); and close to it (as the German 1 : 100,000 map in *Milet* iii. 5 shows) is the smaller village of Eyidere[9] (now, it seems, properly called Eğridere). Behind these two villages the mountain rises very steeply to a ridge which appears to be of a fairly uniform height in this stretch. A little way to the south-east of Eyidere a side valley comes down from the west; and up this side valley must lie the village of Kurudere, which we did not visit. In Danışment we were shown numerous old Turkish coins, half a dozen Byzantine pieces, and a fourth-century bronze of Colophon.[10] At the Etrenli coffee-house on the *chaussée* we heard talk of inscriptions at Eyidere, but when we visited the village we found nothing above ground.

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[8] *Milet* i. 3, no. 77; in the same list a man of Pidasa is shown as married to a woman of Heracleia.

[9] We were told locally that this means 'Good Valley' (i.e. 'İyidere').

[10] Cf. *BMC Coins, Ionia* 39 f., pl. 8, 7 ('B.C. 350–300'). I read the magistrate's name as Platon (as suggested also for the British Museum specimen, loc. cit. no. 35, and as read on Milne, *Kolophon and its Coinage* no. 139).

From Danışment an hour's severe climb through pine-forests leads to the high mountain ridge. In a dell just under the crest of the ridge there is a well which is said to be unfailing. The ridge itself is a hundred metres or so broad, with a descent to another valley on the south. About five minutes' walk to the east of the well the ridge rises slightly to end in a rounded summit (PLATE 15*a*, from the west), from which, between the pines, fine views are obtained to Heracleia and the Latmus (Beşparmak) on the north, and south-eastward into the Euromos (PLATE 15*b*). To westward lies the heart of Grion, with its wooded ridges (PLATE 15*c*). We guessed the altitude of our crest as 500–600 metres, but Paton and Myres appear to mark this point as 2,770 feet.[11] The summit here bears the drystone fortification to which we had been directed. It lies approximately south of Danışment, and due south-west of Eyidere (which appears, as seen from the valley, to be directly underneath it). The village of Kurudere is not visible from here; rightly or wrongly, our guide indicated its position as lying to the east, and the herdsmen whom we met on the ridge told us that it is two hours distant.

The fortified site which crowns the crest is a little under 200 metres in length. It is called Cert Osman Kale after a brigand who is said to have camped there in the nineteenth century. It slopes down gently from east to west, and the ground falls sharply away from it on all sides. The circuit, now in a very dilapidated condition, is in more or less coursed masonry of smallish stones, resembling the better work on Lelegian sites of the Halicarnassus peninsula.[12] FIG 2 is a rough sketch-plan with no claim to accuracy; unfortunately my compass was not in working order at the time of our visit. Near the west end of the site there seems to have been a tower (A, on the plan) commanding the ascent from the ridge; and another tower on the north side (PLATE 15*d*, from the east) seems to have covered a gateway (B). Farther east, on the highest ground, there may have been several towers; one at the east end (C) has a door 70 cm. wide at the top (PLATE 16*a*, from the east), of which only the lintel appears above the debris; and piles of rubble seem to mark the position of two other towers. Where the wall swings round south-west two short stretches of wall are well preserved: one in roughly coursed stonework (PLATE 16*b*),

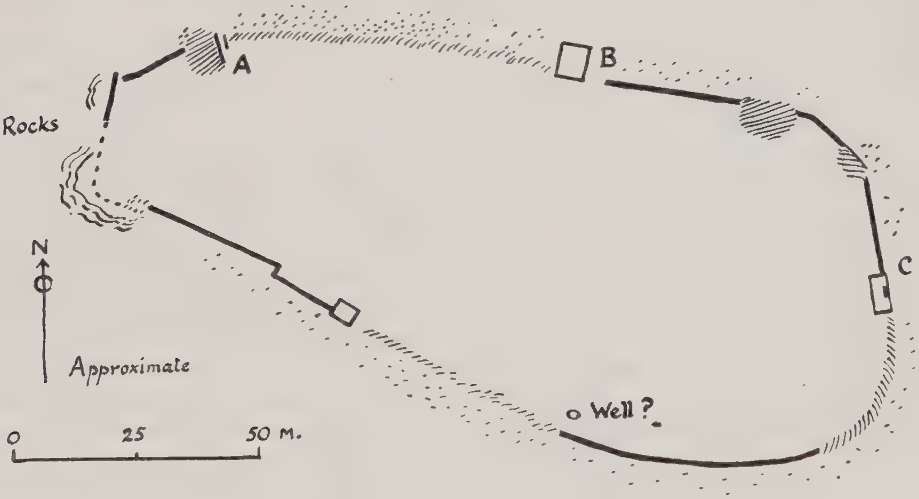

FIG. 2. PIDASA (CERT OSMAN KALE). (Roughly planned by M. A. Cook)

the other in neat squared masonry (PLATE 16*c*). The thickness of the wall where we measured it on the north-east is 200 cm., on the south 160 cm. About 50 metres down the slope on the east and south (not marked on our plan) there is a line of rubble suggesting an outer circuit; this may possibly mark an extension of the city area.

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[11] *JHS* xvi (1896) pl. 10 hence no doubt the figure of 84 metres on Philippson's map).

[12] Cf. *BSA* i. 116–28.

There are masses of worked stones on the ground inside the citadel, and some solid foundations of buildings can be detected; there are also some large marble blocks lying about at the west end. Fragments of ancient tiles and coarse pottery are plentiful on the site. The tiles seem fourth-century and early Hellenistic; I saw no pieces of flat tile with the vertical inner face to the flange which is characteristic of the later Hellenistic at Priene and elsewhere. We picked up a small number of scraps of black glaze, and these seem to be fourth century and earlier Hellenistic; Mr. P. E. Corbett kindly examined them for me and reports that two of them seem Attic and two more might be Attic, badly fired. There is no sign of later Hellenistic or Roman wares. A curiosity is the monogram FIG. 3 impressed on what appears to be a fragment of a flat tile.

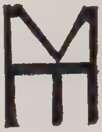

FIG. 3. STAMPED MONOGRAM ON TILE FRAGMENT (SC. 1:2)

On the north edge of the ridge, some 300 metres to the north-west of this fortification and at no great distance from the well already mentioned, a tower measuring *c.* 12×8 metres commanded the approaches; it was built of heavy squared blocks. After we had descended to Danışment we were told of a church somewhere on the ridge here; but neither our guide nor the herdsmen on the spot seemed to know of any remains here other than those we saw.

The villagers were not aware of any strangers having visited Cert Osman Kale within living memory. But the site does not appear to have passed entirely unnoticed. Paton and Myres, in *JHS* xvi. 214, mention a 'small Hellenic fortress on a high spur of Grion' above Kurudere; and since they speak of it as having a well in a hollow just outside its walls, there can be little doubt that their site was none other than Cert Osman Kale. They considered it to be a link in a wider defence system; but the editors of *ATL*, skilfully manipulating the evidences for the small Carian towns, singled out Paton's site above Kurudere as the most suitable position for Pidasa (i. 537). A. and T. Akarca, in their book *Milâs* (1956) 137, transmit a report of two forts, 50 metres apart, at Cerit Osman kalesi. This does not tally very well with what we saw, and the Akarcas have not been told of the well; but the identity of name leaves no doubt that their information relates to the same site. The Akarcas connect their forts with Pidasa, but (unlike the editors of *ATL*) they believe that the site of Pidasa itself must have lain in the low ground below. L. Robert also seems to have sought Pidasa in the low ground; for according to his notice in *Rev. Phil.* 1957, 9, he crossed the 'Labada Dağ' (i.e. the İlbıra Dağ) from Kazıklı, visited the 'fort de Kurudere' and thence arrived at the Euromos plain in order to study the localization of Pidasa.[13]

It seems then to be the prevailing view that Pidasa lay in the plain. But this is not easily reconciled with the considerations outlined above. The inhabitants of Pidasa were mountain people and accustomed to the herdsman's life. Herodotus tells us that they were given the Milesian *hyperakria*, and we may legitimately assume that he knew where they were settled. It seems unlikely that they would have removed to the plain, or that they were given the land there. Further, as we shall see, the population of Pidasa seems to have been much smaller than the present-day population in the flat sleeve north-west of Mandalyat (Selimiye), which is reckoned at well over 2,000; and so on this ground also it is unlikely that Pidasa was in possession of the flat land here. The editors of *ATL* were surely right in seeking a site high up on the mountain. In fact, Cert Osman Kale fits admirably with all the data for Pidasa. It is perched on the high ridge and it looks directly down into the Euromos. It gives every appearance of being an ancient town site, and the period of occupation (to judge by the surface pottery, which does not come down into the late Hellenistic) fits excellently with the known history of Pidasa. In particular, this fortification is similar in situation and character to the town-sites of the Lelegians on the Halicarnassus peninsula and bears a distinct resemblance to the citadel of Pedasa itself at Gökçeler.[14]

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[13] It is not clear whether the 'fort de Kurudere' is one of the two 'ruines helléniques' that Robert previously claimed to have discovered (*Rev. Arch.* 1935, ii. 159); if it is, Robert's discovery was in fact anticipated by Paton. What seems to be clear in his wording in *Rev. Phil.* 1957 is that Robert regards his Kurudere site as a fort and not as the emplacement of an ancient city.

The scholars who have reported on Cert Osman Kale do not appear to have considered that it could be an ancient town-site. This is partly due to their evident failure to appreciate its extent and character. But it is perhaps due still more to the expectation that the site of Pidasa should be more imposing in its scale and the remnants of its monuments. Cert Osman Kale is considerably smaller, it is true, than classical cities like Termera and Cindya, which were important dynastic seats; but it compares well with the minor Carian cities, such as those of the Lelegian *octapolis*. The documentary evidence would suggest that the population of Pidasa was not large. It is admittedly not certain that a total evacuation of the population of the Pidasis was envisaged at the time of the incorporation in Miletus; but the visible remains justify the assumption that regular habitation on the site came to an end at that time. If, therefore, the figure of 390 beds (above, p. 92) represents (as seems most likely) a substantial proportion of the total number of inhabitants of the town and its territory, Pidasa must have been a small settlement, and not one requiring a large circuit. Further, we may surmise from the Milesians' undertaking to carry out necessary repairs to the fortifications that the place had fallen into decay by the early second century B.C., and we should not expect to find the remains of handsome buildings and monuments such as often distinguish the sites of flourishing Hellenistic cities. It is evident from the absence of any documentary evidence to its civic activity that Pidasa had no appreciable stature among the cities of the Hellenistic world in the period of its independence.

My final argument for the identification is, in my opinion, decisive. As, on our arrival at the well just under the ridge, we were searching for a means of drawing water, a great herd of black goats came suddenly scampering down the bank; and they were followed by a small girl from the herdsmen's encampment, who poured water for them in long wooden troughs alongside the well. After a few minutes the goats as suddenly disappeared as a herd of young cattle charged down the bank to take their turn at the troughs. The importance of this well was thus made clear to us at the outset. The supply is said to be unfailing. Paton remarked on the well as being 'undoubtedly very ancient', and I do not doubt that it was as necessary to the herdsmen here in ancient times as it is at the present day. When we inquired of the herdsmen here, we were told that there is no other water point in the whole region of the İlbıra Dağ known to them. If this is so, the position on the ridge here was not only the best possible position for the herdsmen of Pidasa on Mt. Grion, but the only possible one; and—to conclude the matter—if this site was other than Pidasa, how could the herdsmen of Pidasa have subsisted at all in the mountain? The identification thus becomes inevitable.

With Pidasa thus fixed, I see no reason to depart from the view that Bean and I put forward, that the Πηδασεῖς of the Athenian quota lists, who paid two talents (and then one talent) in the first two assessment periods, belong to the Halicarnassian Pedasa. Cert Osman Kale was more remote from the Aegean world than Gökçeler, and it seems likely to have been the less substantial place of the two in the fifth century. On the other hand, the Πιδασεῖς who appear in the assessment of 425 B.C. (A 9) when so many new communities were entered, and who were assessed at only one talent in this list where the old rates of tribute were so greatly increased, may well have been the people of Cert Osman Kale; in that case the distinction in the spelling of the first vowel in the name is a valid one (see above, p. 91). Bean and I saw no means of deciding which of the two places was the Pedasa garrisoned by Philip V. Cert Osman Kale would certainly have offered a strong position above an important route, so that in point of strategical value both situations are attractive. The one specific argument is that from the spelling of the name.[15]

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[14] *BSA* i. 123 ff.

For Ioniapolis the evidence is not confined to the mention of a new route from the Pidasis to be constructed by the Milesians (above, p. 92). A building-inscription of Didyma[16] speaks of a quarry there; and—more important—the treaty of isopolity between Miletus and Heracleia, whose text is published with an excellent commentary by Rehm in *Milet* i. 3, no. 150 (= *SIG*³ no. 633),[17] refers (ll. 99 ff.) to a Milesian ferry service (πορθμίς) to the Ἰωνοπολιτικὸς κόλπος, in which the Heracleots are to have the right to travel, on the same terms as Milesians, between Ioniapolis and Miletus. There is also mention in this inscription (ll. 81 ff.) of a τόπος with a πλινθούλκιον and the adjacent τόπος which the Milesians claim as being τῆς Ἰωνοπολίτιδος, but the Heracleots claim as their own. The brickworks and the quarry may best be left aside in the present discussion; for they tend to exaggerate the possibilities rather than to narrow the limits of search. The natural area for search is, of course, the Bafa Gölü (the old Latmic Gulf). Rehm, in discussing the position of Ioniapolis,[18] inclined to a situation at the extreme east end of the Bafa Gölü near Bucak on the ground that the Pidasa sympolity-inscription shows that Ioniapolis was at the point where the road from the Euromos reached the sea. If the road led only to Heracleia this argument would be valid; since this was evidently not the purpose of the road, Rehm's contention is null. L. Robert claims[19] that Ioniapolis (which evidently belonged to Miletus) cannot have been situated so far to the east, arguing—in so far as he allows any argument on these terms to be relevant[20]—that Heracleia would then have had no share in the little plain at Mersinet İskelesi, and that the Heracleots could not have subsisted without it; he goes on to posit Mersinet İskelesi as the eastern limit of search for Ioniapolis, if it is to be sought here at all. Robert's argument has more point than Rehm's, though it is equally lacking in cogency, since mountain communities did in fact subsist in Caria without any arable to speak of. But there is a stronger argument, which has passed unnoticed, for expelling Ioniapolis from this little coastal plain altogether and seeking it on the steeper shores farther west. There must throughout historical times have been a route from the Euromos across the Bafa pass to this coastal plain; and though I did no notice any trace of it on the pass, I have no doubt that a highway or military road must have served this important route in Hecatomnid times, corresponding to the road connecting Halicarnassus with Mylasa, whose width Bean and I measured as 5 to 6 metres.[21] If Ioniapolis had lain in the little coastal plain here, it would have been unnecessary for the Milesians to construct a new road for draught animals from the Pidasis to Ioniapolis; for there is no sense in making a track where a highway already exists. Evidently, then, the existing highway led down to the Latmic Gulf through territory that did not belong to Miletus—and which must therefore have belonged to Heracleia; in other words, the flat ground here must have belonged to Heracleia. The purpose of the new track thus becomes clear. It was designed to provide a route to the gulf which would not pass outside Milesian territory. It would have been intolerable for Pidasians, when incorporated in the Milesian state, to be subjected to interference from the Heracleots when travelling backwards and forwards between Miletus and the Pidasis; and the new route was a necessary condition of their incorporation.[22] It must have avoided the flat ground below Bafa and kept to the more hilly country on the west in order to reach the coast west of the frontier with Heracleia.

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[15] For Bean's and my views on these problems see *BSA* l. 150 f.

[16] *Didyma* ii, no. 40.

[17] This treaty is evidently not far removed in date from the Pidasa sympolity treaty; but I have not concerned myself with the exact date of the two inscriptions, for which (pending Robert's promised commentary on the Heracleia treaty) see most recently *Didyma* ii. 53, 274 (Rehm there dates the Pidasa sympolity 176/5 B.C. and the Heracleia treaty 173/2).

[18] *Milet* i. 3, 239. He holds to this position in *Didyma* ii. 39.

[19] *Rev. Phil.* 1957, 10 f.

[20] For his alternative location of Ioniapolis in the Gulf of Iasus see below, p. 98.

[21] *BSA* l. 131.

When, some years ago, I was considering the problems of the Milesia and recognized that Ioniapolis must lie west of the headland that seals off the little coastal plain on the west, I noted on the maps a small island ('Assar Ada' on the German 1 : 100,000 map) which lies very close to the south shore of the Bafa Gölü at about two sea-miles from Heracleia; and bearing in mind that the present level of the lake is probably 4–5 metres higher than ancient sea-level here, and that this island was likely to have been joined up to the mainland in antiquity, I had considered this to be the most likely position for Ioniapolis. In 1959, therefore, I proceeded to this point. The hills here slope fairly gently to the beach. The island lies directly opposite the olive-oil factory of Koca Orman at a distance of about 100 metres from the shore; it is about 150 metres in length, and is joined to the mainland by an isthmus which is now just submerged. The factory and island, with the isthmus, appear from the south-west in the photograph PLATE 16*d*, where Mt. Latmus forms the background. Without any doubt this island was a peninsula in antiquity. Towards the west end of the island is a ruined *katholikon* with fine brickwork, in whose walls many ancient blocks and marbles are incorporated; there are traces of Byzantine frescoes inside. On the island there are also other ruined chapels and buildings and part of a circuit wall, evidently the *kastro* of a monastery. The buildings are described and illustrated in *Milet* iii. 1, 42 ff.

We noticed several fragments of inscriptions, including one at head height in the outer south-west corner of the *katholikon*. At the west end of the island, 3 metres from the water's edge, lies a circular grey marble base with the same grandiose prescript as the Milesian decree for Septimius Severus (Lebas no. 212); the dedication honoured Antipater Julianus and names a number of more or less obscure offices that he was holding and had discharged in the ritual of Delphein(= in)ian Apollo, the great Didymeia (Commodeia?) and the local conventus. The text presents some points of common interest with newly published inscriptions of Didyma. The architectural pieces here are also likely to have come from the site of Miletus.

The ground on the island is littered with medieval (and perhaps post-medieval) pottery and tile. But among this debris may be discerned fragments of Hellenistic tiles, amphora handles (single and double), and imperial sigillata bowl-rims now devoid of glaze. We picked up some fragments of dull-glazed pottery which appear to be Hellenistic, and a fine black-glazed fragment (apparently Attic) which can hardly be later than the fourth century. On the mainland, by the submerged isthmus and south-east of it, similar tile and pottery can be seen, with medieval or post-medieval dominating. We heard vague talk of inscriptions in the vicinity, and were told of others (now buried) at a short distance to the south-east; there was talk of a tomb, and we saw a fragment of a stone sarcophagus. The ground at Koca Orman and for a kilometre south-eastward requires closer examination.

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[22] The treaty between Miletus and Heracleia made special provision for the movement of Milesians with their animals between the Milesian land across the gulf and the Milesia proper (*Milet* i. 3, no. 150. 73 ff.); in that case, since the Latmic Gulf was still an arm of the sea, land traffic had of necessity to pass through the Heracleotis.

This situation fits all the data for Ioniapolis. Koca Orman is clearly separated from the coastal plain on the east, which (as has already been shown) must have belonged to Heracleia; and the situation, with a peninsula providing a sheltered anchorage, is a most suitable one. To the west of Koca Orman, on the other hand, there is no suitable position; the mountainside falls sharply to the lake, and no habitation exists between this point and the outlet leading to the Dalyan. Thus, inevitably again, the island at Koca Orman, with the coast immediately to the south-east, is the one tolerable situation for Ioniapolis. The quarry of Marathe may now be sought in this vicinity.

There remains L. Robert's suggestion that Ioniapolis was not on the Latmic Gulf, but at Doğanbeleni at the head of Kazıklı bay, where Bean and I place Teichiussa.[23] This is a revolutionary suggestion and, if it were accepted, it would involve some very serious reconsideration of major topographical issues. But the objections to this view are, as it seems to me, overwhelming. First, the treaty between Miletus and Heracleia (above, p. 96) shows that the territory of Ioniapolis was contiguous with that of Heracleia; if Robert is right in supposing that Pidasa lay in the plain towards Euromos, it is perhaps possible that the territories of Heracleia and his Ioniapolis met in Mt. Grion; and no doubt this is the basis of his suggestion. But if Pidasa is at Cert Osman Kale—and surely it must be—then the whole of the Pidasis must have been interposed between them. Secondly, if the Ἰωνοπολιτικὸς κόλπος is to be the bay of Kazıklı, the use of the term πορθμίς for a coasting service all the way round C. Poseidion to Miletus is very peculiar—indeed, with the prevailing summer northerlies, such a 'ferry' service would be of very doubtful utility. Finally, arrived in Kazıklı bay, the passengers bound for Heracleia would still be as far away from their destination as they had been at Miletus, and they would now have a high mountain range to cross. M. Robert's suggestion was made in great haste, as the opening words of his first article (in *Rev. Phil.* 1957) show; and in fairness to him it must be remarked that he himself perceived that there are objections to his proposal, though he failed to see the fatal ones; in his second article on Kazıklı, writing with fuller knowledge of Bean's and my identification of Doğanbeleni as Teichiussa, he seems willing to abandon his proposal to place Ioniapolis there.[24]

The location of both Pidasa and Ioniapolis depends on the argument of inevitability, which is too often neglected in topographical research. It is true that there is no direct evidence that proves the positions at Cert Osman Kale and Koca Orman to be Pidasa and Ioniapolis; but, granted in either case the existence of a suitable site, no other solution can be entertained.

Leaving the territory of Ionic Miletus, I end with an excursion into the nerve-centre of Caria. I have frequently broken my journeys in Milâs,[25] but I have regarded it as lying outside the limits of my proper investigations and have not attempted to study the remains of its ancient predecessor, Mylasa. The discovery now to be related was therefore a fortuitous one. Having an evening free in Milâs before returning to Smyrna, my son and I decided to take a rest from the study of classical antiquity and visit the hill where the Menteşe dynasty established its stronghold in the first half of the fourteenth century. This is at Peçin on a great flat-topped rock that stands out boldly from the hill-side on the south edge of the basin of Milâs (FIG. 4); it is about 5 kilometres from Milâs. On the shelf to the south there are handsome ruins of pre-othomanic mosques and other buildings.[26] After the fall of the dynasty Peçin retained its pre-eminent status. In late medieval times it was the seat of an Ottoman governor and garrison; and as late as the mid-eighteenth century it was a *kaza*, with Milâs subordinated to it. Now there is only a small village under the castle rock and a handful of houses on the summit above.

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[23] See above, p. 90.

[24] *Rev. Phil.* 1958, 56.

[25] This is the official form of the modern name. 'Meles' can still be heard, with the unharmonious locative 'Melesta'. The late medieval form 'Melasso' is heard in the mouths of Greek-speaking Turks of Bodrum (στὸ Μελάσο).

The castle rock rises in an almost perpendicular cliff and could dispense with defences save on the south, where it is accessible by a steep ascent from the saddle. Inside the defences a stairway leads to the upper gate-tower; it is flanked on its north side by a massive stepped foundation, which the Akarcas illustrate in their book and recognize as the podium of an ancient temple.[27] Time did not allow us to linger over the traces of ancient sketches and epigraphy that enliven the steps here.

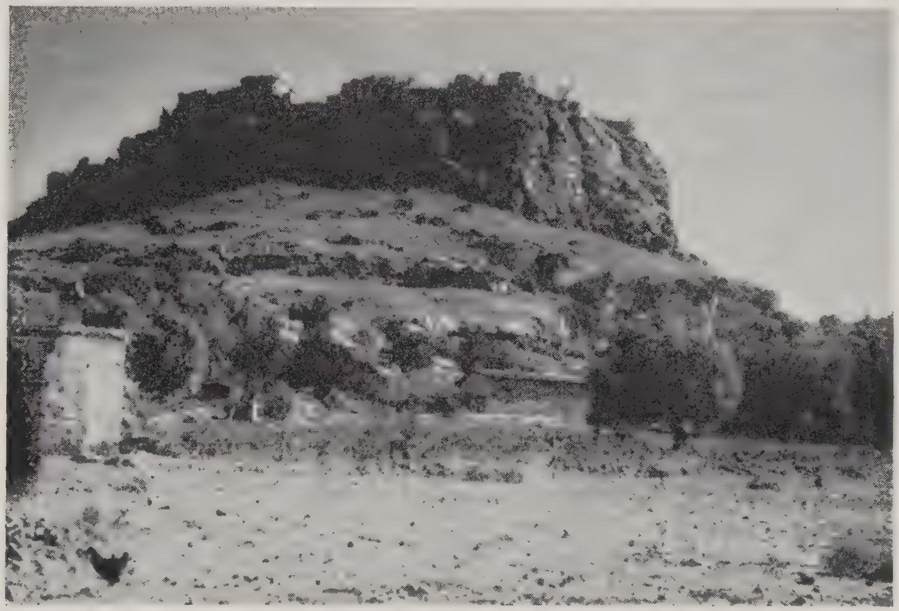

FIG. 4. PEÇIN: CASTLE ROCK FROM THE NORTH

On the east side of the saddle below the outer gate a stretch of ancient walling in squared masonry can be followed for a distance of 20 metres or so.[28] On the surface of the ground in the vicinity of this wall we found scattered archaic and classical potsherds. These comprised a fair quantity of East Greek striped and slipped wares (some going back to the seventh and early sixth century), a fragment of an oenochoe of similar date and another of a plate with orientalizing decoration on a white slip, and a number of pieces of classical Attic black-glaze. Among the black-glaze sherds Mr. Corbett kindly identified for me fragments of a cylix-foot of the first half of the fifth century, of the rim of a small bowl of the second half of the same century or the first quarter of the fourth, and of the foot of a bowl or one-handled cup of about the first quarter of the fourth century. The sherds thus seem to date between early archaic and the early years of the fourth century. We did not find any characteristic wares of the middle quarters of the fourth century or of Hellenistic-Roman date. It is, of course, possible that the site at Peçin is simply an ancient sanctuary, and that the early potsherds we picked up are a scatter from a *stipe votiva* or wall-backing. But the complete absence of Hellenistic and Roman wares on the slope here seemed to us striking, since a temple like this must have continued to be frequented into late times; and we therefore incline to the belief that this pottery represents the period of occupation on an inhabited site. In that case the site must have been a very notable one by Carian standards, to judge by the import of high-quality Greek wares.

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[26] Peçin is described by A. and T. Akarca, *Milâs* 116 ff., pls. 29 ff. For its history and inscriptions reference may be made to P. Wittek, *Das Fürstentum Mentesche* (1934).

[27] Op. cit. pls. 30 right, 31 bottom.

[28] A photograph ibid. pl. 31 top.

If we provisionally accept this site as that of an old inhabited settlement with a substantial temple, can we perhaps find a clue to its name in the ancient authorities? I believe that we can. Strabo describes the situation of Mylasa and goes on to speak of its famous sanctuaries—that of Zeus Osogos and (60 stades outside the city) Labranda. He continues (xiv. 659—the punctuation is mine):

> ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἴδια τῆς πόλεως, τρίτον δ' ἐστὶν ἱερὸν τοῦ Καρίου Διὸς κοινὸν ἁπάντων Καρῶν, οὗ μέτεστι καὶ Λυδοῖς καὶ Μυσοῖς ὡς ἀδελφοῖς· ἱστορεῖται δὲ κώμη ὑπάρξαι τὸ παλαιόν, πατρὶς δὲ καὶ βασίλειον τῶν Καρῶν τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἑκατόμνω.
>
> πλησιάζει δὲ μάλιστα τῇ κατὰ Φύσκον θαλάττῃ ἡ πόλις, καὶ τοῦτ' ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς ἐπίνειον. (§ 24) ἀξιολόγους δ' ἔσχεν ἄνδρας καθ' ἡμᾶς τὰ Μύλασα κτλ.

This text will no doubt seem unfamiliar to readers of Book xiv; for Strabo's editors have assumed that the verb ἱστορεῖται must have as its subject the city of Mylasa, and they have therefore put a full stop after the word ἀδελφοῖς and ended the paragraph at ἐπίνειον. But this gives indifferent sense. By my punctuation an explicit statement is obtained: there was once an inhabited centre—the ancestral home and stronghold of Hecatomnos—at the site of the temple of Zeus Karios; and this centre is distinct from the Mylasa of Strabo's own day. If this is Strabo's meaning, we need have no hesitation in recognizing the temple and old settlement in the visible remains at Peçin. But what was the name of this old centre in the fifth century before the dynasts moved down to Milâs in the plain? Herodotus will tell us (i. 171): ἀποδεικνῦσι δὲ ἐν Μυλάσοισι Διὸς Καρίου ἱρὸν ἀρχαῖον, τοῦ Μυσοῖσι μὲν καὶ Λυδοῖσι μέτεστι ὡς κασιγνήτοισι ἐοῦσι τοῖσι Καρσί.

If this interpretation of Strabo is correct, Mylasa—or at least its citadel—must in Herodotus' time have been situated at the rock now called Peçin. It may be objected that this cannot be so because the temple of Zeus Karios is known to have been down at Milâs. But this is nothing more than a modern conjecture based on the assumption that Mylasa was always at Milâs. The position of the temple of Zeus Karios is in fact an enigma of long standing, and attempts to locate it on the ancient site at Milâs have met with no success.[29] These difficulties are at once resolved if we place the temple of Zeus Karios on the platform at Peçin.

In cases like this, where a city is suspected of having moved to a new position in classical times, it is necessary not only that a suitable site be found for the old settlement, but that the known site of the later city be shown to lack early remains on an appropriate scale. In the present case the second of these two conditions has not been fulfilled; for not only had we no time to investigate the ancient site at Milâs more closely, but we had not asked M. Robert for permission to do so. Pieces of archaic statuary have been reported from Milâs,[30] and one or two early terracottas have this provenience; but I do not know of any published archaeological discoveries attesting the existence of an early city at Milâs. So far as I am aware, no attempt has ever been made to find the situation of classical Mylasa. Straggling over a slope that seems neither to be quite hill or plain, the Hellenistic site of Mylasa is unimpressive in its situation; indeed, Strabo (xiv. 659) reports that one of the ἡγεμόνες was moved to inquire 'If the man who founded this city was not afraid, was he at least not ashamed of himself?' If the position in the low ground was a peculiar one for a Hellenistic city, it would surely have been a much more peculiar one for an early Carian citadel; for in the fifth century the Carians were notorious hill-dwellers. Finally we may note that Mylasa is said to have been unfortified at the time when Mausolus opened a subscription list to pay for a defence circuit there;[31] while proving nothing, this testimony would fit with the hypothesis that Mylasa had only recently been removed to a new site. It seems then that neither the literary evidence nor topographical probability is unfavourable to the view that the city at Milâs is a fourth-century foundation. But, however attractive it may appear at first sight, this suggestion must not be regarded as ascertained fact; it is a conjecture, to be confirmed or refuted by archaeological discoveries.

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[29] See the doubts expressed in *REG* lxiv (1951) pp. xiv f.; and cf. Laumonier, *Cultes indigènes en Carie* 43 f.

Since the above was drafted, I remark that Chandler, *Travels in Asia Minor* (1775) 191, observes that the temple of Zeus Carius 'was not in the town, but had once a village near it. On a steep abrupt rock, in sight from Mylasa, southward, and distant an hour and three-quarters, crossing the plain, is a ruined town called Paitshin, and a castle, which was repaired, as a stronghold against Soley Bey, and still had in it a few cannon. Part of the wall of this fortress stands on a flight of marble steps, which probably have belonged to the latter temple.'

[30] *JHS* lxxii. 106.

The family of Hecatomnos had no doubt been great people in western Caria before Hyssaldomos received the satrapy after the execution of Tissaphernes in 395 B.C.; and if my surmise is correct, the dark rock of Peçin—or rather of Mylasa—must have been arbiter of the fortunes of a great countryside. In previous articles (in *BSA* l and lii) Bean and I have endeavoured to show that in the coastal regions of Caria the Hecatomnids imposed a new pattern by the creation of a network of cities designed to act as foci of the Greek way of life. But in the lack of archaeological exploration we could only conjecture what form Hecatomnid hellenization took in the interior of the land. It now appears likely that Mylasa itself is to be placed at the head of the new urban foundations of the dynasty. The abandoning of the old citadel for a more extensive situation in the plain is characteristic of the new hellenizing movement. The choice of the old dynastic citadel was itself no less characteristic. In such matters history repeats itself at long intervals. In Greece the Frankish conquest of the thirteenth century of our era imposed on the countryside a pattern that had disappeared with the collapse of the Mycenaean kingdoms, and the Turkish occupation in a large part of the country reimpressed a pattern similar to that established by the Dorians. In the basin of Milâs, after the remodelling of the Carian way of life, some seventeen hundred years were to elapse before a new dynast of the Carian land, Orhan Menteşeoğlu, came to build his castle on the same towering rock of Mylasa.

J. M. Cook

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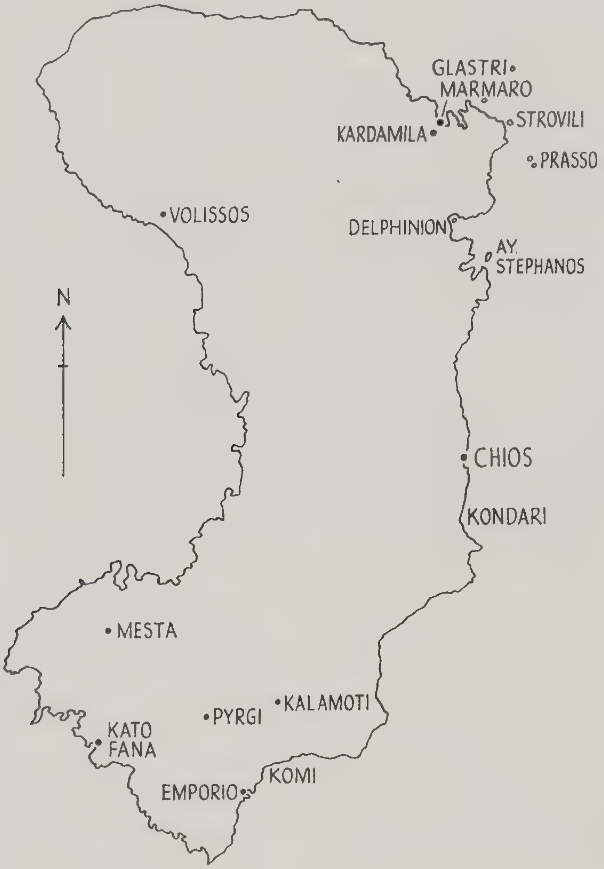
[31] Ps.-Arist., *Oecon.* ii. 1348a.

UNDERWATER RECONNAISSANCE OFF THE ISLAND OF CHIOS, 1954

(PLATE 17)

In June and July of 1954 a team of ten divers spent just over four weeks exploring the east coast of Chios. The team was based on Emporio in the south-east, where the British School was excavating under the direction of M. S. F. Hood and J. Boardman, and was thus able to rely on the archaeologists there for expert guidance. Most of the underwater work took place in this area, but the team was also able to spend some time exploring the north-east coasts of the island, thanks to Mr. Tom Dupree, who put his yacht *Kerynia* at their disposal.


GLASTRI
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AY. STEPHANOS
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MESTA
KALAMOTI
PYRGI
KATO FANA
KOMI
EMPORIO

Fig. 1

The main diving equipment consisted of three twin-cylinder aqualungs with three spare twin-cylinder air-tanks, and a compressor to recharge them with air, belonging to the British School at Athens. The purchase of this expensive equipment had been made possible by the great generosity of Lord Kelmsley and the *Sunday Times* newspaper. Miss Dilys Powell, as representative of the *Sunday Times*, joined the expedition for two weeks and took an active part in the work.

The compressor, once installed, could not be moved, and this somewhat limited the expedition's range. Two divers had their own single-cylinder aqualungs and one had a twin-cylinder. All the divers had their own basic gear, and there was also a good deal of home-made equipment, marker-buoys, measuring-rods, &c. Two divers had underwater cameras, one a Leica in an R.G. Lewis Photomarine case, and one a Contax in a home-made but highly efficient case with its own flash-gear.

Shallow areas were searched from the surface, often by a set of divers swimming abreast, without aqualungs, and looking down into the water through their face-masks. With divers between 5 and 10 metres apart according to the depth and visibility, a large area could be thoroughly searched fairly quickly. When the bottom was not visible from the surface, the first exploration had to be made with an aqualung. In that case divers usually went down and explored in pairs, but occasionally a primitive aquaplane was used to search large areas. This consisted merely of an aluminium plate with bicycle-grips at each end. It was towed on a bridle behind the motor-dinghy, the diver holding the handles and controlling his depth by tilting the plate. By this method a lot of ground was covered, but probably too cursorily to be of much value.

Finds were marked with marker-buoys and with small squares of white rubber sheeting the size of handkerchiefs. They could also be labelled with pads of white plastic with a roughened surface upon which it was possible to write with a pencil under water. Whenever possible, finds were photographed and plans were drawn of the sites under water. The more substantial sites were divided up by a grid of white plastic tape so that they could be plotted in sections.

EMPORIO (FIG. 2)

The harbour is a horseshoe-shaped cove 170 metres across and open to the south-east. For a distance of about 50 metres out from the shores the bottom is natural rock and shingle covered with weed, the central part being clear sand. Along the south-west shore a straight ridge of clean sharp stones, little worn by the sea, runs parallel to the shore and 60 metres out. It falls sharply to the sandy bottom (7 metres deep) on the north, but only rises a little above the bottom on the shoreward side. It may perhaps represent the remains of some form of wharf or harbour wall, although no signs of masonry were found in its vicinity. The sea-level has risen here, as in other parts of the Aegean, considerably since antiquity, and the remains of ancient (? Bronze Age and Roman) houses can be traced in the shallows by the south-west shore of the harbour.

In the centre of the harbour, near the border between the sandy bottom and the stones, lie four squared stones. One has two clear dowel holes, the fourth bears a trace of a moulding. Farther inshore are six cylindrical pieces of stone, A–E. These are 0·40 m. in diameter except for E, which is only 0·30 m.; but this may be due to erosion from the sea, since it is very worn. The lengths are as follows: A 1·40, B 1·0, C 0·80, D 2·0, E 0·90, F 1·50. A and C have dowel-holes in the ends. B is very sea-worn, and might possibly be a natural boulder, but its dimensions are so similar to the other cylindrical stones that it has been included here. Near these blocks were some ship's timbers and a ship's prow or stern embedded in the sand, although there is no reason to suppose that they are not modern.

From the harbour a few fragments of pottery were recovered, most of them either clearly modern or so sea-worn as not to be identifiable.

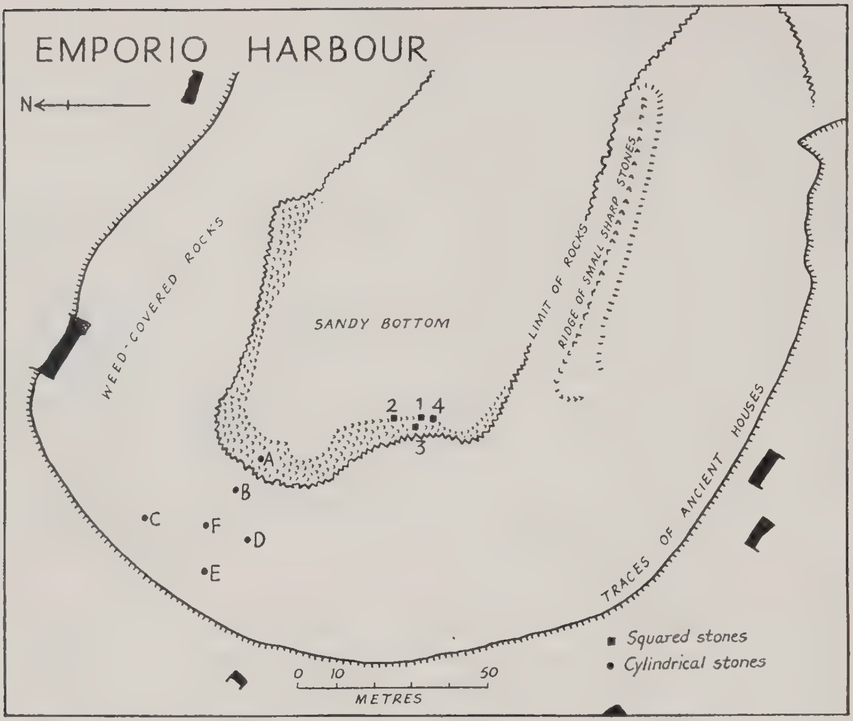
EMPORIO HARBOUR
N
WEED-COVERED ROCKS
SANDY BOTTOM
LIMIT OF ROCKS
RIDGE OF SMALL SHARP STONES
TRACES OF ANCIENT HOUSES
2 1 4
3
A
B
C
F
D
E
Squared stones
Cylindrical stones
0 10 50
METRES

Fig. 2

KOMI (FIG. 3)

The coast north-east of Emporio to Komi and Kalamoti was searched. The only substantial find was beneath the rocky cliffs south of Komi and about a kilometre north of Emporio, where a low spur of rock projects 70 metres out to sea. Close inshore some 30 metres from this spur among large boulders, on a rocky bottom between 2 and 3 metres deep, there was a small

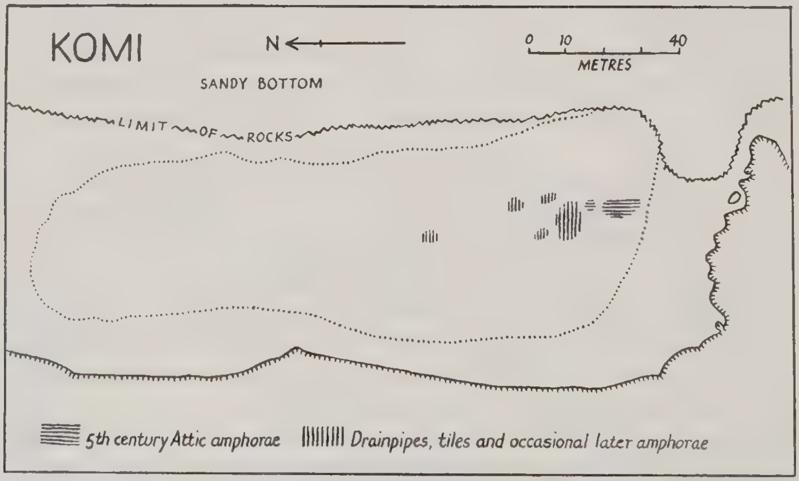
KOMI
N
0 10 40
METRES
SANDY BOTTOM
LIMIT OF ROCKS
5th century Attic amphorae
Drainpipes, tiles and occasional later amphorae

Fig. 3

but dense deposit of amphorae and sherds firmly cemented with a coating of lime formed by marine animalcula. Some amphorae were almost complete. Miss Virginia Grace of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens visited this site and inspected it under water; she identified these amphorae as Attic of the late fifth or early fourth century (PLATE 17*a*). A few metres to the north, and almost contiguous with these vases, was a larger mass of drainpipes and tiles together with a few sherds of amphorae of a later type. The two groups lay in an area of 21 by 11 metres. It was marked off with a grid of white plastic tape and planned by Miss Alison Marsh. Smaller fragments were scattered over a wide area to the north and to seaward. Two Roman amphora-necks were found 15 metres to seaward and two amphora-necks of the third century A.D. or later, 80 and 120 metres to the north.

No traces were discovered of any timber or other part of the boat in which these amphorae may have been carried. Indeed, during the whole of the expedition we only once came upon any remains of metal or timber with any pretensions to antiquity. It is clear that the amphorae represent the cargoes of at least two ships wrecked at the same dangerous headland, one in the fifth–fourth century B.C., the other later.

KATO FANA (FIG. 4)

This small harbour lies on the south-western shore of the island. It served the sanctuary of Apollo Phanaios and the small town beside it. It was here that Roman battlefleets sheltered in 191 and 168 B.C. (Livy xxxvi. 43, xlv. 10).

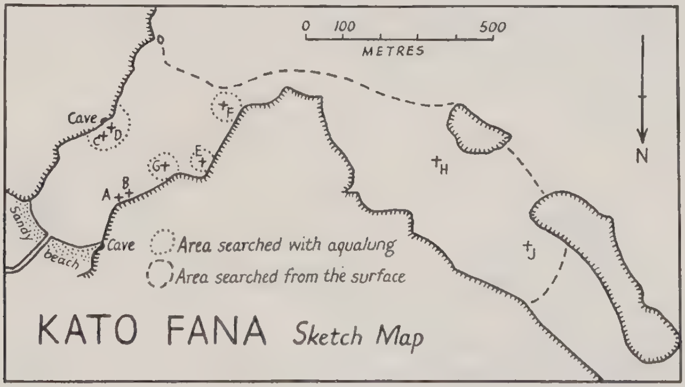

FIG. 4

The whole of the harbour and the coast beyond it for some three-quarters of a kilometre were searched by teams of swimmers working on parallel courses from the surface. Most of the harbour bottom proved to be smooth sand, which would cover most traces of wrecks. A number of small isolated finds was made, but there were only three substantial deposits. At G a pile of small sherds partly buried by small stones seemed to indicate rubbish fallen or thrown from the land rather than the result of a wreck. None of these sherds was recovered. Around H a large number of small fragments of Coan wine amphorae, of fourth or third century B.C. type were found scattered over a large area of rock in 2–5 metres of water; perhaps part of the cargo from a wreck. At J concreted fragments of pottery were seen at 7–10 metres, but no specimens were collected. Isolated sherds were found at points A, B, C, E, and F and the body of an amphora, lacking its neck and handles (**9** below), raised from 10 metres at D. The sea-bed on this part of the south-eastern side of the harbour was remarkable in appearance, consisting of large towers of rock, almost entirely undercut by the action of waves at the bottom. This may be due to a subsidence or alteration of the sea-level, since this undercutting usually occurs at the surface of the sea, and can indeed be observed at the present sea-level on the coast just north of Emporio.

The adjacent waters and the bay to the south-west were explored very cursorily with the aquaplane, but nothing was found. A trial dive to a depth of 30 metres off Cape Masticha also drew blank.

KONDARI

Kondari lies in a bay to the south of Chios Town. We had heard of submerged buildings off the beach, and were able to pay a single brief visit. There proved to be distinct signs of submerged buildings, but the water was so dirty and thick with weed, and the first small find (a drowned puppy) so discouraging, that we did no useful work and were able to make no further visits. This has been alleged by some to be the site of Leukonion (cf. *BSA* xli (1940–5) 33).

DELPHINION (FIG. 5)

For the ancient site see *BSA* li (1956) 41–54. The main harbour lies to the north-east of the small island of Tauros. It is 33 metres deep in the centre and very well sheltered. The island is steep and rocky on the eastern side, but slopes down gradually to the west, and the waters between it and the shore to the west are extremely shallow and rarely exceed 2 metres. There is a modern wreck on the north-east shore of the harbour, but we found no signs of ancient ones except around the island. The south-west corner of the island was explored with aqualungs to a depth of over 30 metres. Heaps of Chian amphorae dating from about 400 B.C. were found in gullies in the almost vertical rock-face at about 20 metres depth at A and C. There were outlying fragments in shallower waters at B and D.

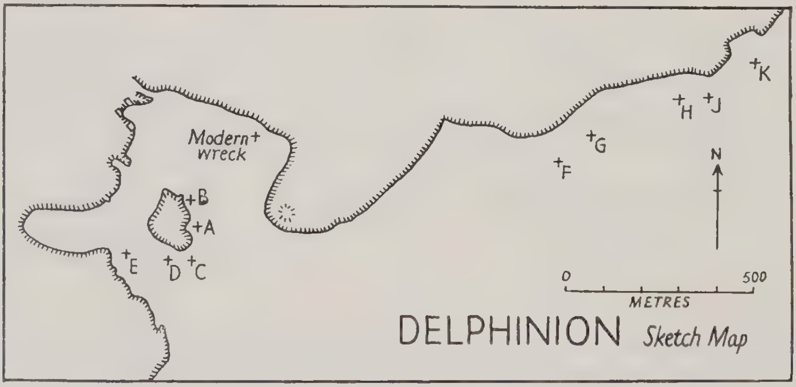

FIG. 5

In 2 metres of water at E among weed-covered stones was a single fragment of fluted column 0·90 m. long and tapering from 0·40 to 0·35 m. in diameter. The flutes were approximately 0·06 m. wide. We could find no other worked stones in the vicinity.

The coastal waters to the north-east were explored with the aquaplane and from the surface for a distance of almost 2 kilometres. Fragmentary sherds of Chian amphorae of the early fourth century were found at F and G, and two different amphora-bases of the same type at H. There were signs of a wreck, namely, a large number of fragments of Roman amphorae cemented together at a depth of 9 or 10 metres at K. At J a tapering piece of stone 0·60 m. long was found (see below, **20,** FIG. 10). There was no unmistakable sign that it was worked and not natural stone, but its shape was so similar to half of the lead anchor-stocks found in France and to the stone anchors from Aegina, that it may well be part of an anchor-stock.

AY. STEPHANOS (FIG. 6)

This small, low, and rocky islet lies off the southern point of the bay of which Delphinion harbour is the north-western bight. It merges with rocks of the coast beyond when it is seen from the sea, and even today it carries no light or even sea-mark to warn the mariner coming into harbour. It is therefore hardly surprising that there is much evidence of wrecks round its shores.

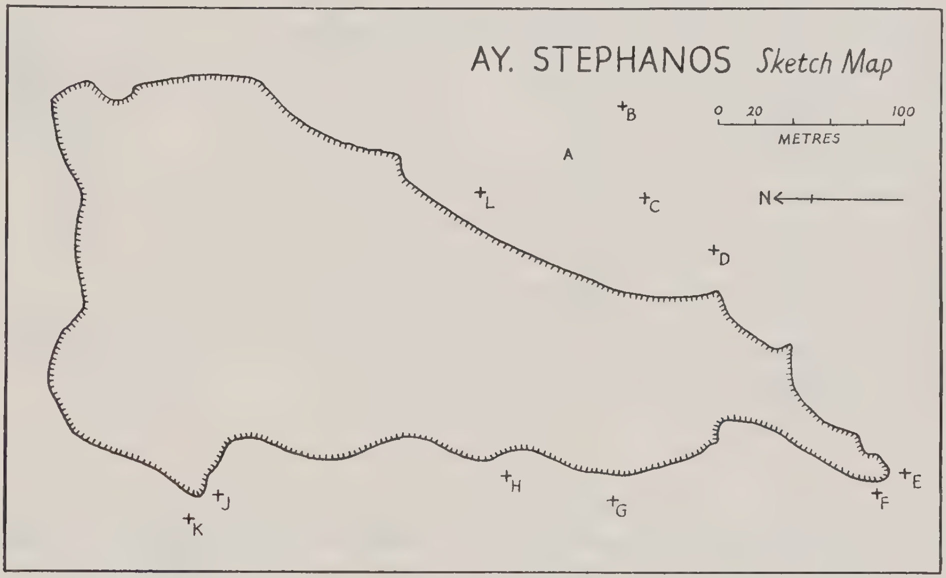

FIG. 6

The sea-bed to the south-east is relatively shallow and shelves gradually offshore. At A in 3–4 metres of water we found a mass of sherds firmly cemented together and extending over much of an area 24 by 12 metres, to a thickness of between 0·30 and 0·50 m. (PLATE 17*b*). Grid-lines of plastic 3 metres apart were laid across the area in a north–south direction and Miss Alison Marsh made a sketch-map of the site. It was also photographed in eight sections. The sherds cover an area of approximately 80 square metres, and their volume can be estimated at some 32 cubic metres. They must represent the remains of at least a thousand amphorae—possibly more—without taking into account the erosion the sherds have probably suffered by the sea. Only one amphora was found intact, and this was broken in raising it to the surface. Many of the pieces showed traces of a black tarry deposit on the inside. 50 metres farther to seaward, a single large tile, 0·49 m. wide, may possibly have come from the same wreck before it was driven inshore.

At L traces of a much later wreck in the form of some strange pottery with openwork rims and high swinging handles were found (**33**, **34**) with six stone cannon- or ballista-balls 0·17 m. in diameter. There were also, completely encrusted with a limy deposit, an unidentifiable piece of decayed wood and a much-corroded bar of iron.

The sea-bed off the southern tip of the island slopes more steeply. It was explored with the aquaplane and several photographs of shattered and cemented amphorae taken in depths between 7 and 13 metres.

The west side of the island was only explored by divers without aqualungs and the depths encountered did not exceed 10 metres. Small collections of sherds were found at F, G, H, and K, and the neck and handles of a Rhodian amphora of the fourth or third century B.C. at J.

Prasso Islands (fig. 7)

These two islands lie almost in the centre of the channel between the north-east coast of Chios and the Oinoussai Islands. They are fairly low-lying and must have presented a considerable danger to shipping before the lighthouse was installed on the northern island. A single visit was paid to the islands by a small party of divers in rough weather. The reef to the south-east was explored with aqualungs, and the west and north coasts without them. The centre of this reef bore a quantity of modern French tiles, and small collections of ancient sherds of various kinds were found on ledges of the submarine cliff to the south-east to depths of 10 and 16 metres. There were amphora-handles of at least two different types at 4 metres at B, and quantities of small fragments between 8 metres at C and 5 metres at D. At E a green-glazed jug was found, and at A and F cemented deposits of amphorae.

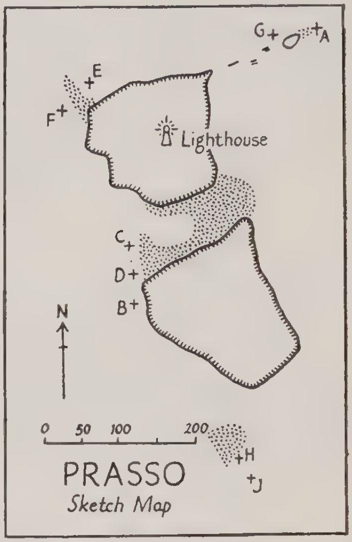

Fig. 7

Strovilo, Glastri, and Pondiko

Strovilo is a steep and conspicuous island divided from Cape Paraskevi on the north-eastern tip of Chios by a shallow strip of water about 100 metres wide. The sea-bed round Strovilo and between the island and the small bay in the end of Cape Paraskevi was searched by divers without aqualungs. Visibility was excellent, but only two small deposits of sherds of Roman amphorae were found: one in 2 to 3 metres. in the cove at the western end of the island, and the other in 5 metres just south of the northern headland of the bay on the mainland.

Glastri is a low-lying, unlit rock 700 metres off the north-east shore between Cape Paraskevi and Cape Vamvakas. Seaward the sea-bed drops sharply; inshore there is a wide reef with some dangerously shallow patches. Although it seemed a very likely site for wrecks, a search all round down to a depth of 30 metres yielded no finds of any kind.

The channel between the two main Oinoussai Islands was not systematically explored, but two finds were made there. The site was in about 10 metres of water and 10 metres south-west of the south-west corner of a small unnamed island, the northernmost in the channel, 600 metres north of the island of Pondiko.

RICHARD GARNETT

THE FINDS

Some of the pottery from the sites explored was brought back to Emporio, drawn, and then stored in Chios Museum. Other pieces which are listed below were not kept, but identified on the spot. Samples only were brought back or recorded; for the relative frequency of the different specimens the reader is referred to the account above, also for the record of some pieces which I have not seen. I have been sparing of dates in preference to committing such heavily encrusted, plain vases to even vague dates which may be seriously inaccurate. The classical and Hellenistic wine-jars, and the Late Roman pottery of types found in the excavations at Emporio, allow more precision.

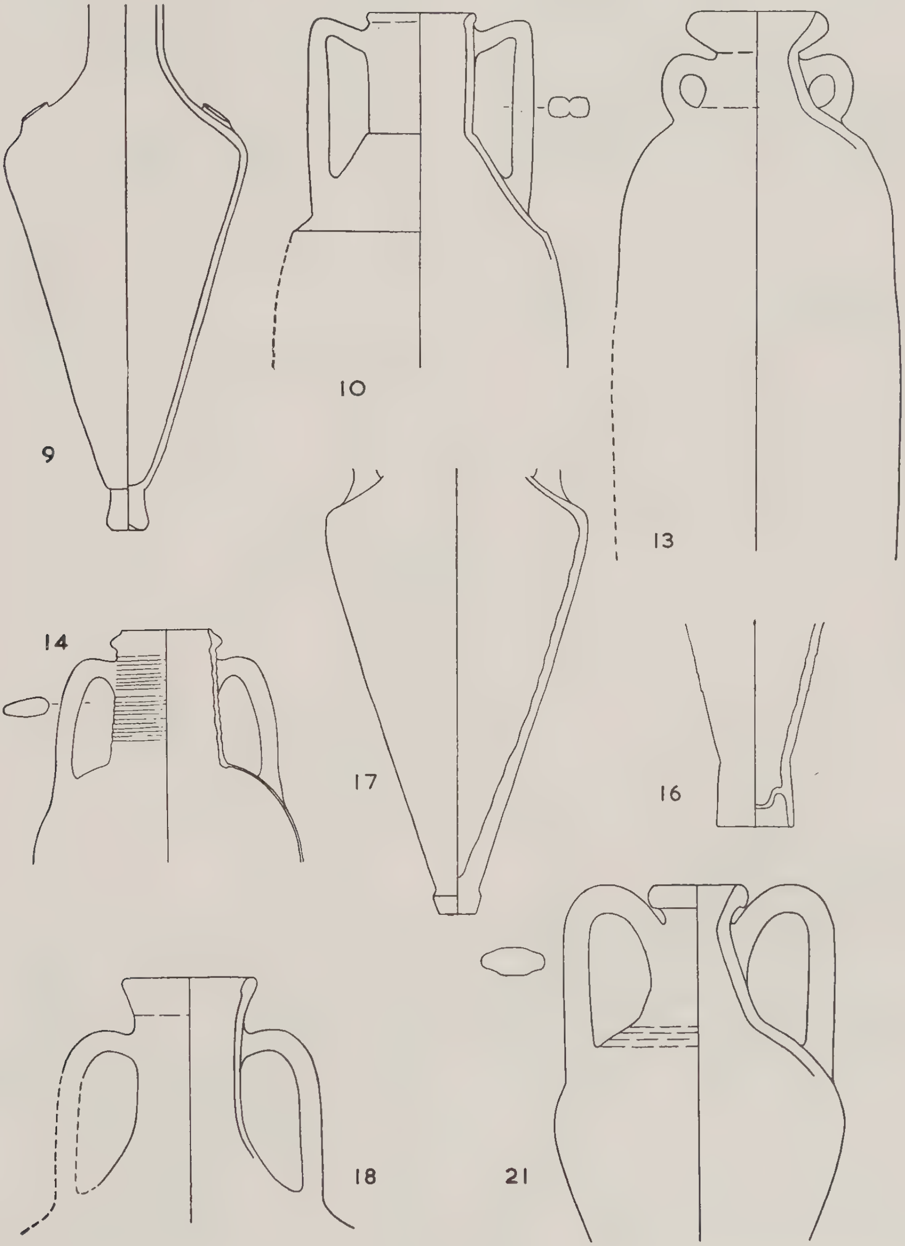

Fig. 8 (1:4)

Emporio

From the harbour:

1. Chian-amphora toe, *c.* 300 B.C.

2. Rhodian amphora-toe, 3rd–2nd century B.C.

3. Coan amphora-handle, 3rd–2nd century B.C.

4. Late Roman amphora fragments, 6th–7th centuries A.D., of the type excavated in the fortress at Emporio.

Komi

5. Athenian amphorae, late 5th–4th century B.C. PLATE 17*a*.

6. Coan amphora fragment, 3rd century B.C.

7. Late Roman spherical amphora with spiral incision, 6th–7th century A.D.

Kato Fana

Site A

8. Chian amphora-toe, late 5th century B.C.

Site D

9. Amphora, 4th century B.C. FIG. 8.

Site H

10. Coan amphora, Late Hellenistic. FIG. 8.

11. Chian amphora, 4th century B.C.

Delphinion

Site A

12. Chian amphorae, 4th century B.C.

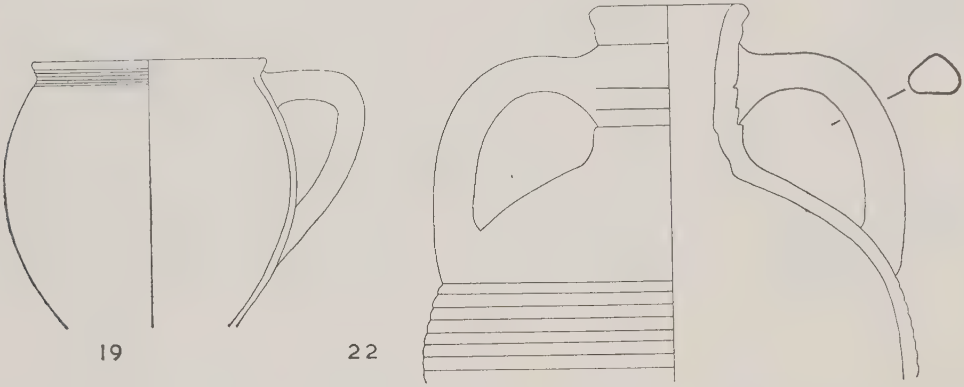

FIG. 9 (1:4)

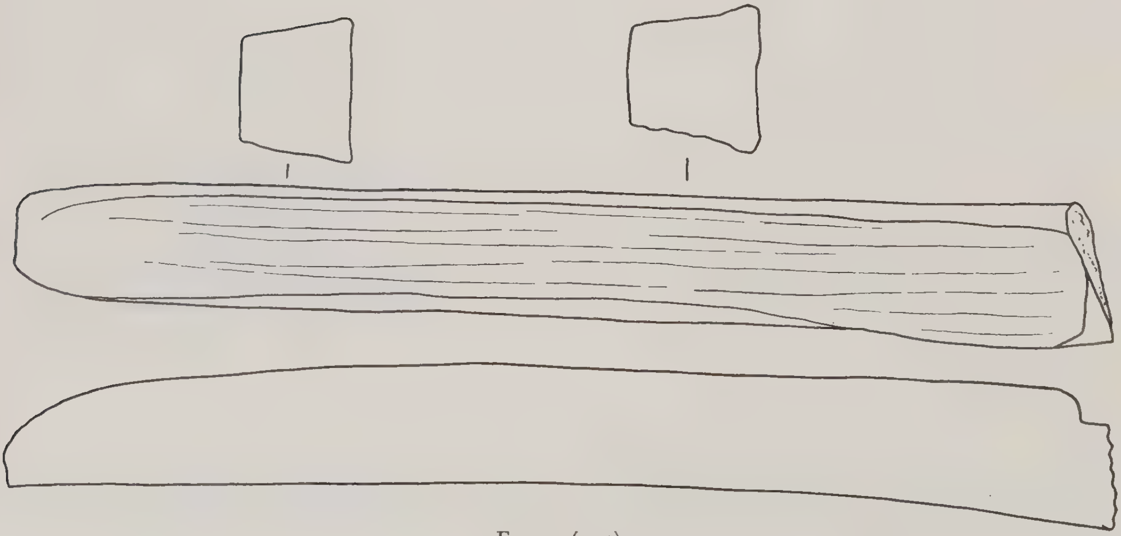

FIG. 10 (1:4)

13. Late Roman amphora, 6th–7th century A.D. FIG. 8.

Site D

14. Amphora, 6th century A.D. FIG. 8.

Site F

15. Late Roman spherical amphora with spiral incision, 6th–7th century A.D.

16. Amphora-base. A distinctive type; cf. *The Athenian Agora* iv, pl. 73 (P822; 3rd century A.D.); *Gerasa* 567, fig. 45. FIG. 8.

Site G

17. Chian amphora, later 5th century B.C. FIG. 8.

18. Amphora-neck, ?4th century B.C. FIG. 8.

19. One-handled jar. Probably Late Roman. FIG. 9.

Site J

20. Fragment of stone anchor-stock (?). FIG. 10.

Site K

21. Amphora, Roman. FIG. 8.

22. Amphora, Roman. FIG. 9.

Ay. Stephanos

Site A: all the amphorae, and the tile, are of the Late Roman period, 7th century A.D., of types familiar in the excavations at Emporio.

23. Amphora. FIG. 11.

24. Amphora. FIG. 11.

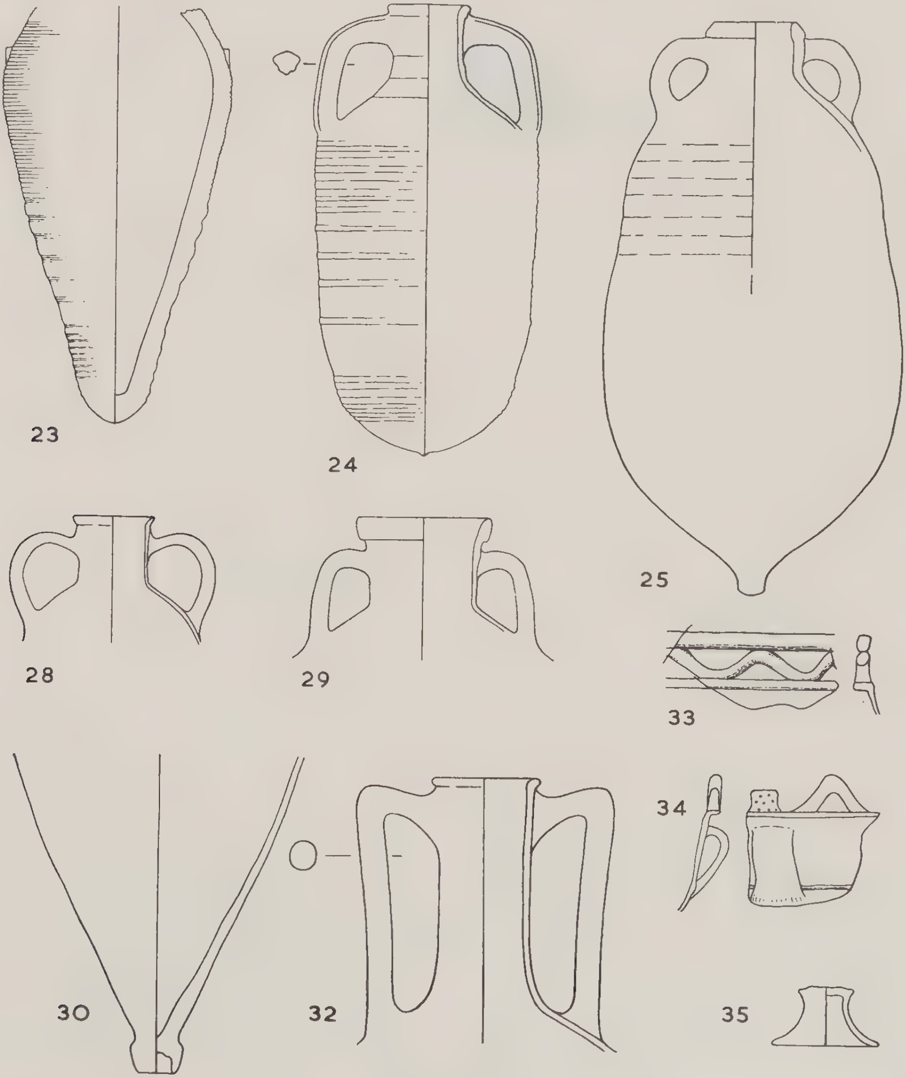

FIG. 11 (1:4)

25. Amphora. Not Greek; perhaps Palestinian. FIG. 11.

26. Cylindrical amphorae; cf. **13.**

27. Tile, 0·49 wide, with deep finger grooves and side ridges.

Site E

28. Amphora, ?5th century B.C. FIG. 11.

29. Amphora, ?5th century B.C. FIG. 11.

Site H

30. Chian amphora, *c.* 400 B.C. FIG. 11.

Site J

31. Rhodian amphora, 4th–3rd century B.C.

Site K

32. Rhodian amphora, 3rd century B.C. FIG. 11.

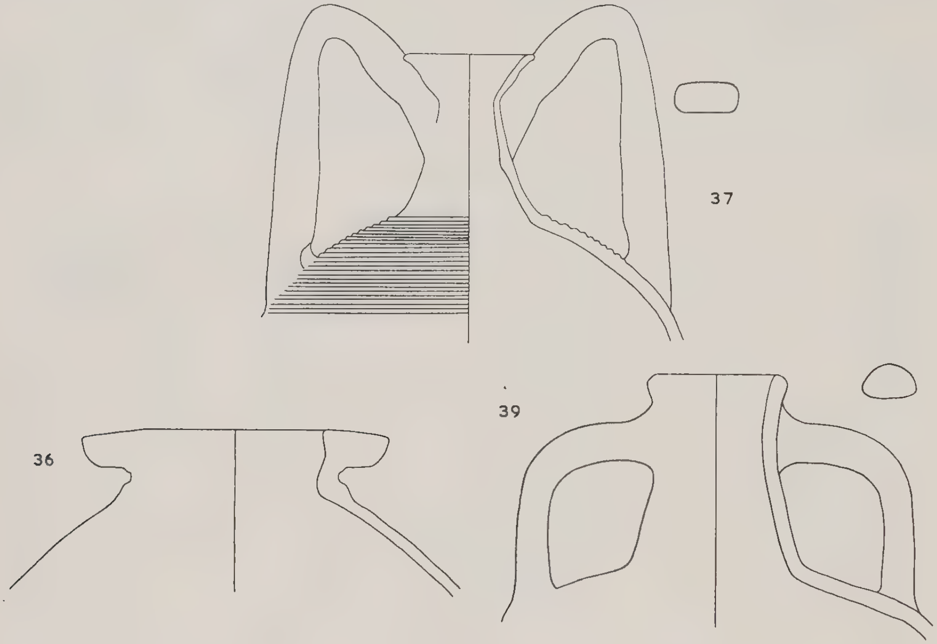

FIG. 12 (1:5)

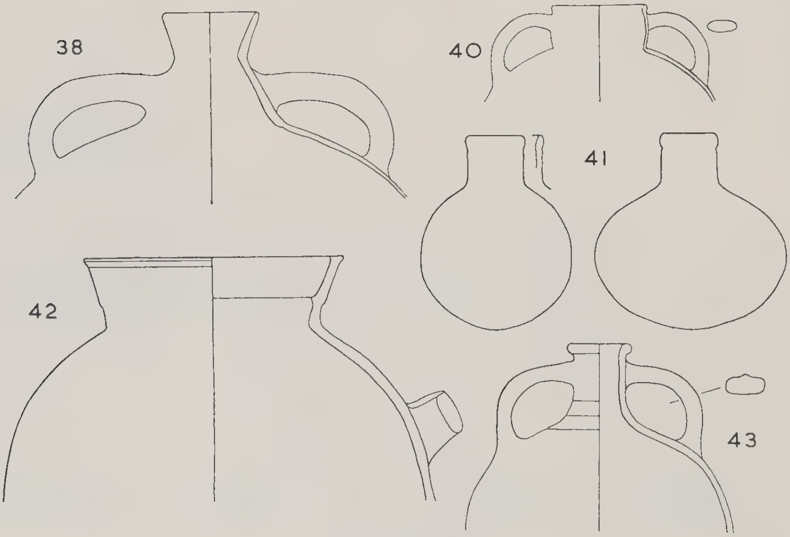

FIG. 13 (1:4)

Site L

33, 34. Fragments of open bowls with ornate rims; 'flower-pots'; ? Medieval or later. FIG. 11.

35. Cup, or ? lid. FIG. 11.

36. Pithos-neck. FIG. 12.

37. Amphora-neck. Probably Medieval. FIG. 12.

Prasso Islands

Site A

38. Amphora. FIG. 13.

Site D

39. Amphora, Late Roman, 4th century A.D. or later. FIG. 12.

Site G

40. Amphora. FIG. 13.

Site H

41. Ovoid flask. FIG. 13.

Pondiko

42. Open bowl with side handles. FIG. 13.

43. Amphora, Early Roman. FIG. 13.

JOHN BOARDMAN

PREHISTORIC LACONIA: PART II

(PLATES 18–29)

THIS paper covers the remaining districts of Laconia which have not been described in the last *Annual*, as well as the islands of Kythera and Antikythera. We include a Chronological Table, Distribution Maps, and a short summary. Abbreviations used are the same as for Part I.

WESTERN VARDHOUNIA AND SOUTHERN MANI

GYTHION AND CRANAE

So far no prehistoric remains have been discovered on the acropolis at Gythion,[1] although the south and east terraces are covered with classical and Roman pottery. On the island of Cranae, however (PLATE 18*a*), obsidian is plentiful,[2] and recently a considerable quantity of L.H. III sherds (of rather poor quality) has been found.[3] The island measures about 300 metres east to west and 100 metres north to south, and the prehistoric settlement seems to have occupied about half of this area. There is now very little depth of soil, except in the vicinity of the small Turkish fort in the centre (PLATE 18*a*). The amount of Mycenaean pottery indicates a fairly important site, such as the Homeric story of the flight of Paris and Helen from here might lead us to expect (*Il.* iii. 443–6). It is likely that there was also some E.H. occupation, since some of the coarse ware appears to be handmade.

KOUTOUMOU AND ANCIENT AEGIAE

At the site of classical Aegiae,[4] between Koutoumou and Limni, a two-day search failed to reveal any prehistoric settlement, and it seems possible that there was no inland penetration into this area in the Bronze Age. The earliest finds from the area are Archaic terracottas and bronzes found by peasants (see Appendix, p. 175, FIG. 27). The three 'Tombs of Kings'[5] on the right of the Gythion–Sparta road at Koutoumou may be prehistoric, but a Hellenistic or Roman date is more likely. The south side of the 'Tomb' nearest the road has recently been cut away by a bulldozer, revealing the artificial layers of the mound (PLATE 18*b* and FIG. 1).[6]

MAVROVOUNI

Between the hill of Kumaro[7] above Gythion and the alluvial plain of the Vardhounia River lies a belt of low sandy hills. These extend for 2 or 3 kilometres to right of the Gythion–Areopolis road and for 3 kilometres up the left bank of the river. The district is rich in vines, olives, and

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[1] *BSA* xiii (1906–7) 222. Recent finds, *JHS* lxxvii (1957) suppl. 12 and lxxviii (1958) suppl. 10. Gythion was said to have been founded by Herakles and Apollo (Paus. iii. 21. 8).

[2] *BSA* xiii. 223, cf. *SMC* 221. In 1957 five more fragments were collected.

[3] Some are in the Gythion Museum (cf. *JHS* lxxvii, suppl. 12). The following L.H. III sherds were found on the surface in 1957:

Several fragments of short-stemmed *Kylikes* and *Stemmed Bowls*, with monochrome paint inside and out, or unpainted. Clay is usually soft. Also two sherds from plain long-stemmed *Kylikes*, and the rim of an *Alabastron* (L.H. IIIA–B). Most of the sherds are L.H. IIIB (or very nearly IIIC). Some fragments of coarse *pithoi* and *bowls* of micaceous fabric are probably L.H.

[4] *BSA* xiii. 231–2.

[5] Op. cit. 232.

[6] The dimensions of this mound (No. 1) are 28 m. E.–W., by 21 m. N.–S. and 5·0 m. high. No. 2 (50 m. east of No. 1) is E.–W. 32 m., N.–S. 26 m. No. 3 (100 m. SE. of No. 2) is E.–W. 20 m., N.–S. 19 m. The heights of Nos. 2 and 3 are about 6 and 5 m. respectively.

[7] *BSA* xiii. 224–5.

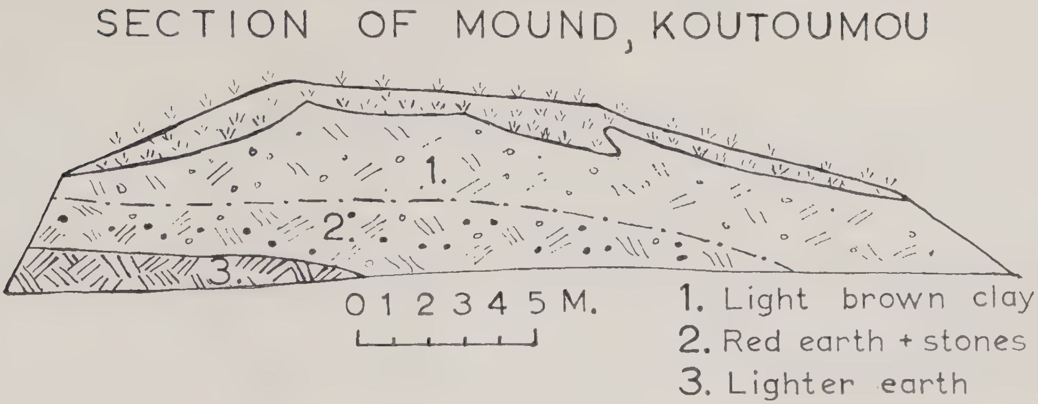

FIG. 1

figs. There are traces of ancient inhabitation, mainly of late classical to Roman[8] period, especially on the hills near the shore. At a place named Stena,[9] some 3 kilometres south-west of Gythion, two vases were found (FIG. 2),[10] which appear to be late Protogeometric,[11] together with part

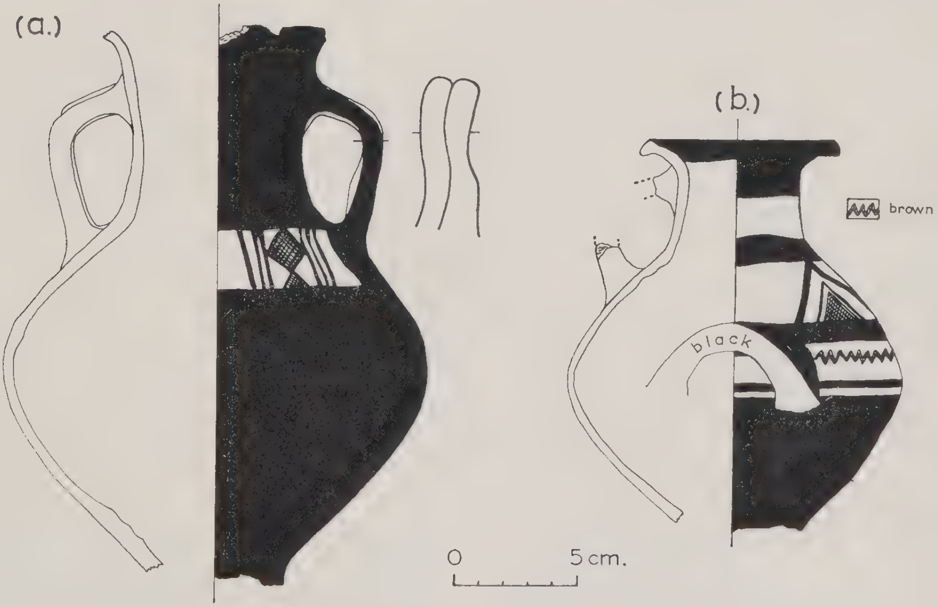

FIG. 2. PROTOGEOMETRIC VASES FROM MAVROVOUNI

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[8] Roman remains, op. cit. 228–9. Classical to Byzantine surface pottery in 1957.

[9] Nearly 2 km. from Gythion on the Areopolis road is a well on the right where the road bears left before descending to the shore. Here a track branches right, and 1¼ km. along it is a narrow 'pass' between two low hills. This is Stena. The vases were found by boys a little to east of the 'pass', at a place where the track had caved in over a hollow, possibly a tomb. Sherds of classical (and earlier?) date are abundant on the southern of the two hills. The vases were recovered and presented to the Museum at Gythion by the Demarch of Gythion, on whose land they were found.

[10] We are indebted to Mr. Christou for permission to publish these vases.

[11] These are the 'two sherds of Protogeometric pottery' reported in *JHS* lxxvii, suppl. 12.

FIG. 2(*a*). *Neck-handled Amphora.* Complete except for rim and base. H. (preserved) 0·227 m. Maximum w. 0·17 m. Orange-buff clay, hard and fairly well fired. Light buff slip on interior, and on exterior as background to pattern. The

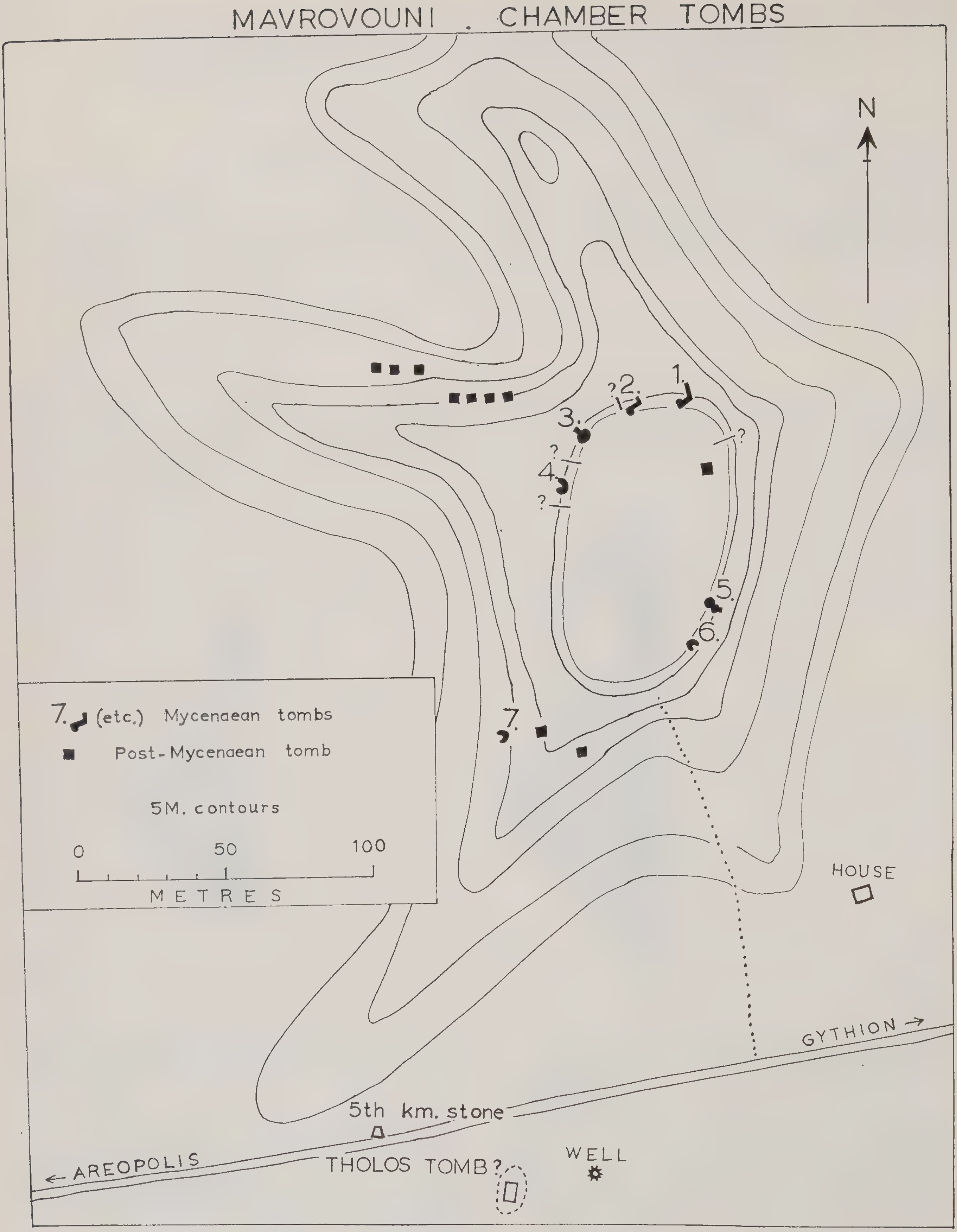
MAVROVOUNI . CHAMBER TOMBS
N
1.
?2.
3.
?
4.
?
?
5.
6.
7.
7. (etc.) Mycenaean tombs
■ Post-Mycenaean tomb
5M. contours
0
50
100
METRES
HOUSE
GYTHION →
5th km. stone
← AREOPOLIS
THOLOS TOMB?
WELL

FIG. 3

of an iron weapon[12] (probably a spear), in a context which suggests that they belonged to a tomb group.

About a kilometre to east of the River Vardhounia, at the fifth kilometre stone on the road from Gythion to Areopolis, is a prominent sandy hill to north of the road.[13] Several Mycenaean chamber tombs have been carved out of the soft rock in the upper terraces of the hill, and there are a few E.H. and L.H. III sherds on the summit. It seems unlikely, however, that the main prehistoric settlement was here; but rather on a lower hill about 300 metres to the north-east,[14] where there are more sherds, covering a wider area and more evenly distributed. The latter include Mycenaean, classical, and Roman. But the former hill was undoubtedly the chief Mycenaean cemetery in the district. There are now seven Mycenaean chamber tombs visible (FIG. 3. Plans of Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 5 are shown on FIG. 4; No. 3 is illustrated on PLATE 18*c*). In two cases (Nos. 4 and 6) L.H. III pottery was found in quantity immediately below,[15] and

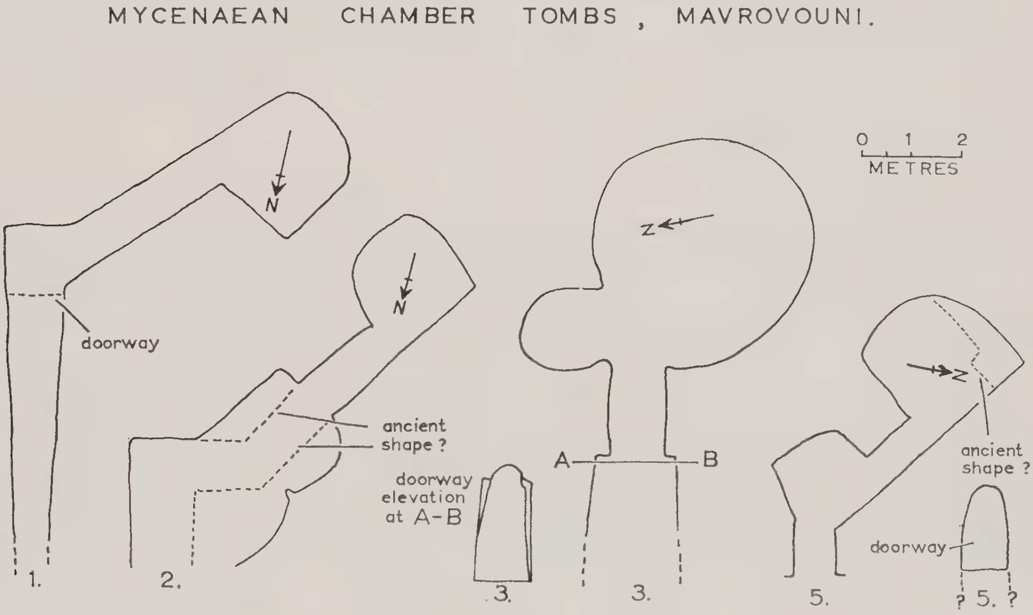

FIG. 4

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rest is covered with streaky black paint, showing brushmarks. Shape and pattern are common. For shape cf. *Kerameikos* iv, Taf. 33, Inv. No. 1071 (Grab 34), and *Protogeometric Pottery* pls. 2–3. For pattern (*Fortetsa* no. 5 g) cf. *Protogeometric Pottery* pl. 38, 10 from *Artemis Orthia*.

FIG. 2(*b*). *Hydria.* Profile complete except for base. H. (preserved) 0·14 m. Max. w. 0·13 m. Buff clay and slip. Matt black paint with zigzag in light brown paint (cf. a sherd from Daimonia illustrated in PART I). For shape cf. *AM* lii (1927) 47, Abb. 27 (from the Amyklaion). For decoration (pattern *Fortetsa* no. 4 n) cf. *Protogeometric Pottery* pl. 38, 1, 3, and 14.

The style of both vases appears local, perhaps with Attic influence (but probably indirect), cf. *Protogeometric Pottery* 288. The glaze is not shiny as is normal in Laconian Protogeometric; but cf. op. cit. 284, 'the paint . . . does not invariably have the metallic look'.

[12] A length of 0·32 m. is preserved in fragments (in very bad condition) in Gythion Museum.

[13] It is the southernmost of the small chain of hills which border the Vardhounia plain on the east.

[14] Not very far from the site of the Protogeometric 'tomb' at Stena, described above. Two cavities in the lower NW. terraces of the hill looked very like the remains of other chamber tombs.

[15] The sherds are L.H. IIIB, and possibly also L.H. IIIC (early). Mostly from *Kylikes* and *Deep Bowls*, usually with monochrome paint on the interior and streaky linear band decoration on the exterior. The paint is lustrous but not well applied, and the style appears provincial, as at Cranae above.

there are two instances (Nos. 3 and T) of blocking walls from the doors of the chambers.[16] Some tombs have been partially destroyed by terracing,[17] and it is clear that others have been either cut away or buried in the same manner. During the last war the Italians used some of the tombs as dug-outs,[18] since the hill is a useful viewpoint, commanding the whole of the Mavrovouni district, the Vardhounia plain, and the wide stretch of sandy shore to the south. Several unroofed and rectangular rock-cut tombs[19] on the upper terraces of the hill appear to be Hellenistic or Roman. One, on the very top of the hill, has various small square and semi-circular niches in the side-walls, reminiscent of Roman columbaria. There are late classical, Hellenistic, and Roman sherds and tiles on the terraces below some of the tombs.

To south of the road at the southern foot of the hill is the house of Mr. Nikolopoulos, which stands on an artificial mound some 4 metres high,[20] measuring 32 metres north to south by 24 metres east to west (PLATE 18*d*). A shallow trench excavated by Mr. Christou in the north side of the mound yielded no positive results, but there are obvious signs that the floor of the house lies above something hollow, and the shape of the mound and its dimension recall the 'Tombs of Kings' at Koutoumou (above), while it is not unlike the mounds above the Mycenaean tholos tombs at Kopanaki and Vasiliko in Messenia.[21] About 30 metres east of the house some walls of small stones were found at a depth of 2 to 3 metres when a well was dug. With them were E.H. and L.H. III sherds.[22]

LAS

The site of classical Las has been securely identified with the remains on the hill of Passava and in its neighbourhood (PLATE 19*a*).[23] But the 'polygonal'[24] masonry, which was said to rise to a height of two-thirds of the medieval castle wall[25] on the east side, is in fact mostly out of its original position, and the tell-tale mortar is,[26] of course, medieval. There is not sufficient evidence to enable the large blocks (some are 1·50 m. by 0·80 m.) to be attributed to the Mycenaean period, and so far the only object which could be said to be prehistoric[27] found on the hill (after a very intensive search) is a solitary chip of obsidian. Classical and Hellenistic sherds are, however, abundant. Although the site would have made a magnificent Mycenaean fortress, worthy of the name Λάας (*Il.* ii. 585), the evidence for Mycenaean occupation is still lacking. Between Las and Teuthrone no signs of prehistoric settlement have been found, although they might have been expected near Kamares on the bay of Giorganos,[28] where there are some Roman remains,[29] and near Skutari, conjectured to be the site of the Laconian Asine.[30]

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[16] The doorway of No. 3 has the remains of a façade similar to that observed on a chamber tomb at Leuktro in Messenia described in *BSA* lii (1957) 234.

[17] Nos. 4, 5, 6, and 7. The conjectural positions of other tombs are marked ? on FIG. 3.

[18] Nos. 1, 2, 4, and 5. In the back wall of 4 is an entrance to a network of narrow tunnels.

[19] Marked 'Post-Mycenaean Tombs' on FIG. 3. The dimensions of two of these, selected at random, are 4·0 by 3·0 m. and 5·0 by 3·0 m. respectively. The walls are about 3·0 m. high.

[20] Marked 'Tholos Tomb?' on FIG. 3. The original height may have been over 5 m.

[21] Valmin, *Bull. Lund*, 1927–8, 20–39 and pl. xii.

[22] E.H.: many sherds from *Sauceboats* and *Shallow Bowls* of 'yellow mottled ware' (*Zygouries* Class A II), very similar to those from the Helos plain (PART I). One sauceboat has zigzag decoration below the rim in added white (cf. *PAE* 1951, 84 and fig. 9, from Raphina in Attica). Also many fragments of horizontal handles from large *jars*, of a shape like *Asea* fig. 81 and *Tiryns* iv, pl. x, 4. The biscuit is thin, and the clay coarse, with fine grit added.

L.H. III: mostly from monochrome painted *Deep Bowls* (L.H. IIIA–B). A *pithos*-rim resembles those from Asteri and Karneas illustrated in PART I.

[23] *BSA* xiii. 232–4.

[24] Op. cit. 232. Better described as 'ashlar', *BSA* xii (1905–6) 275.

[25] Op. cit. 274–5, pl. iii and fig. 3.

[26] *BSA* xiii. 232.

[27] On closer inspection the 'L.H. III sherds' mentioned in *BSA* li (1956) 170 prove to be enigmatic.

[28] The headland of Ageranos, a short distance to the north, is probably the ancient Arainos, where the tomb of Las was said to be (Paus. iii. 24. 10).

[29] *BSA* xiii. 234.

[30] Op. cit. 235.

KOTRONES (TEUTHRONE)

The promontory of Skopa at Kotrones is undoubtedly the site of ancient Teuthrone (Paus. iii. 21. 7 and 25. 4), as is indicated by the Hellenistic and Roman remains here.[31] The promontory is about 20 metres above sea at its highest point, and measures about 300 metres north to south by 150 metres east to west. It is now joined to the mainland by a strip of shingle 20 metres long, apparently once a wider causeway. Obsidian is abundant over the whole promontory, especially on the south, where the cliffs are steeper. E.H. occupation is attested by some coarse pottery;[32] and the remains of two pithos burials,[33] revealed by erosion, on the north-east side, 15 metres to east of the shingle strip, may be M.H. or L.H. Several fragments from celts and querns and coarse, mostly handmade, pottery show that the site was well populated in the Bronze Age. Mycenaean occupation is likely, but not proved.[34] Late classical black-glazed sherds and Samian or Pergamene ware of the Roman period are common. The remains of a bath building to north-west of the shingle spit must be the same as those described by Woodward[35] as of a 'brick hypocaust'. The visible part of the building is the corner of a *frigidarium*.[36] Ancient sherds are abundant in the vicinity and for at least 200 metres inland.

THE ANTICO ROSSO QUARRIES NEAR LAGIA

Antico Rosso is a hard marble, whose colour varies from deep pink to purplish brown. It is close-grained, and consequently of considerable weight. It was valued in antiquity as a decorative stone which could be mined in large blocks and would stand wear and weathering.[37] The ancient quarries of Antico Rosso (or 'Taenarian Marble')[38] lie about 3 kilometres north-west of Lagia and 2½ kilometres inland to west of Kyprianon (FIG. 5, marked as 'Ay. Ilias'; PLATE 19*b*). They show as purple scars on the eastern spurs of the steep hills above the hamlets of Dhimaristika and Prophetes Ilias. The deposits are rich and extensive. The Italian 'Marmor' company opened up a quarry here before the First World War, and built a road from the harbour of Kyprianon.[39]

On the west slope of the hill of Spira (PLATE 19*c*, FIG. 5), near Kyprianon, in the olive groves below a farm, were fragments of Bronze Age coarse pottery, some of which are probably L.H.,[40] and a sherd of classical black-glazed. This hill, with its fertile dark soil, is conspicuous amid the relatively barren countryside round about; and it dominates the little harbour of Kyprianon, with its small but sheltered shingle beach. The countryside would not have been very attractive to settlers, and it is reasonable to suppose that the small Bronze Age and classical settlements at Spira owed their existence to the demand for Antico Rosso. On a small hillock[41] 400 metres east of the chapel of Prophetes Ilias, only a few metres from one of the ancient mines, were a few scattered sherds, among which were two from black-glazed kylikes of the fifth or fourth

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[31] *BSA* xiii. 256–7.

[32] 'E.H. II' rims of a gritty and micaceous fabric, similar to *Eutresis* fig. 146, 5, and *Asea* fig. 82 g.

[33] The profiles of the bases are visible as dark streaks in the soil, but the tops have been crushed in. Fragments of bones and pottery are visible within the pithos sections.

[34] Burr, *Die Tontafeln von Pylos und der homerische Schiffskatalog* (1958) 73, conjectures that *te-te-ra-ne* in An 12(1) is Teuthrone (cf. *Documents* 185–6). But this seems a little far from the scene of operations.

[35] *BSA* xiii. 256–7.

[36] The floor is of white plaster, and the lower part of the walls is lined with white marble. The walls themselves are entirely made of tile courses with cement bonding.

[37] A geological note is given by Philippson, *Der Peloponnes* i. 225.

[38] Strabo viii. 367; cf. Pliny, *NH* xxxvi. 18 (29). 135. The quarries were first identified by Bursian, *Über das Vorgebirg Taenaron* (AbhBayrAk vii.3 (1856)) 773 ff., esp. 789 ff.

[39] *BSA* xiii. 252–3. The road shows as a white scar in the middle distance on PLATE 19*b*, running left to right.

[40] One sherd with a cable pattern is from a *pithos* of the same micaceous fabric as found at Mavrovouni (above), and other Laconian sites. Other sherds are of gritty fabric similar to those from Teuthrone (above) and Elaphonisi (below).

[41] The site is marked 'Classical Site' on FIG. 5. The quarry is visible near the extreme right of PLATE 19*b* in the middle distance, a little to right of the chapel.

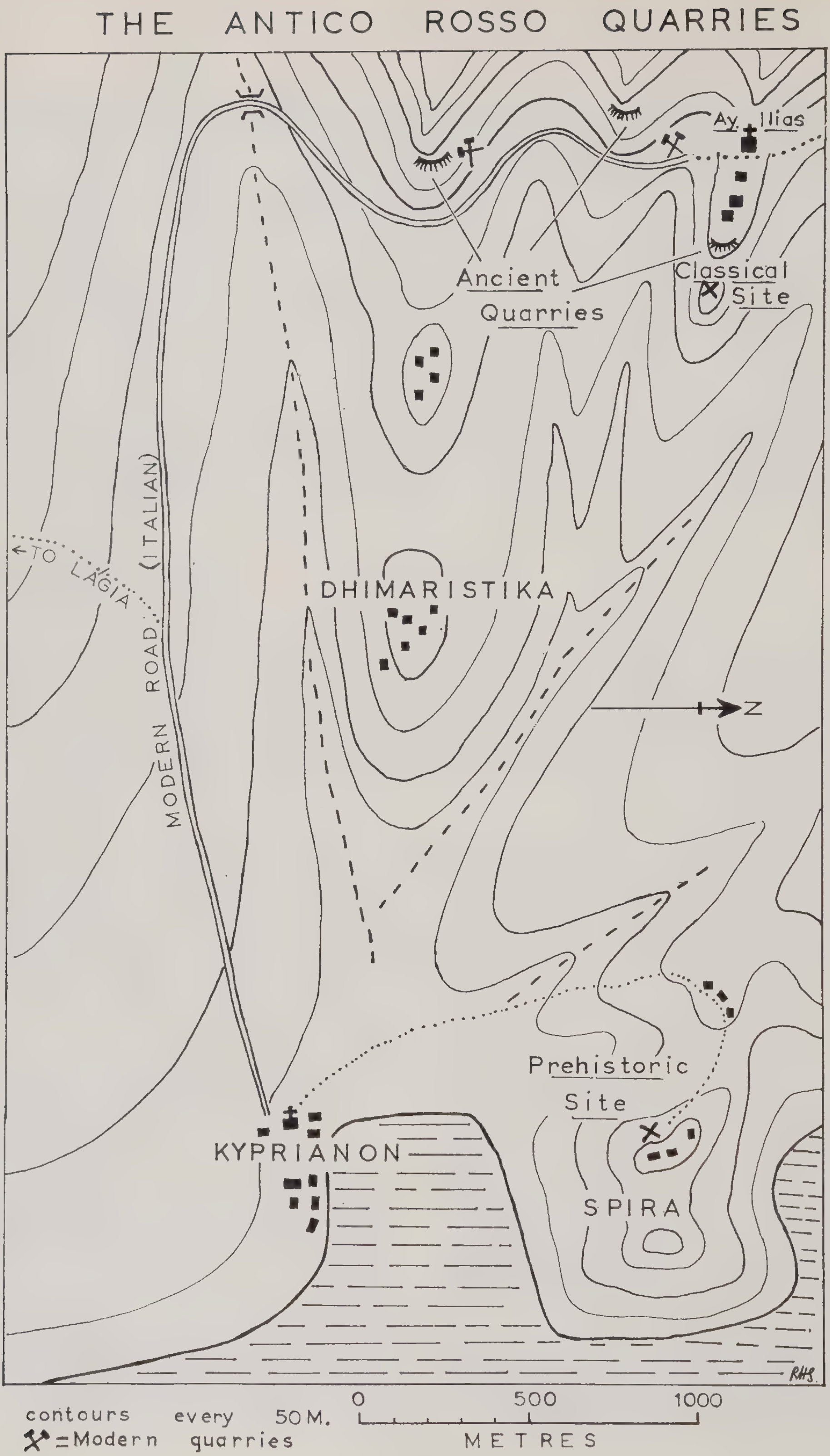
THE ANTICO ROSSO QUARRIES
Ay. Ilias
Ancient Quarries
Classical Site
←TO LAGIA
MODERN ROAD (ITALIAN)
DHIMARISTIKA
N
Prehistoric Site
KYPRIANON
SPIRA
RHS
contours every 50 M.
=Modern quarries
0
500
1000
METRES

FIG. 5

century B.C. To west of the quarries, near the track to Gerolimena, were some Roman sherds. These may indicate an ancient route for conveying the stone to the city of Caenepolis near Taenaron.[42]

The chief evidence for the use of Antico Rosso in the Bronze Age are the fragments of spiral-band and triglyph friezes from the façade of the Treasury of Atreus at Mycenae,[43] but there is also a lamp made of the stone from the Vaphio Tomb,[44] and many of the objects from Crete which are classed as 'purple gypsum' or the like are probably Antico Rosso.[45] There are also two fine fragments of rhytons from Mycenae[46] and Asine.[47] In default of evidence for other ancient quarries of the stone in Greece,[48] and in view of the evidence for the working of the Lagia mines in antiquity, we may assume as a hypothesis for the time being that these were the main source of Antico Rosso in the Mycenaean and classical periods as well as in Roman times.[49]

OITYLOS

The village of Oitylos (PLATE 19*d*), with its harbour at Limeni,[50] occupies a strategic point, well suited to command both the north–south route along the west coast of Mani, and also the western end of the pass from Gythion to Areopolis.[51] There is no doubt that the classical and later Oetylus[52] lay on the seaward slopes of the hill of Oitylos,[53] and that its acropolis lay on the summit.[54] The slopes are covered with classical, Hellenistic, and Roman sherds, and a few fragments of coarse ware may be prehistoric. Despite the lack of definite proof as yet, the nature of the site, its situation, and the combination of the literary evidence and the continuity of the name (Vitylo during the Turkish occupation) are strong arguments that the Homeric Οἴτυλος (*Il.* ii. 585) lay on the same site as the classical acropolis and the modern village.

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[42] *BSA* xiii. 245–6.

[43] *BSA* xxv. 342–6; Wace, *Mycenae* 29–31, figs. 49–50; *BMCat* (1927) 14–31 (esp. figs. 22 and 24); Bossert, *AltKreta* (1923), nos. 204 a and b, 205 a.

Tentative reconstructions of the façade have been proposed by Wace, in Γέρας Ἀ. Κεραμοπούλλου (1953) 310–14, and Marinatos, in *AE* 1953–4, 11–24; cf. *JHS* lxi (1941) 14–16, and Mylonas, *Ancient Mycenae* (1957) 89 and pl. 26.

[44] *AE* 1889, 154 and pl. vii, 20 (L.H. II ?).

[45] The following objects on view in the Heraklion Museum are very probably of Antico Rosso:

KNOSSOS

Standard talent weight (*PM* ii. 650–1, fig. 635); L.M. I ?

'Font' (*PM* iii. 26, fig. 13; iv. 935–6); L.M.

Pedestalled lamp (Isopata Tomb, *Pr.T* 150, figs. 126 and 127, pl. xcviii, nos. S. 15–16); L.M. I–II.

PSEIRA

Lamp (*Pseira* 36–37, fig. 17); L.M. II ?

PALAIKASTRO

Two-pedestalled lamps (*Palaikastro* 139–40, figs. 119B and 121A); L.M. III.

Probably Antico Rosso are the lamps from the Royal Villa (*PM* ii. 404) and the South-east House (*PM* i. 429).

[46] *Fragment of funnel-shaped rhyton*, *BSA* xxv. 183–4, fig. 36. Presumably L.H.

[47] *Part of funnel-shaped rhyton*, *Asine* 377–8, fig. 347 (on right). L.H. II or III.

[48] Wace, *Mycenae* 137, says 'it is said to come from near Tiryns'. But there is so far no evidence of the mining of Antico Rosso there in antiquity.

[49] There are several objects of Antico Rosso listed in the Sparta Museum Catalogue (*SMC* Index p. 216, s.v. 'Rosso Antico'). Particularly interesting are reliefs of the Dioscuri, nos. 14b, 291, 467, and 581. Most of the objects are of the 1st cent. B.C. and 1st cent. A.D.; no. 28 is said to be of the 2nd cent. B.C. For the Roman working of the quarries we have the authority of Strabo (viii. 367). There are also many worked and unworked fragments of the stone in the Tainaron district. In Kitta thin slabs were used to cover a Roman grave (seen in 1956), and there are several pieces at Caenepolis and in the region of Kouno (where Roman coins were found, *BSA* xiii. 244–5).

[50] *The Mediterranean Pilot* (iii (1919) 66) calls it 'the best natural port in the Gulf of Kalamata'.

[51] *BSA* xiii. 239. The region between Las and Oitylos is fertile and well watered, and should be investigated for further sites.

[52] Paus. iii. 25. 10. *BSA* x (1903–4) 160–1.

[53] In 1956 remains of squared poros blocks and fluted columns were to be seen on the left (west) of the new motor road from Areopolis to Limeni, about 200 m. south of the bridge over the ravine between Oitylos and Kelepha. (N.B. there are no remains earlier than Venetian on the hill of the fort of Kelepha, cf. *BSA* xii. 261 and fig. 4.)

[54] *JHS* lxxvii, suppl. 10: 'Christou notes that the lower part of the north wall of the church of Ayia Marina in the modern village of Oitylos probably belongs to a temple or the defence wall of the ancient city'.

MEZZAPO AND THE CASTLE OF MAINA

The Castle of Maina,[55] on the end of the promontory of Tigani (PLATE 20*a*, FIG. 6),[56] south of the village of Mezzapo, has been conjectured to be the site of Homeric Μέσση (*Il.* ii. 582).[57] One might suppose that this barren and waterless[58] headland would been have rather unsuitable as a habitation site; but there is no doubt that it makes an excellent fortress, walls being necessary on the landward side alone. The medieval walls (marked r on FIG. 6) are built on the cliffs of the highest section. They had an outer facing of mortar. In the towers (A, B, and C on FIG. 6), especially at the base of the tower at the south angle (tower B on PLATE 20*c*), there are some large blocks of roughly squared stone which may be ancient, and others in the remnant of walling near the rock-cut steps on the east; but the most important evidence comes from the cross wall on the south-west (marked p on FIG. 6). This is definitely ancient. It is prior to the (Frankish ?) outer curved rubble wall (marked q on FIG. 6) which has been built against it on the south. Towards its western end, where it is reasonably well preserved (particularly near Tower E in PLATE 20*b* and FIG. 6),[59] wall p can be seen to be constructed of two lines of roughly dressed blocks with a filling of smaller stones between. The thickness of the wall is here 2 metres or more. The projecting towers and the walls[60] in their vicinity have an outer facing of fairly large rough limestone blocks, the largest about 1·20 × 0·70 m., with small stones in the interstices; and they have the normal aspect of 'Cyclopean' masonry of Mycenaean date (PLATE 20*b*).[61] It is conceivable that this wall once extended right across the promontory, in which case some of the stonework at the base of Tower B might be ancient work still in place. In view of this evidence, it is a pity that it has so far proved impossible to discover any unquestionably ancient potsherds on the surface.[62]

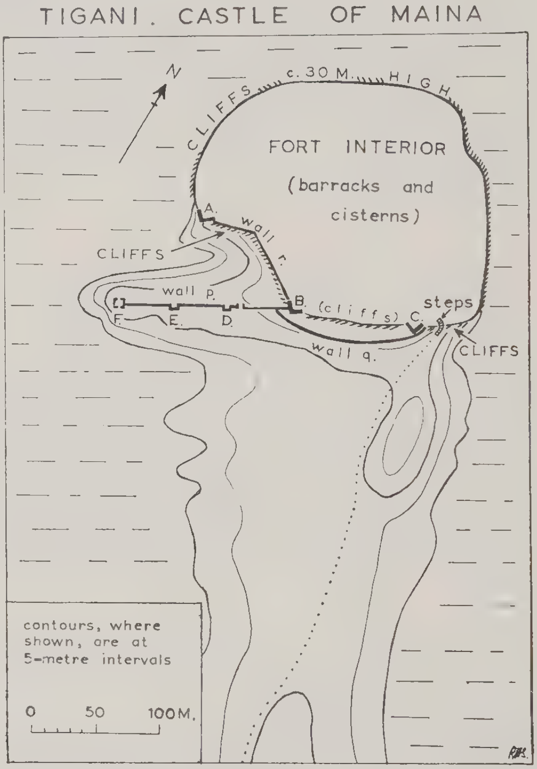

FIG. 6

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[55] Built in 1248 by William II de Villehardouin, the fourth Frankish prince of the Morea.

[56] The name Tigani ('frying pan') is extremely appropriate. The promontory shields the deep bay of Mezzapo from south and south-west winds, rendering it a tolerable anchorage. On the neck of the promontory are some medieval salt-pans laid on the flat rock (constructed in a grid, with tiny partition walls about 10 cm. high and cemented floors).

[57] Cf. *BSA* xiii. 243.

[58] The Franks relied on the numerous cisterns which they built on the summit. But an excellent spring rises near the revma at the root of the headland.

[59] Tower D is not so well preserved. It cannot now be determined whether or not the gap to the east of it is ancient.

[60] The walls have undergone repair (Frankish?), and only the lower courses retain the ancient stonework in position.

[61] Cf. the walls of Geraki in PART I. The stonework does not seem careful enough to be of classical or Hellenistic workmanship. It is certainly not Frankish since (in contrast to wall r) wall p contains no mortar. It is not, in any case, connected with the Kastro.

If the wall is Mycenaean, it could be compared with the walls of Gla in Boeotia.

[62] This is due to the intense weathering here. There is a certain amount of rough medieval pottery visible, of a coarse fabric, with flecks of white grit, and also a tantalizing class of softer reddish fabric which is almost certainly far older.

About a kilometre to south-east of the Maniote farm at the head of the Tigani peninsula, and near the shore of the Bay of Mezzapo, are some small caves. To south of these are extensive quarries of poros limestone, and leading to them from the east are narrow rock-cut water channels. Near the quarries are traces of an ancient road[63] (from Mezzapo to Kipoula ?), and there are classical sherds in the fields around. These remains support Woodward's conjecture that classical Messa was in this region;[64] and, together with the evidence from Tigani and the apparent continuity of the name Messa,[65] form a strong argument, backed by literary tradition (Paus. iii. 25. 10), for the location of Homeric Μέσση in this vicinity, and probably at Tigani.

KIPOULA

On the ridge above the cliffs of the Thyrides (PLATE 20*d*, FIG. 7), on the site of the later Hippola,[66] there was apparently a small prehistoric settlement, of the Late Helladic period and possibly earlier.[67] On the highest point of the ridge, called 'τῆς ὡραίας τὸ κάστρο',[68] no remains earlier than medieval were found, and the hill is conspicuously barren. The shrine of Athena Hippolais (Paus. iii. 25. 9) should probably be looked for on the lower northern part of the ridge, where the prehistoric and classical pottery was found.[69] This area could have been made into a fort by the addition of a cross-wall on the south, since the ridge is steep on the other sides, and quite inaccessible from seaward. The well-watered plateau below on the east contains the least barren soil in the southern Mani peninsula.[70] Apart from the modern tradition associating Helen with the site, the constant din created by the 'pigeons and seafowl'[71] in the cliffs of the Thyrides below (which also face Tigani) is strongly suggestive of the Homeric epithet πολυτρήρωνα (*Il.* ii. 582), and lends further support to the location of Homeric Μέσση in this district.

TAINARON

A visit (in July 1960) to Porto ton Asomaton,[72] the ancient Tainaron, confirmed Woodward's observations[73] on the site of the Temple and Cave[74] of Poseidon in the ravine to east of the chapel of the Asomatoi. To judge by the dimensions of the rock cutting, which is all that now remains of what is assumed to have been the Temple,[75] Bursian's measurements (19×16 metres) are substantially correct.[76] The blocks built into the north wall of the ruined chapel are certainly ancient and as certainly reused, being in all probability taken from the Temple. In the vicinity of the chapel are Hellenistic and Samian ware sherds. To the east of the ravine mouth, and a little above it, is a deep and wide channel in the limestone, its rock walls often over 2 metres high, and its width averaging 1½ metres, which extends north for approximately 60 metres, and fades out where it joins the ravine some 40 metres north of the assumed site of the Temple.

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[63] Three shallow steps have been cut in the rock at a point where the road turns to ascend a steep gradient. Holes have been cut here in the sides of the steps, presumably to house the ends of stakes which secured the gravel surface of the road.

[64] *BSA* loc. cit.

[65] To the parallels Woodward mentions (loc. cit.), viz. Oitylos, Kipoula, and Tainaron, we may add the Turkish 'Skardamoula' for Kardamyle (*BSA* lii (1957) 252).

[66] Paus. iii. 25. 9. Identified by Woodward (*BSA* xiii. 244–5), who found sherds ranging from Laconian Geometric to Hellenistic.

[67] Sherds from stemmed bowls (1956), probably L.H. III, but too worn for precision; and some hand-made fragments resembling E.H. from Kotrones.

[68] i.e. connected by local tradition with Helen of Troy (cf. the Bridge at Xerokambi—PART I). This is the hill observed by Leake (*Morea* i. 287, and *Peloponnesiaca* 175).

[69] See FIG. 7. More classical sherds in 1956 confirmed Woodwards finds.

[70] There is good water at Kounos and Kipoula, and the area is a catchment. Curious confirmation of this is given by a local belief that there was once a lake here.

[71] *BSA* xiii. 243.

[72] The district is now called Στέρνες, and Tainaron itself is Κάτεργο or τὸ ἀκρωτήριον.

[73] *BSA* xiii. 249–53.

[74] Leigh Fermor, *Mani* 135, describes the modern Maniote Σπήλαιον τοῦ Ἅιδου. This is indeed sufficiently claustrophobic, but apparently lacking in purely archaeological interest; while it has the disadvantage (for ancient and modern alike) of being difficult of access.

[75] It is north-west (*not* west) of the cave entrance. The blocks seen by Woodward on the north side have now disappeared.

[76] My own estimate (R. H. S.), using a steel tape, was 20 m. N.–S. by 17 m. E.–W. The last figure is, however, very uncertain, since the rock cutting merges with the shingle of the ravine at this point.

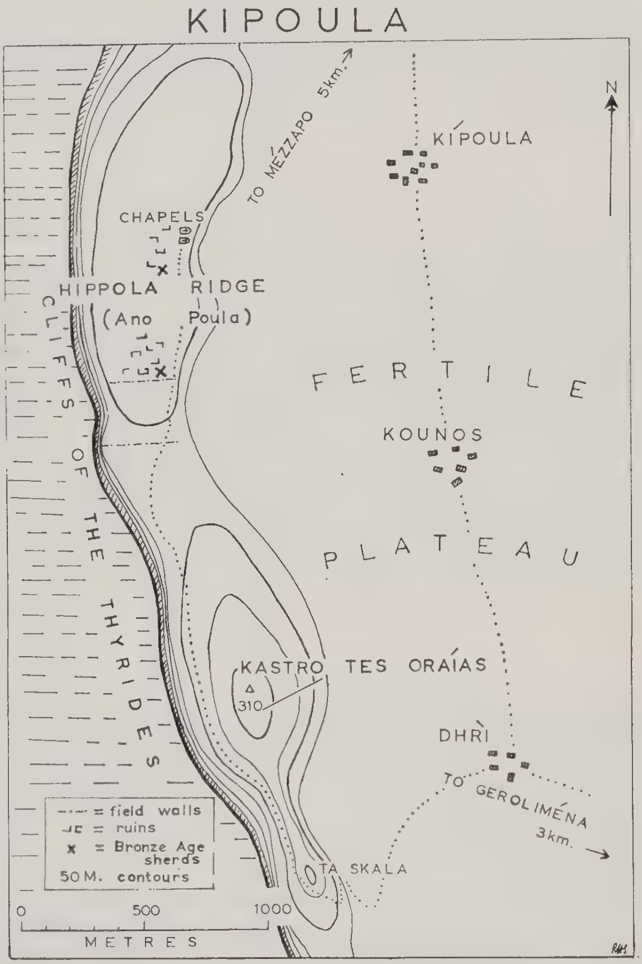

FIG. 7

Neither in the vicinity of ancient Tainaron, nor at Porto Kayio, Marmari, nor on the narrow isthmus between the two,[77] were there any apparent signs of Mycenaean or prehistoric inhabitation.[78] Elsewhere on the barren tip of Mani one would scarcely expect to find them.

[77] Hellenistic tombs were recorded here (*BSA* xiii. 248).

[78] Leigh Fermor (loc. cit.) speaks of a (reported?) temple of Poseidon 'on the high rocks between Porto Kayio and Cape Matapan', 'on the emplacement of one to Apollo in Mycenaean times'. Exact details of both temples would indeed be welcome!

NORTH-WEST MANI AND EAST TAYGETUS

The west coast from Oitylos up to Kalamata has already been discussed in the *Annual*.[79] It now remains to describe the sites on the north-east and east flanks of Taygetus.

BELMINA

Loring[80] established that Belmina, the frontier town between Arcadia and Laconia, was situated on the summit and flanks of Mt. Chelmos. The mountain (PLATE 21*a*) overlooks the whole of the Upper Eurotas valley and completely commands the route into Laconia. The remains on its summit are considerable; the outer ring of fortifications is medieval, the inner almost certainly (as Loring judged)[81] 'of classical times' (perhaps Hellenistic). There are no traces of earlier walls. Half-way up on the south-west side is a level terrace, fairly extensive, where there were a few obsidian chips and early-looking sherds. On a south slope farther down is a small plateau called Kanalaki, about 150 × 120 metres in extent, where a small vine plantation produced several classical sherds[82] and a few Mycenaean, together with more obsidian. About 200 metres to the east is the small ruined chapel of Ayios Nikolaos, beside which lay part of a small Doric capital in grey limestone (perhaps late fifth century B.C.), and fragments of white marble columns. Ten minutes' walk to the west of Kanalaki (keeping to the lower slope of Chelmos) at a place named Iannakas some dry stream beds run through an area of slaty stone. Remains of pithos-burials have been revealed here by erosion in the loose soil of the stream banks, together with some fragments of poor quality L.H. *Kylikes* and *Deep Bowls*. Less than a kilometre to the north-west is one of the chief mainsprings of the Eurotas. The prehistoric finds, although not numerous, indicate that, as would be expected, this strategic site, in one of the best-watered regions of Laconia (Paus. iii. 21. 3), was not overlooked by the Mycenaeans; and it was perhaps occupied in still earlier times.[83]

PELLANES

A hundred stades nearer Sparta was the town of Pellana, traditionally connected with Tyndareus.[84] A local legend still relates how Tyndareus came to Pellana, married the king's daughter, and afterwards became king of Sparta. The site of Pellana is undoubtedly at Kalyvia-Pellanes (the Kalyvia of Georghitsi, now called Kastania), and it was surely centred on the hill of Palaiokastro, where there are remains of a small medieval fort (PLATE 21*b* and FIG. 8*a*). Loring noticed traces of 'probable Hellenic work'[85] in the medieval walls, and there are several fragments of classical black-glazed pottery on the hill. Trial excavations were made here by Karachalios, but he never published full details. He found a small black-painted trefoil-lipped oenochoe and an iron spearhead. Surface finds made in 1937 and 1957 included obsidian, a worked flint with serrated edge, and two fragments from L.H. III *Kylikes*. One or two pieces of handmade pottery may be E.H.

Five minutes' walk to north of Palaiokastro, to west of the track, are two finely constructed chamber tombs dug into the soft rock of a small hillock named Spilies. Their unusual beehive shape (FIG. 8) suggests that they are imitations of tholos tombs, and it is possible that the squarely cut parastades were once decorated with façades. Both tombs have been excavated.[86] The southern tomb (No. 2 on FIG. 8*a* and *b*, PLATE 21*c*) was cleared by Rhomaios,[87] who discovered Mycenaean pottery in the grave pit. The northern tomb (No. 1 on FIG. 8*a* and *b*), excavated by Karachalios,[88] had four grave pits, in each of which more than one person had been buried. All the pits had been robbed in antiquity, but the tomb had not been completely cleared, and

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[79] *BSA* lii (1957) 231–59; additional details in *AJA* 65 (1961) 221 ff.

[80] *JHS* xv (1895) 36–41 and 71–74.

[81] Op. cit. 74. They are certainly not Mycenaean, as Dörpfeld had thought.

[82] A kilometre to the south, in the eroded cliffs of the west bank of the Eurotas, are some remains of house-walls of small stones accompanied by classical black-glazed pottery.

[83] Some of the coarser sherds could belong to E.H.; while the pithos burials must be M.H., if they are not Mycenaean.

[84] Paus. iii. 21. 3 and cf. I. 4–5 and 26. 2.

[85] *JHS* xv. 46.

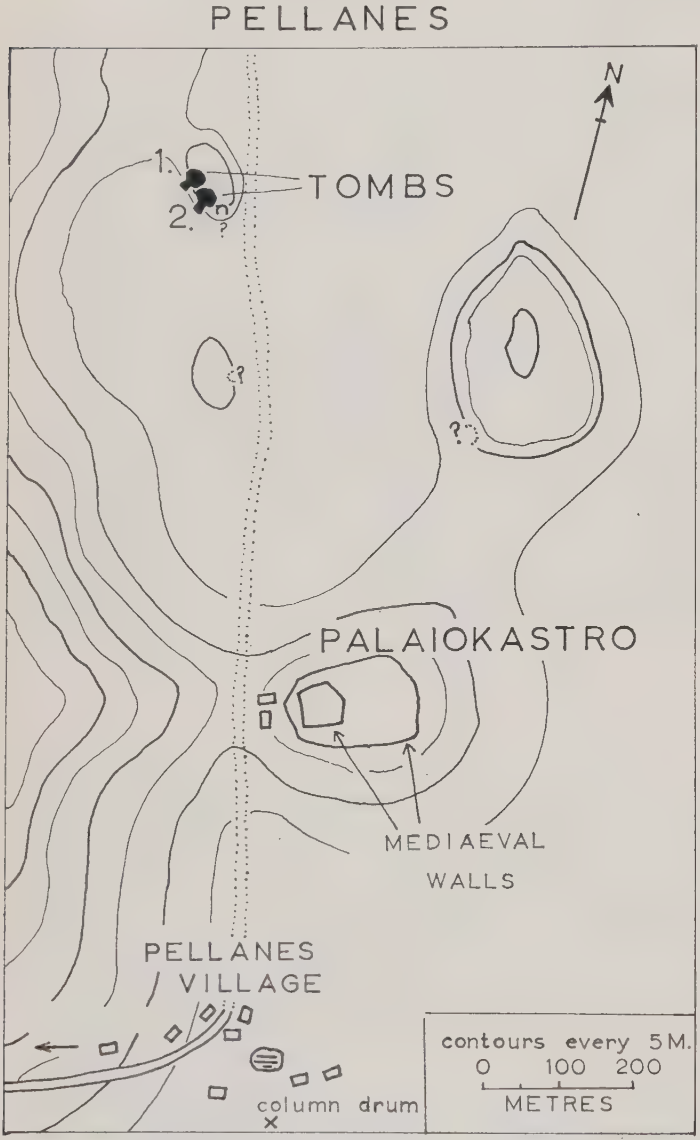
PELLANES
N
1.
2.
TOMBS
?
PALAIOKASTRO
MEDIAEVAL WALLS
PELLANES VILLAGE
column drum
contours every 5M.
0 100 200
METRES

FIG. 8*a*

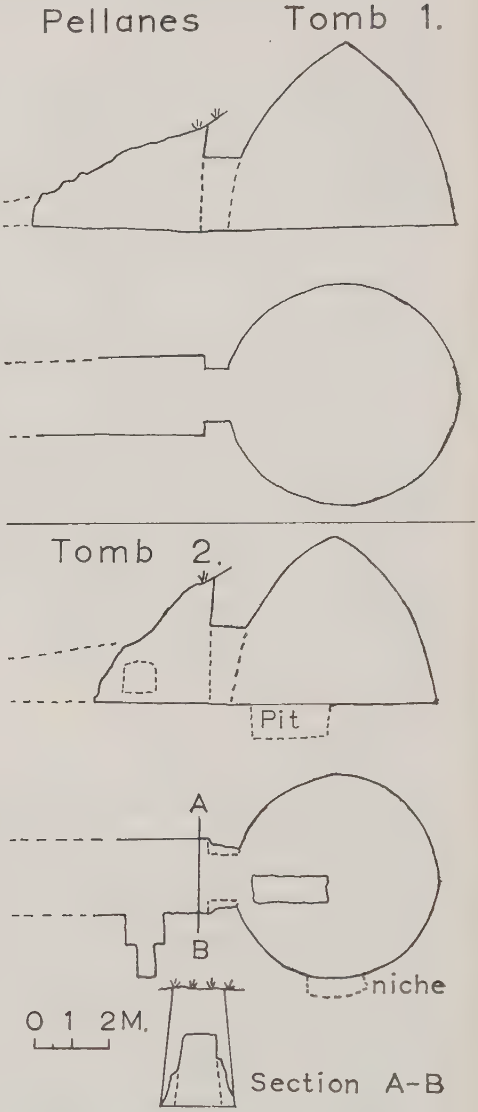
Pellanes Tomb 1.
Tomb 2.
Pit
A
B
niche
0 1 2M.
Section A–B

FIG. 8*b*

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[86] *ADelt* x (1926) parart. 41–44; cf. *JHS* xlvii (1927) 257.

[87] *ADelt* loc. cit.

[88] Ibid.

many objects were found scattered over the floor,[89] and several vases,[90] most of them L.H. IIIA. The earliest is an *alabastron* with sacral ivy pattern (FIG. 8*c*, 1),[91] which must be L.H. IIIA, if not earlier. The *stirrup-vase* illustrated by Mackeprang[92] is probably Late L.H. IIIA,[93] and another *alabastron* with a lattice pattern on the shoulder zone also seems L.H. IIIA. Furumark in fact dates all the pottery L.H. IIIA,[94] but it is possible that a *tankard* with linear band decoration may be early L.H. IIIB, as well as a *kylix* with a curtailed argonaut pattern (FIG. 8*c*, 2).[95] It is, however, extremely doubtful whether any of the vases could be attributed to L.H. IIIC; and we must certainly dismiss Karachalios' conclusion that the tombs are of the last Late Mycenaean period.[96]

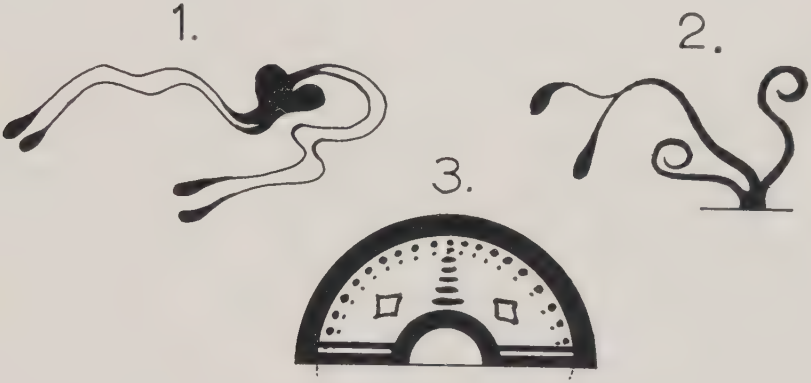

FIG. 8*c*

There are traces of other chamber tombs on the same hill (one marked with ? on FIG. 8*a*),[97] and on the hills to south and south-east, and there is no doubt that this is an important Mycenaean cemetery. It is almost certain that it is to be associated with a contemporary settlement on the hill of Palaiokastro. The site is on the edge of a fertile plain, stretching for a considerable distance to the south (bounded on the east by the Eurotas), while the fine spring in the middle of Pellanes village provides copious water all the year round. The wealth of the finds within the tombs amply confirms the ancient traditions concerning Pellana.

The higher country above Pellanes, although well watered and abundant in trees, seems not to have been inhabited in ancient times; the road to Sparta must always have kept near the river.[98] Trypi too has no ancient site, which might be an argument that the Langada pass over Taygetus was not in use in these early times. The hill country behind the outer eastern range of

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[89] These comprised: an *electrum seal*, with indecipherable design; a *sealstone*, not engraved; 25 *beads* of glass paste; about 25 spindle whorls of hard stone in varying colours; a *figurine* of 'phi' type (and another?); a *bronze spearhead*.

Most of these objects may be observed, albeit with some difficulty, ibid. fig. 3.

[90] Eight *alabastra*; 4 *bowls* of varying shapes; a *tankard*; 2 *shallow cups*; 4 *kylikes*; a *piriform jar*; 3 *jugs* (one of them *side-spouted*); 5 *stirrup-vases*; 2 *amphoriskoi*; and a *pilgrim flask* (shoulder design FIG. 8*c*, 3).

[91] Ibid. fig. 2; cf. *MP* xxxvi. 23–27.

[92] *AJA* xlii (1938) pl. xxi, 6.

[93] Cf. *MP* fig. 53, 16 and 17.

[94] *ChronMP* 55 and 63.

[95] Cf. *MP* fig. 50, 19.

[96] *ADelt* x. 44.

[97] Woodward's statement in *JHS* xlvii. 257 that there are 'two similar tombs, and one smaller, not far distant' is presumably an error (unless he merely meant to indicate traces of other chamber tombs). His report contains other mistakes, i.e. 'dromos 4 m. wide' (it is in fact 2·10 m.) and 'a triangular relieving space was left by the makers over the entrance' (which is not true). The report also mentioned 'a fine Bügelkanne with an octopus design' and a *sealstone* 'with the subject of a horse'. These do not figure in Karachalios' report.

[98] Loring, *JHS* xv. 36 ff.

Taygetus is one of the most delightful parts of Laconia—running with streams and cool in summer, every village having its orchards and surrounded by oaks and other trees.[99] The natural wealth of the district, and Herodotus' story of the Minyans in Taygetus,[100] would both suggest early inhabitation. Further search might be successful near Anavryte, where there is a pass to Messenia,[101] and perhaps near Socha, above the Eleusinion.[102]

ARKINES

There is one indubitable proof that the Mycenaeans did penetrate this high country, namely the two small and poorly constructed Mycenaean tholos tombs at Arkines,[103] in a high stony and wooded valley just south of the summit of Taygetus, at the head of the Goranoi River. The southern route over Taygetus passes over the col just above Arkines, between Ayios Ilias and Anina, and there are good reasons for believing that there was an ancient route here also.[104] The village of Arkines itself no longer exists, but the name continues; and the district called ὁ Σπαρτιάς, where some celts and also post-Mycenaean sherds were found,[105] comprises the land immediately south of the upper part of the gorge of the Goranoi River, opposite the area called Arkines, and including the hill of Gazeika, covered with scrub and small pine trees, in which the tholos-tomb excavated by Tsountas lies hidden (PLATE 21*d*, FIG. 9, A). Soteriades' tholos (B) lies a little to the south-west, on the same ridge. In an area called Yerakas there are traces (marked ? on FIG. 9) of what may have been similar, but smaller, tombs (to the north-west across the gorge),[106] and there are some coarse sherds in their vicinity. The date of Tsountas' tomb is uncertain, since there were few finds, and little chronological information can be derived from an analysis of its very rough construction[107] (which was dictated by local conditions), but there are slight indications that it may belong to the L.H. IIIA period.[108] The tomb excavated by Sotiriades[109] was said to have contained nothing. But among débris found round the tomb by J. F. Lazenby and R. Hope Simpson in July 1960 were some very small sherds of L.H. date, of thin 'soapy' fabric, with occasional traces of monochrome(?) paint. On this same visit definite evidence was found of Mycenaean inhabitation on the slopes of the hill called Paizoulia to the east of Tsountas' Tholos, and immediately opposite. The slopes extend for about 100 metres, down to the ravine which separates them from the tomb. Mycenaean sherds were found on the middle terraces, over an extent of approximately 200 metres north-west to south-east by

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[99] Cf. Leake, *Morea* i. 128–30; Ormerod, *BSA* xvi. 62–68.

[100] Herodotus iv. 145–50; cf. Tsountas, *AE* 1889, 134–6. But Allen, *The Homeric Catalogue of Ships* (1921) 77, shows that there are grounds for attributing the 'Minyan' foundations in Triphylia (Herodotus iv. 148) to the 7th cent. B.C.

[101] *BSA* xvi. 62; cf. *BSA* lii (1957) 242 n. 55.

[102] See PART I. (Search at Anavryte and Socha has so far given negative results.)

[103] Tsountas, *AE* 1889, 132–6 and *PAE* 1889, 22; cf. *BSA* xvi. 66–67, and Sotiriades, *PAE* 1910, 277. I am very grateful to Mr. M. S. F. Hood for the photograph of Tsountas' tomb, here PLATE 21*d*.

[104] *BSA* xvi. 63 (map) and 66; cf. *BSA* lii. 236 and n. 21.

[105] *AE* 1889, 134 (the reference to celts is from Professor Wace's unpublished notes); *BSA* xvi. 66. Hellenistic tombs are reported opposite Goranoi and at Arna. Remains of ancient tombs were seen in 1960 a little west of Gola monastery.

[106] They were discovered in April 1957 by Mr. and Mrs. M. S. F. Hood, and Messrs. D. French and R. Hope Simpson. Sotiriades (*PAE* 1910, 277) mentions μικρῶν τινων φολωτῶν ταφων, which implies that he knew of more than two tombs.

[107] The stones are small and unworked, and the three lintel blocks over the doorway are only roughly shaped, although some attempt has been made at regular coursing in the sides of the doorway. The diameter of the tholos was 4·70 m., and the height (preserved) 3·75 m. The doorway is 2·80 m. long, and the dromos is preserved for a length of 2·65 m.

[108] The recorded contents are:

(*a*) Disordered human bones, including teeth.

(*b*) Five stone beads.

(*c*) An agate stone of ovoid shape, unengraved.

(*d*) A small bronze nail.

(*e*) A miniature gold relief ornament in the shape of an oenochoe, said to be similar to one from the Menidi Tomb in Attica (*Das Kuppelgrab bei Menidi* (1880) pl. v, 10).

(*f*) A few sherds of vases with plain red paint. These may possibly have been from monochrome-painted *Deep Bowls* or *Kylikes* (L.H. IIIA ?).

The miniature gold oenochoe might be ascribed to L.H. III.

[109] Loc. cit.

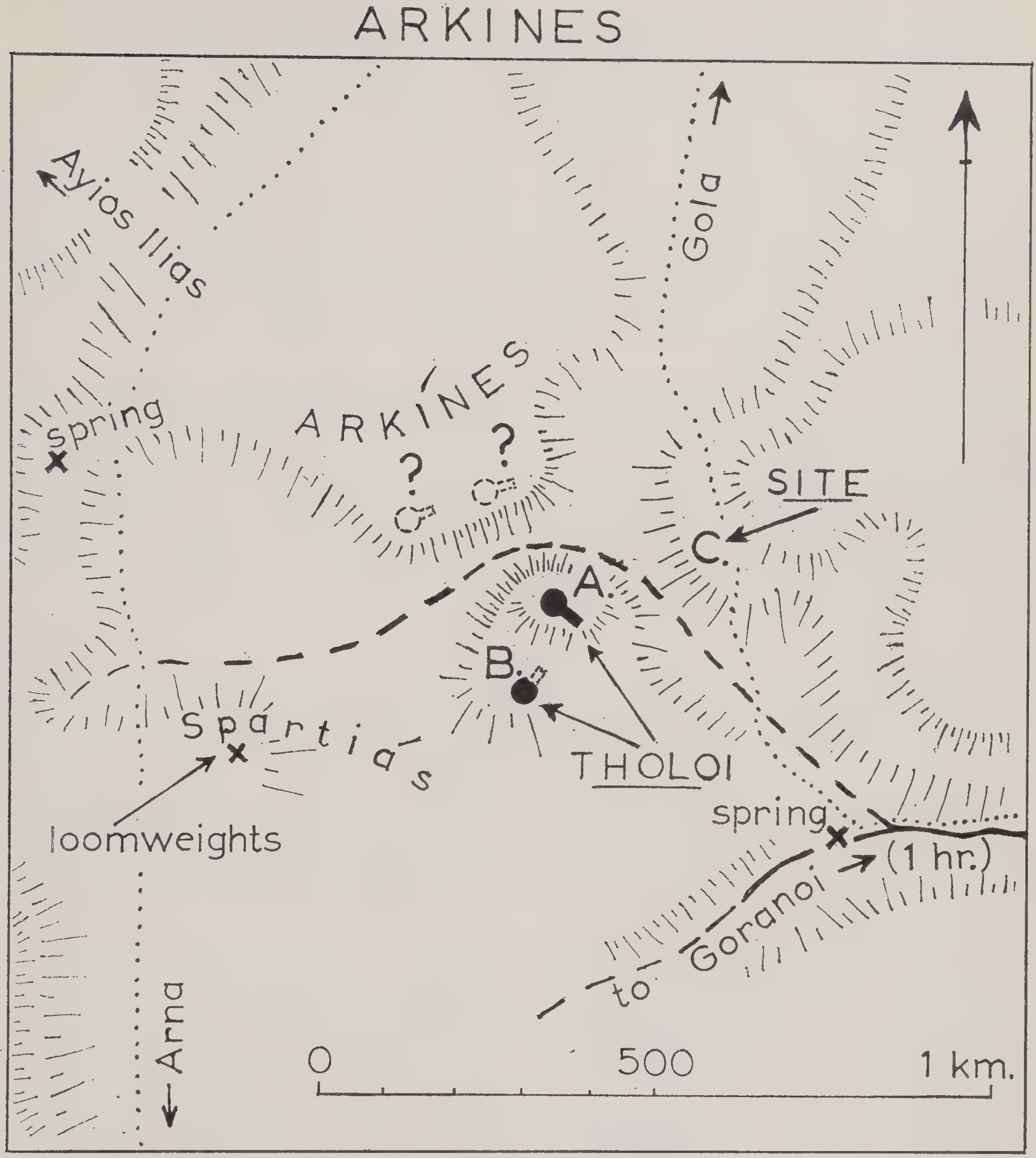
ARKINES
Ayios Ilias
Gola
ARKINES
?
?
spring
SITE
C.
A.
B.
THOLOI
Spartias
loomweights
spring
(1 hr.)
to Goranoi
Arna
0
500
1 km.

FIG. 9

80 metres north-east to south-west. They included a few fragments from poor style L.H. III *kylikes* (one had a long stem, and another a hollowed base), but most of the ware was extremely coarse, being mainly from *pithoi* and large *bowls*. To west of the tomb, 600 metres away, several pyramidal (classical?) *loom-weights* were found on the surface. There is a fine spring named

Kephalovrisi, about 500 metres to south-east of the site at Paizoulia, in the bed of the river of Goranoi lower down. But it is probable that the Mycenaeans had water closer to hand.[110]

THE NORTHERN BORDER AND THYREATIS

ANALIPSIS (Vourvoura)

The hill of Analipsis lies about 4 kilometres west of Vourvoura and 2 kilometres east of the main Sparta–Tripolis road. To the north, 50 metres below, is the deep gorge of the Sarandapotamos, which must here have formed part of the ancient frontier between Tegea and Laconia.[111] The hill is large (over 300 metres in diameter), and the classical settlement (probably ancient Iasos),[112] now partly excavated by the Greek Archaeological Society,[113] is extensive. Surface finds on the hill (1957) included L.H. III *kylix* fragments and obsidian chips. A celt, probably E.H., was previously found.[114]

The Mycenaean cemetery lay on a lower hill adjoining the site on the west. The large tholos tomb (diameter of chamber 8·65 m.) excavated by Rhomaios[115] somewhat resembles in construction the tombs of Aegisthus and Epano Phournos at Mycenae. It contained among other things some fine L.H. II 'Palace Style' vases,[116] fragments of boar's tusks from a helmet, and arrowheads of stone and bronze. Of great interest are the eight miniature Mycenaean tholos tombs (about 3 metres in diameter) discovered in 1956 and 1957[117] on the same hill. Finds included bronze swords, many steatite spindle whorls, three terracotta figurines, and a jasper sealstone with the design of a running bull. The figurines are presumably L.H. III, but no exact dates are given. Another small tomb was found below the hill near the Sarandapotamos river, and a cist grave below a classical building on the hill of Analipsis itself.[118] The miniature tholos tombs are remarkably similar to those found on the east bank of the Sarandapotamos, about 10 kilometres north of Analipsis, and 5½ kilometres to south-south-east of Tegea.[119]

The Mycenaean site at Analipsis must have been important, since it lies on the route from Tegea to Sparta as well as at the end of the route up from Astros, and the Thyrean plain.[120]

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[110] This spring appeared of old (within living memory) at least 20 m. farther up the river bed. There is also a recently dried up spring, called Skylovrysi, some 800 m. west of the site, at a higher level.

[111] On the frontier (Hermae, &c.), cf. Loring, op. cit., and Rhomaios, *BSA* xi. 137–8; *PAE* 1950, 235–6; *PAE* 1954, 270.

[112] Paus. viii. 13. 7; cf. *JHS* lxxvii (1957) suppl. 12 and *JHS* lxxviii (1958) suppl. 10.

[113] *PAE* 1954, 270–86; *Ergon* for 1954, 38–39; 1956, 81–83; 1957, 66–68.

[114] *AE* 1901, 90 and pl. v, 5.

[115] *PAE* 1954, 270–86; cf. *BCH* lxxix (1955) 254–6 and *JHS* lxxv, suppl. 10.

[116] In *BCH* lxxix (1955) 254 it is said that two large L.H. I *three-handled jars* of local fabric were found. If these are the ones illustrated in *PAE* 1954, 276, figs. 4 and 5, it is possible that the *BCH* note is in error, since these two vases are quite clearly 'Palace Style' (i.e. L.H. II), as stated in *JHS* lxxv, suppl. 10.

[117] *Ergon* for 1956, 81–82 (cf. *JHS* lxxvii, suppl. 12); for 1957, 68 (cf. *JHS* lxxviii, suppl. 10).

[118] *Ergon* for 1956, 82.

[119] Fimmen, *Die Kretisch-Mykenische Kultur* (1924) 10; cf. *BCH* xlv (1921) 403. The tombs were excavated by Rhomaios, and five vases from them are displayed in the Tegea Museum. They seem poor, and of 'provincial' style.

(1) Small *Piriform Jar*, of soft buff clay; profile suggests L.H. IIIA date (cf. *MP* fig. 12, 47 (left)); pattern *MP* Mot. 76, 1.

(2) *Squat Alabastron*, of soft orange clay; ovoid shape (as *MP* fig. 11, 83); remains of pattern on shoulder zone; ? L.H. IIIA.

(3) Small *Globular Jug*, of buff clay, with traces of linear band at shoulder; ? L.H. III.

(4) Small *Jug*, of soft buff clay; ? L.H. III.

(5) Tiny *Lekythos* with pedestal foot; hatched triangles on shoulder zone; and monochrome black matt paint below shoulder zone; ? Late Protogeometric.

The site (called Synoikismos) is on the small plateau above the east bank of the river, about 500 m. NE. of the tombs. Sherds spread over an area 300 m. in diameter. They include L.H. II–III *kylikes* and *deep bowls*, and some coarse wares that may be E.H., as well as chips of flint and obsidian. There is some (? late classical) black-glazed pottery. There is an excellent view over the whole of the Tegeate plain, whose edge lies 1 km. to the north.

[120] Paus. ii. 38. 4–7, and Frazer ad loc.

ASTROS

On the west side of the acropolis Wrede[121] found a M.H. and Protogeometric cemetery, and on the south-west side a sprinkling of Mycenaean pottery. He noted E.H. pottery on the small promontory of Chersonisi to south of Astros, in the middle of the bay, and here there is also M.H. and L.H. pottery and a quantity of obsidian; and there are traces of thin rough walls on the south slopes.

XEROKAMBI

Between Ayios Ioannis and Ayios Petros, on the ancient route to Caryae,[122] at Xerokambi (almost on the ancient Laconian border) Wrede[123] found stone implements and Bronze Age sherds.

Kynouria

TYROS[124]

From Astros Bay to Tyros the hills fall sheer to the sea, their barren slopes rising landward to moraines and practically unscalable cliffs. At Tyros there is a small deep bay at the southern end of which the Greek acropolis rises steeply from the sea, crowned with fairly well-preserved walls and towers (PLATE 22*a*). This site yielded a certain amount of E.H. pottery and a worked flint, probably an arrowhead (flint is not native to the Peloponnese).[125] The only other pottery found was black-glazed. It seems likely that the place was not inhabited during the Middle and Late Bronze Age, lying as it does well away from the main lines of immigration and communication.

LEONIDI PLAKA[126]

The plain of Leonidi, though small, is fertile and its river valley affords a route inland as far as the main ridge of Parnon. The classical town of Brasiai or Prasiai (Paus. iii. 21. 6; Polyb. iv. 36) lay near Leonidi Skala, on the seaward slopes of Plaka; both polygonal and ashlar walls are preserved[127] and the occupied area seems to have stretched inland nearly as far as the present-day Leonidi. Terrace walls and disturbed graves can be seen above the road near the Skala, and in this area were found obsidian, coarse Helladic pottery, and a few L.H. III sherds, notably *Kylix* stems (PLATE 24*a*, 1 and 4). This was presumably the site of a small port serving the Helladic settlements up the valley.

VASKINA

In the winter of 1936 peasant cultivators uncovered a Mycenaean tomb in the district known as Kotroni, some 40 minutes north-west of the Kalyvia of Vaskina, which is itself three hours north-west of Leonidi. Vaskina is a tiny summer Kalyvia, dependent for its water-supply on a single well; it lies high, and even by Greek standards the soil is remarkably stony. The surrounding country (geologically it is hard limestone) is barren and treeless, and so cut up by ravines that it seems unlikely that any traffic ever passed through it.

The tomb itself lies in a small depression; it was built of fairly large field-stones (PLATE 22*d*), very roughly coursed, and when found was capped by a large stone slab. It is elliptical and roughly corbelled; it was considered unsafe to clear it completely, but at an excavated depth of 1·5 m. no entrance had appeared. Its long axis at that depth measured internally 2·40 m.; its top was 1·16×0·95 m. When found it contained many skeletons and a number of pots, of which three (Nos. 1, 2, 4 below) were taken to the Leonidi Gymnasion; our own investigations added a small jug (PLATE 23*a*, centre), and a sherd from a closed vessel.

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[121] *AA* 1927, 365.

[122] Paus. iii. 10. 6–7; Frazer iii. 305–6 (Route 2).

[123] Loc. cit. He also noted signs of Geometric occupation at the citadel of Helleniko overlooking the Thyreatic plain.

[124] Steph. Byz. s.v. Τύρος; cf. Curtius, *Pelop.* ii. 332, 381.

[125] Though objects made of it are not uncommon on Peloponnesian sites; e.g. Malthi (Valmin, *Malthi* 336 ff., and references there), Korakou (*Korakou* fig. 133, 10 and 11, in a L.H. III context), Asea (*Asea* fig. 120, all strata), and Zygouries (*Zygouries* 199 and fig. 187, E.H.).

[126] *BSA* xv. 174.

[127] Op. cit. 174–5 and fig. 12.

1. *Kylix* (*MP* Shape 258). PLATE 23*a*, left.

H. 0·162 m. Good hard fabric, pale reddish-brown paint. Shallow depression under foot. The pattern is not identifiable with any in Furumark; nearest perhaps are the L.H. IIIA2 and L.H. IIIB variants of Mot. 19 (multiple stem and tongue pattern) nos. 36–39. There is a band of paint on the lip. L.H. IIIB.

2. *Stirrup Jar* (*MP* Shape 171). PLATE 23*a*, right.

H. 0·094 m. Low base, thick red lustrous paint. In shoulder zone five groups of chevrons (*MP* Mot. 58). Round body, groups of thick and thin bands; on top of false neck, concentric circles round a solid centre. Handles as *MP* fig. 66(*a*). Compare *Prosymna* no. 352 (Tomb XXII) fig. 132, and in general Blegen's type (*b*) (ibid. p. 451), which have merely flattened handles. L.H. IIIA2.

3. *Small Jug* (*MP* Shapes 135 and 136 are comparable). PLATE 23*a*, centre.

H. 0·087 m. Fabric and paint as No. **2** (above). Cut-away neck, thick handle. Groups of thick and thin bands on body, thick bands round lip and neck; handle as *MP* fig. 66(*a*). The shape is not common, but compare *Prosymna* no. 518 (Tomb XXXV) fig. 274 and no. 547 (Tomb XL), fig. 322. L.H. IIIA.

4. *Storage Jar* (compare *MP* Shape 60).

H. 0·124 m., d. of mouth 0·08 m. Coarse reddish ware, undecorated. The ring base, body, and flaring mouth closely resemble a jar from Pikermi (Stubbings, *BSA* xlii. 47 and pl. 13, 9), but the handles are different.

No suitable habitation site could be located nearby, nor is it easy to understand why the area was ever settled.[128] Yet the pottery covers quite a span of years, suggesting that the tomb was, like most other Mycenaean types, a family one, and another like it was said to have been found close by in 1938.

PALAIOKHORI

Some four hours up the valley from Leonidi is the large village of Palaiokhori. The area is well watered and fertile, and two probably very ancient routes lead past the village, one over the spine of Parnon to Tsitsina and the Eurotas valley, the other to Kosmas (where a celt has been found) and Geraki. A good deal of excavation was conducted at Paliokhori by Deffner in the first quarter of the century, and one group of vases was published,[129] and is now in the National Museum, Athens (Nos. 6261–82). These were said to come from 'tombs on the property of P. Sykokis'; their dates vary, according to Furumark, from L.H. I/IIA to L.H. IIIA.[130]

Jars

(i) Handleless, No. 6268 (*MP* Shape 77). *ADelt* 1922–5 (parart.) fig. 4, 3. H. 0·07 m., d. of mouth 0·048 m., of foot 0·038 m. Good hard fabric, pale pink, and good black paint. Body of vase stippled (*MP* Mot. 77); base and rim, inside and out, painted solid; cf. *Prosymna* no. 210 (Tomb XVIII) fig. 109.

(ii) With one vertical handle, No. 6261 (*MP* Shape 87). H. 0·073 m., d. of mouth 0·046 m., of foot 0·04 m. Rather soft pinky-buff clay; the vase is coated with thick but not very lustrous black paint. L.H. IIB.

(iii) Similar, No. 6273 (PLATE 23*c*, top left). H. 0·08 m., d. of mouth 0·048 m., of base 0·03 m. Soft pinkish clay, paint red and fairly lustrous. Hatched loop (*MP* Mot. 63, 6) twice in shoulder zone; below, two bands. Base and rim coated. Cf. *Prosymna* no. 137, (Tomb I) fig. 140; and no. 251 (Tomb XXX) fig. 145. L.H. IIA.

(iv) Similar, No. 6274. H. 0·08 m., d. of mouth 0·051 m., of base 0·038 m. Clay paler than No. 6273 and paint black and very matt, otherwise similar. L.H. IIA.

(v) Similar, No. 6279. Size as last. Clay slightly paler and very soft. Traces of red paint but no pattern discernible. L.H. II.

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[128] Contrast Arkines (above) which lies on a route.

[129] *ADelt* 1922–5 (parart.) 18 ff. and figs. 1–5.

[130] So many parallels for both shapes and patterns are given in Furumark's lists that it seems superfluous in most cases to give other references.

(vi) Taller type, No. 6281. *ADelt* loc. cit. fig. 2, 2. PLATE 23*c*, top right. H. 0·10 m., d. of mouth 0·65 m., of base 0·47 m. Soft pale buff clay, smeary red paint. In shoulder zone figure-of-eight shield lying horizontally (*MP* Mot. 37, 2) and spiral, enclosed by a thick line; two painted bands at base, under handle and round rim. L.H. IIB.

Alabastra

(vii) No. 6262 (*MP* Shape 84). *ADelt* loc. cit. fig. 5. H. 0·048 m., d. of base 0·10 m., of mouth 0·043 m. Red clay with traces of a pale slip, red paint. Between handles, rows of blobs beneath lines; on base six concentric circles and central disk. L.H. IIIA.

(viii) No. 6263 (*MP* Shape 82, no. 27). *ADelt* loc. cit. fig. 5, 1. H. 0·068 m., d. of base 0·123 m., of mouth 0·063 m. Hard greenish clay, smeary black paint. Wave-pattern and double-stalked ivy-leaf (*MP* Mots. 12*c* and 32) between handles, concentric circles and disk on base. L.H. IIB.

(ix) No. 6264. *ADelt* loc. cit. fig. 3, 2. H. 0·042 m., d. of base 0·084 m., of mouth 0·037 m. Hard greenish clay, lustreless black paint. High waves between the handles, many circles on the base. L.H. IIIA.

(x) No. 6265 (*MP* Shape 82, 26). *ADelt* loc. cit. fig. 2, 3 and p. 18. H. 0·14 m., d. of base 0·23 m., of mouth 0·119 m. Buff clay tending to green, paler slip. On body wave pattern (*MP* Mot. 32, 18) in dotted field. On base, irregular wavy lines (compare *Chamber Tombs* pl. 39, no. 19 from Tomb 518). L.H. IIB.

(xi) No. 6266 (*MP* Shape 84). H. 0·052 m., d. of base 0·112 m., of mouth 0·055 m. Unpainted coarse red clay. L.H. IIIA.

(xii) No. 6280 (*MP* Shape 82). *ADelt* loc. cit. fig. 5. H. 0·084 m., d. of base 0·132 m., of mouth 0·063 m. Soft pinky-buff clay, poor worn black paint. Between handles rock-work and ivy-leaf patterns as No. 6263 above, traces of diagonal double lines on base. L.H. IIB.

(xiii) Straight-sided, No. 6267 (*MP* Shape 91, no. 2). *ADelt* loc. cit. fig. 1, 1. H. 0·05 m., d. of base 0·101 m., of mouth 0·053 m. Soft pink clay, paint red and lustrous. Zigzags (*MP* Mot. 61, 1) on body and shoulder, separated by two bands; on base concentric circles. L.H. IIA.

Cups

(xiv) *Teacup*, No. 6269 (*MP* Shape 213). *ADelt* loc. cit. fig. 3, 4. H. 0·043 m., rim d. 0·075 m. Soft pale buff clay, reddish paint. Running spirals above a band, foot and lip painted, inside unpainted with clear wheel-marks. L.H. IIB.

(xv) Similar, No. 6270. *ADelt* loc. cit. fig. 1, 3. H. 0·054 m., rim d. 0·085 m. Fabric as last, paint dull and smeary. Patterns as last. L.H. IIB.

(xvi) *Shallow Teacup*, No. 6271 (*MP* Shape 211, no. 9). *ADelt* loc. cit. fig. 12. PLATE 23*c*, bottom right. H. 0·064 m., rim d. 0·114 m. Pale buff soft clay, black and rather washy paint, thin metallic handle. At rim Foliate Band (*MP* Mot. 64) and Adder Mark (ibid. Mot. 69, 1) separated by two bands. In field Iris motive (*MP* no. 10 a, 2) thrice repeated, and three dotted circles. The paint round foot goes in three waves. L.H. I/IIA.

(xvii) Similar, No. 6272 (*MP* Shape 211, no. 8). *ADelt* loc. cit. fig. 1, 4. PLATE 23*c*, bottom left. H. 0·064 m., rim d. 0·115 m. Soft pale buff clay, paint as last, inside of bowl coated. Rim decoration as 6271, but grouped rock pattern (*MP* Mot. 32, group 1) instead of Adder Mark, with three pendent tassels (*MP* Mot. 72, 1). In field three Double Axes (*MP* Mot. 38, 8); compare the Double Axes on a beaked jug from Mycenae (*Chamber Tombs* pl. iv, Tomb 518, 31—L.H. I) for another Mainland example of this 'Minoan' type (Furumark, in *MP* p. 485, note, suggested that 6271 and 6272 might be Cretan). L.H. I/IIA.

(xviii) Similar, No. 6275 (*MP* Shape 211). *ADelt* loc. cit. fig. 3, 1. H. 0·063 m., rim d. 0·113 m. Fabric as last two, but paint reddish. No pattern on body, at rim shallow zigzag above the two bands, rock pattern (as No. 6272) below. L.H. I/IIA.

(xix) No. 6277 (*MP* Shape 219). *ADelt* loc. cit. fig. 4, 4. H. 0·056 m., rim d. 0·127 m. Thin fabric, brick-coloured biscuit with paler slip. Unpainted. L.H. IIB.

(xx) *Shallow Cup* with ring handle, No. 6276 (*MP* Shape 238, no. 5). *ADelt* loc. cit. fig. 3, 3. H. 0·022 m., with handle 0·055 m., rim d. 0·09 m. Base flattened and not in the centre. Soft pinkish clay, apparently polished, smeary brown paint. Inside, two fairly broad wavy lines crossing; lip and handle barred; outside, three ivy leaves and a ring at base. L.H. IIB/IIIA.

Jugs

(xxi) *Small Globular Jug*, No. 6278 (*MP* Shape 112). *ADelt* loc. cit. fig. 4, 1. H. 0·12 m., of neck 0·029 m., d. of mouth 0·062 m., of base 0·046 m. Straight rim and rounded handle. Coarse red clay like 6266 above, unpainted. L.H. IIB.

(xxii) *Small Beak-spouted Jug*, No. 6282. *ADelt* loc. cit. fig. 4, 2. H. 0·086 m., rounded, hardly flattened, base. Very soft buff clay, smeary paint round base. Compare the Vaskina jug No. 3, above. L.H. IIIA.

The tombs in question are just outside the village to the south-east, beside the track to Leonidi. Two had been filled in; the third is very similar to the Vaskina one, oval and built of (here smallish) rough stones on the corbel principle. The coursing is rudimentary, but it was possible to count eight 'layers' of stones on the western side. The long axis runs north and south, measuring 2·40 m. at floor-level and 1·80 m. at the top, which is some 1·50 m. from the floor and was formerly covered with large flat slabs. The width at floor-level is 1·10 m., at the apex 0·50 m. The floor is partly of stones, partly of sterile grey earth, and there are traces of an entrance at the north end. The excavators found twenty-two skeletons, but did not clear the grave completely, since on this visit it yielded, at the northern end, a black-coated *Kylix* (PLATE 23*b*) and several sherds, none earlier than L.H. IIIB.[131] The other two graves were rectangular cists; their contents had long been missing, and neither these nor their shape and construction were Mycenaean.

The chief concentration of graves at Palaiokhori, however, is on the hill of Μικρὴ Τούρλα to the south of the village. The most important of these is the small elliptical tholos (PLATE 23*c*) which is preserved up to the level of the lintels, one of which, about 2 metres long, is in place. Its long axis runs east to west. The dromos was very short and so damaged as to make it uncertain whether it had ever been lined with masonry. The doorway is 1·20 m. long, with no traces of a door; it probably had three lintel blocks. The chamber measured 3·20×2·40 m. on the east to west and north to south axes respectively, but at a point somewhat above the true floor-level; its masonry, though rough, was coursed, the preserved height being 1·50 m. Only one skeleton had been found in it and there was no record of its contents, though search produced a piece of a L.H. II *Alabastron* at the end of the dromos. The other graves (some thirty in all, according to local record) lie on the north and south slopes of the hill, usually in groups, with more on the southern side. Five form a group with the elliptical tholos. Many are now hard to trace, but most seem to have been of the same type as the Sykokis and Vaskina tombs. Their contents, long since dissipated, are said to have included weapons.

It may be considered open to doubt whether the provenance of the vases described above was in fact the Sykokis tomb. The majority were L.H. IIB, and only four are as late as L.H. IIIA; whereas the *Kylix* and sherds found inside at the lowest level are L.H. IIIB at the earliest. Admittedly these were by the entrance—though how this was ever approached is not yet clear—but there can have been little room in this comparatively small chamber, after twenty-two interments, for the entrance to be used at all; it is more reasonable to suppose that the later burials took place from the top, by the simple expedient of removing and replacing the cap-stone. It is quite possible that the vases were in fact found on Μικρὴ Τούρλα, either in several tombs, or, since they form a reasonably homogeneous group, in the tholos, for which a L.H. II date would be perfectly acceptable.

The only other elliptical tholoi known are the two at Thorikos,[132] the pottery from which is L.H. IIA. The Palaiokhori tholos resembles the larger of these both in the quality of its masonry and in plan, with dromos, doorway, and chamber all in the same long axis (the smaller Thorikos tomb[133] has the dromos on the short axis). The smaller Palaiokhori and Vaskina tombs have as yet no parallels. Their type seems to be derived from the tholos proper, with corbel vault and cap-stone, and an entrance, but no doorway or dromos, at floor-level. Perhaps they were a local substitute, in this area of hard limestone, for the chamber tomb, no example of which is yet known in Kynouria.

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[131] *Angular Kylix* with one handle, now in the National Museum, Athens (PLATE 23*b*). H. 0·105 m., d. of rim 0·12 m., of foot 0·06 m. Coated all over with dull black. Cf. *Zygouries* fig. 143, no. 214.

The rest of the pottery was very shattered, but one other shape could be identified—an unpainted *Necked Jar* like *Prosymna* 534, from Tomb XXXVI (fig. 282).

[132] *AE* 1895, 221 ff.

[133] Probably not Mycenaean at all, see Fimmen, *Kretisch-Mykenische Kultur* 8 and Groppengeisser, *Die Gräber von Attika* 4 f.

Some special connexion with Attica, dating at least from the L.H. II period, must be assumed. Herodotus' remark (viii. 73) about the Ionian race of the 'autochthonous' Kynourians of his day may reflect some ancient relationship with the Ionians of Attica. In view of the position of Vaskina—which cannot be dissociated from Palaiokhori—it is likely that the L.H. people of the district came by sea,[134] not over Parnon, and they may well have come from Attica. It is improbable that the Thorikos people came from Kynouria in view of the flourishing M.H. settlement on that acropolis.[135]

The site of the Helladic settlement was the hill of Kotroni (PLATE 22*b*), a rocky hill with flattish top and terraced slopes on the north-eastern outskirts of the village. The summit has been badly eroded, and the lower slopes are considerably built over, so that surface finds were few and no walls could be traced. The owner of the land on the south-east slope had collected a dozen or so celts, the majority of a common type with broad working and narrow blunt end,[136] and part of the perforated base of a cooking pot.[137] The sherds found were predominantly Early Helladic[138] (PLATE 24*a*, 3, 5, 6, and 7), notably 'finger-marked' ring bases from coarse pots; one pithos fragment[139] (PLATE 24*a*, 2) may be M.H., and a few worn scraps appear to be L.H. In spite of the paucity of L.H. surface finds there can be little doubt that the town to which the tombs on Μικρή Τούρλα belonged was situated on Kotroni.

LYMBIADA[140]

About three-quarters of an hour west-north-west from Palaiokhori in the direction of Ayios Vasilios are ruins which some have supposed to be those of Glyppia or Glimpeis[141] and a decayed monastery, the Palaiopanagia. The Hellenic fort lies on a rocky knoll on a gentle slope between two streams (still running in June), and the ground between it and the monastery is covered in sherds, mostly of black-glazed ware. A hand-made E.H. ring base, of the same micaceous clay as those from Kotroni, and the handle of a L.H. III jug, with other more shapeless pieces, confirm the existence of a small Bronze Age settlement in this eminently habitable place.

KOSMAS (? Glyppia)

The small summit of the hill of Prophetes Ilias, which stands above the village on the west, is now only sparsely covered with classical sherds.[142] Prehistoric occupation in the district is suggested by the discovery of a celt here, and there is a large rectangular lump of Lapis Lacedaemonius from the site in the B.S.A. collection at Athens (measurements 0·09 m. by 0·07 m. by 0·065 m.). Kosmas lies on the direct route from Geraki (Geronthrae) to Leonidi (Prasiae), commanding the best and most important pass over Parnon.

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[134] Present-day Kynouria has far closer and easier connexions with Athens and Nauplia than with any part of Laconia. The only close parallel to the jar from Vaskina (No. 4 above) was found at Pikermi in Attica and is described by Stubbings as unique.

[135] *AE* loc. cit.; *ADelt* 1890, 159; *PAE* 1893, 12 ff.

[136] e.g. *PT* Class A, figs. 67*d*, 68*f*, 111*g*.

[137] Cf. *Eutresis* fig. 140. These may have been used for cheese-making.

[138] PLATE 24*a*, 3. Handle and rim sherd from E.H. cup. Soft buff clay, thick biscuit, paint (if any) worn away.

5. Raised base of small vessel, hard pinky-buff with darker core, central boss beneath.

6. Spring of horizontal loop handle, fabric as no. 3.

7. Ring base of coarse pot showing nail marks, clay pale brick red, slightly micaceous, no paint. There is another base of this fabric with clear finger marks all round the raised ring, showing how it was pulled into shape by the potter.

[139] Heavy rim sherd of the same fabric as the two E.H. bases above. Two bands of finger-print or rope-pattern. From a large *bowl* (cf. *Eutresis* fig. 147 (E.H. II)).

[140] It is regretted that, by an oversight, this settlement has been omitted on the Chronological Table and the Distribution Maps.

[141] Polybius v. 20; Paus. iii. 22. 8; Wace and Hasluck, *BSA* xv. 165 and n. 1.

[142] *BSA* xv. 165.

MARI (ancient Marios)

The high fortress of Kastelli to south of Mari[143] may not have been occupied in the prehistoric period. Prolonged search of this acropolis and its slopes failed to reveal any sherds earlier than classical (fifth- and fourth-century B.C. black glazed are abundant). The rough walls[144] at first sight look early, but they are certainly not 'Cyclopean'. In particular, there are few stones used in interstices, although some smaller stones are occasionally laid in an attempt to make the courses even. The size of the stones seldom exceeds 0·80×0·60 m. The impression is of very provincial work of late Archaic or early classical date. In the fertile little valley of the river of Mari between the acropolis and the village, black-glazed sherds and tiles are common, and the main part of the ancient town of Marios may have been here rather than on the rather barren slopes of the fortress site. There are fine springs on the slopes above the village (north-north-west of the acropolis), and it is surely in this area that we should expect to find the shrine of Artemis and Pausanias' Pantheon.[145]

Inland, the southern part of Kynouria does not seem to have been occupied in prehistoric times.[146] But Kyparissi (ancient Kyphanta) and Ieraka (ancient Zarax) on the coast might produce evidence of Mycenaean settlement.[147]

The Malea Peninsula

EPIDAURUS LIMERA

Several Mycenaean chamber tombs (some with stepped dromoi) have recently been excavated to south-west of the acropolis of Epidaurus Limera (PLATE 25*a*, FIG. 10), in the neighbourhood of Ayia Triadha, and also farther west, near the village of Ayios Ioannis.[148] In the sides of the ravine of Ayia Triadha are the remains of several other robbed and partially destroyed tombs. The pottery from the excavated tombs ranges from L.H. I to L.H. IIIC (including Close Style).

Surface exploration in 1957 on the classical acropolis[149] established, as might have been expected, that the Mycenaean centre was here also.[150] A sherd in the B.S.A. collection at Athens marked 'Epidaurus Limera' (FIG. 15, 1) is almost certainly Neolithic.[151] The position of the site is ideal, since it commands a wide stretch of the coastline, and lies at the eastern end of the easiest route from Sparta to the east coast.[152] It is likely that there was once an important Mycenaean fortress on the summit.

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[143] *BSA* xv. 166–7. The fortress measures about 110 m. N.–S. by 60 m. E.–W.

[144] Described in some detail, loc. cit.

[145] *BSA* xv. 167 (esp. inscribed bronze horse, and retrograde inscription).

[146] With the possible exception of Mari. Search of the high plateau between Kosmas and Pelota in 1958 was unrewarded.

[147] Op. cit. 173–4 (Kyparissi), 167–73 (Ieraka). It is remarked (p. 173) that 'in spite of the varieties of masonry used, there is no reason to attribute a pre-hellenic origin to the ruins of Zarax'. This remark is almost certainly correct as applied to the existing remains of walling.

It is regretted that we were not able to visit these relatively inaccessible sites.

[148] The tombs are marked on FIG. 10. They were excavated by Mr. Christou and Mr. Oikonomakos. A summary of the results is published in *Ergon* for 1956, 96–100; cf. *AJA* lviii (1954) 235 and lix (1955) 226; and *JHS* lxxvii, suppl. 13. They are also briefly described by Oikonomakos, in Ἀρχαία Ἐπίδαυρος Λίμηρα (1957).

[149] The classical and later remains are described in *BSA* xiv. 179–82.

[150] There were sherds from plain *Kylikes* (one certainly L.H. IIIB) and from monochrome painted *Deep Bowls* (L.H. IIIA–B). Some of the coarse ware seems pre-Mycenaean. Twenty-two fragments of obsidian were picked up.

[151] From the rim of a large *Bowl* with a horizontal lug handle. Clay coarse and red, surface mottled and highly burnished. Notch on rim. Probably belongs to Weinberg's Class I D (*Coarse Monochrome Ware*).

[152] Via Geraki, Apidia, and Sikea. Traces of a road are marked on FIG. 10 ('wheel ruts'). They were first noticed by Leake (*Morea* i. 216). The 'gauge' of the ruts is the same as that of the stretch between Tsasi and Grammousa (see PART I), also noted by Leake (op. cit. 194–5).

MONEMVASIA

Pausanias records (iii. 23. 11) that there was once a promontory called Minoa near the Sanctuary of Artemis Limnatis. Minoa is usually equated with Monemvasia, and the name is suggestive of prehistoric occupation. Professor Blegen is reported to have said that he found L.H. sherds near the old village,[153] which is the only habitable site. The summit itself is barren and waterless.[154]

To the south of Monemvasia along the east coast no certain evidence of prehistoric occupation was found; although the sites of Epidelium (Voutama)[155] and the probable site of the Temple of Artemis Limnatis (Limnes)[156] seemed promising. There was an obsidian core on a low hill an hour south of Monemvasia on the modern post road to Neapolis.

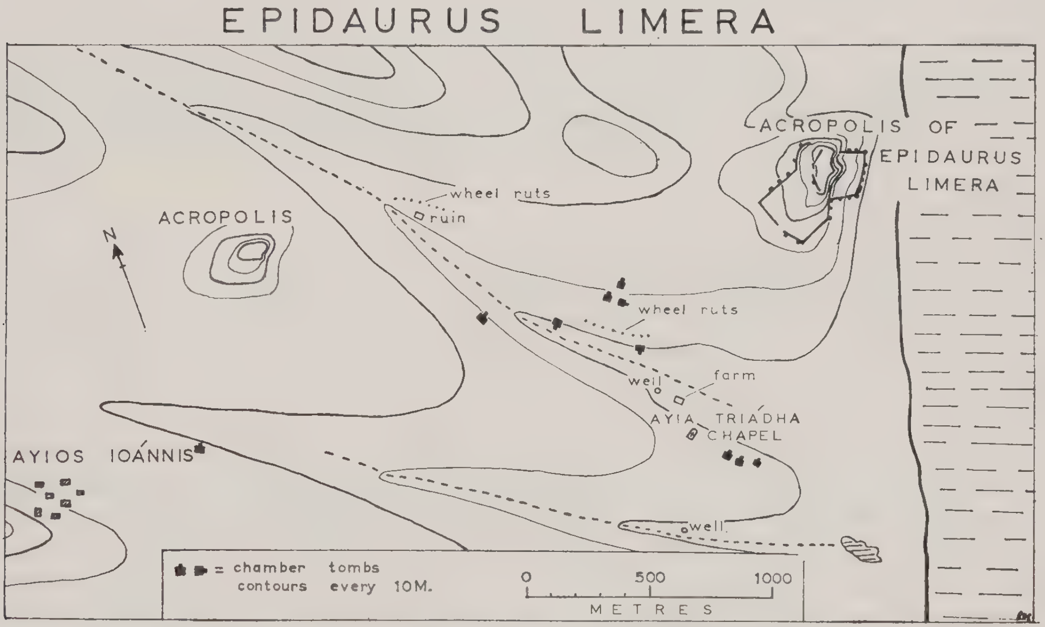

FIG. 10

AYIOS IOANNIS

About a kilometre to north-east of Ayios Ioannis village and 2 kilometres west of Epidaurus Limera is a small but steep acropolis hill (PLATE 25*a*, the hill marked by an arrow on the left, PLATE 25*b* and FIG. 10). The south and east sides are eroded, and the top surface now measures only 60 by 50 metres. On the upper slope were a few E.H. and L.H. III sherds and obsidian. The site was probably unimportant, especially in view of the proximity of the larger and more strategic site at Epidaurus Limera. The excavated Mycenaean tomb to the south-west, marked on FIG. 10, presumably belongs to the site.[157]

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[153] *BSA* li (1956) 170. But when questioned in 1956, he did not recall having found Mycenaean pottery at Monemvasia.

[154] Medieval remains at Monemvasia, *BSA* xiv. 176–9.

[155] *BSA* xiv. 175–6; xxiv. 146. The 'Pelasgian' wall does not appear to be Mycenaean.

[156] *BSA* xiv. 176; xxiv. 147.

[157] It closely resembles Tomb A at Ayia Triadha (*Ergon* for 1956, 97 and fig. 98). There are two well-preserved rock-cut steps leading to a forecourt, off which are chambers to south and east.

ANGELONA

On the north-east extremity of the plateau of Kollyri near Angelona, about 150 metres north of the site of the British School's excavations,[158] is a small rocky hill (PLATE 25*c*), oval in shape, about 80 metres east to west and 45 metres north to south, covered in loose stone and scrub. To north and east it overlooks the deep ravine 100 metres below, which runs down to Epidaurus Limera. On the south and west it is connected to the Kollyri plateau, and the gentle slopes here are covered in coarse Bronze Age sherds and obsidian. E.H.[159] coarse wares were recognizable, and some wheel-made pottery of rough micaceous fabric is probably L.H. The site of the Heroon[160] must have been on the lower slopes of the plateau or near the spring on the south side of the path from Angelona to Ayios Ioannis nearby. There are no classical sherds on the hill site itself or on its southern slopes.

ANEMOMYLO, near SIKEA

On a gentle rise, about 300 metres north-east of the road from Sikea to Molaoi, and 1½ kilometres from Sikea, there is a ruined round tower, once a windmill (Anemomylo, PLATE 25*d*). In the vicinity is a fair quantity of coarse pottery, of the same varieties as at Angelona, including E.H. and L.H. III,[161] and over forty fragments of obsidian.

KATAVOTHRA

Mr. Oikonomakos recorded a local report of the discovery of Mycenaean pottery in the cemetery of the village of Katavothra, where part of the drapery of a female statue (Hellenistic ?) had been found.[162] But surface exploration in 1958 was unrewarded.

MOLAOI

There was no prehistoric site here, although an obsidian core was found in the gorge to the west above the town, near the small medieval fort.[163] The 'medieval refuge castle' of Palaiokastro on the southern peak of Mt. Kourkoula is considered locally to be the ancient Coryphasium.[164] The walls enclose an area of 150 by 50 metres, and below the medieval (or later ?) walls on the south side is a stretch of ancient walling, constructed of large stones with smaller stones in the interstices. Some black-glazed sherds were found within the walls. There is a magnificent view from the site over a wide stretch of the coastline, and it is well situated to control the old high road over Kourkoula from the Helos plain to the plain of Molaoi.[165]

KOKKINIA

The hamlet is named after the red cliffs on the north. The area of the classical town (Acriae),[166] as marked by the spread of potsherds, is about 1 kilometre north to south by 250 metres east to west. Black-glazed pottery also occurs on a hill near the shore, a kilometre to the south. The 'bluff'[167] immediately south of the hamlet measures 150 metres north to south by 80 metres east to west. On the summit of the cliff, beside the remains of the medieval tower, a Roman building has been revealed by erosion.[168] One and a half kilometres to north-north-west of Kokkinia, separated from the site by a ravine which runs east to west, is a flat-topped hill, on which is a round tumulus similar to that found at Mavrovouni (above, PLATE 18*d*); it measures 25 metres north to south by 20 metres east to west, and stands 3·50 m. high.

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[158] *BSA* xi. 81–90.

[159] Particularly a rim of a large *Bowl* with finger-print decoration on a cordoned band.

[160] Op. cit. 89–90.

[161] E.H.: from rounded rims of 'E.H. II' *Bowls* with plastically moulded and finger-print decorations. L.H. III: part of a *krater* handle in hard orange fabric, and a fragment from a *Deep Bowl* with linear band decoration.

[162] Op. cit. 35 f. The pottery would seem to have been lost.

[163] *BSA* xii. 270.

[164] *BSA* xiv. 163.

[165] Loc. cit. Wheel-tracks noted by Leake (*Morea* i. 200).

[166] *BSA* xiv. 162.

[167] Loc. cit.

GANGANIA

Below the monastery of Gangania, one hour north of Molaoi along the road to Apidia, rises a rocky hill (PLATE 26*a*), precipitous on its eastern side, in shape reminiscent of the acropolis of Mycenae, and commanding the approach to the fertile Molaoi plain. Its foot is enclosed on two sides by a stream which, although not perennial, runs freely at least until midsummer. Sherds are plentiful on the upper slopes; and in several places large stones look very like wall foundations. E.H., M.H., and L.H. sherds were collected, and half of a small celt of greenish stone, probably L.H. III (PLATE 24*b*, 9). One M.H. sherd (PLATE 24*b*, 4)[169] is of the same light-on-dark ware as noted at Skala (see PART I). The L.H. III pottery was very shattered and the only recognizable shape was the standard L.H. IIIB *Bowl*. Half-way up the hill on the west two derelict and plundered chamber tombs were noted in 1957.

ELEA

On the upper east slopes of the steep hill south of Elea (PLATE 26*b*, FIG. 11), which is crowned by a medieval tower,[170] were E.H. and L.H. sherds[171] and several fragments of obsidian. The hill is rocky and steep on all sides, especially to seaward; so that it is an ideal site for a small Mycenaean fortified village.

About a kilometre south of Elea, on the track to Kondevianika, a large quantity of pottery, including classical and Roman, has been revealed by erosion, and the surface of fields over a radius of 300 metres is covered with sherds. These finds support the conjecture[172] that the town of Biandina, mentioned by Ptolemy (iii. 16. 9), is to be located here. Further classical, Hellenistic, and Roman sherds came to light about 1½ kilometres north of Elea, on the way to Kokkinia, and Roman tombs have recently been found at Elea.[173]

GOULAS (Plitra)

The small acropolis called Goulas (PLATE 26*c*) lies nearly 2 kilometres north-west of Plitra (ancient Asopus),[174] at the root of the promontory of Xyli. The hill was occupied in the Neolithic period and throughout the Bronze Age. It is a natural stronghold, since its flat summit (about 180 metres north to south by 100 metres east to west) is surrounded on all sides by sheer cliffs of white sandstone, so that little walling would have been required for defence. On the north-east slope are rock-cut steps and cuttings for a roadway, below some small caves, and on the north-west and south-west slopes are two large hemispherical holes bored into the rock (diameters 0·33 m. and 0·32 m.), which are difficult to account for. On the summit are various remains of the foundations of small rectangular buildings.

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[168] Thick walls of small stones with tile and cement bonding courses. There was a tile relieving arch supporting the foundations at a weak point. Beside the ruin were two column bases, Roman amphora fragments, and a coin of Marcus Aurelius.

[169] Three curving lines in purplish red can be made out on the black; it is hand-made and coarse, and comes from a closed shape.

N.B. The large *pithos* fragment shown on pl. 4*c*, 4 of PART I is highly micaceous. Another *Pithos* fragment has a simulated handle in relief, like *Eutresis* 92, fig. 116, 4.

[170] *BSA* xiv. 162.

[171] E.H.: rims of large *bowls* with cable pattern below the rim. L.H.: worn fragments from *Kylikes* and *Deep Bowls*.

[172] *BSA* loc. cit. and xxiv. 149.

[173] *JHS* lxxvii, suppl. 12. These were found when the track was widened, about a kilometre south of Elea.

[174] Paus. iii. 22. 9–10; *BSA* xiv. 163–5.

The Neolithic sherds[175] were discovered in the eroded slopes half-way up on the south-east side. The Bronze Age[176] sherds were found higher up, mostly on the surface of the summit itself. Classical black-glazed pottery was fairly abundant on the north and east slopes of the hill, and for 300 metres distance in this direction. At a point about 50 metres from the acropolis a deposit 1·50 m. thick has been revealed by erosion. There can be little doubt that these classical remains indicate the presence of the city of the Παρακυπαρίσσιοι Ἀχαῖοι recorded by Pausanias (iii. 22. 9–10) as being at the foot of the acropolis where stood the sanctuary of Athena Kyparissia.

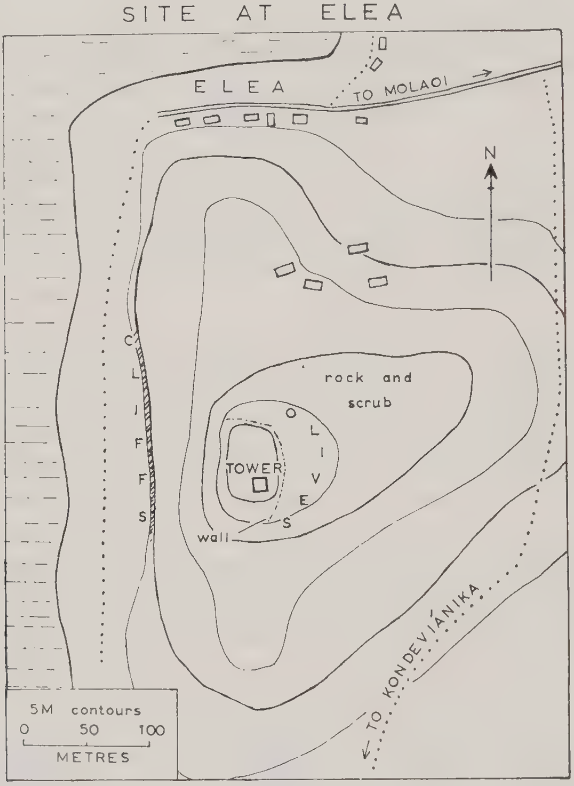

FIG. 11

Presumably by Pausanias' day the population had moved to the shore at Asopus (Plitra), where there are Roman inscriptions and remains of houses below the sea.[177]

In the course of widening the track from Papadianika to Daimonia, at the foot of the hill of Kataphygi[178] (or Palaiokastro), some black-glaze sherds and a lamp were found. The 'abandoned monastery'[179] of Palaiokastro is on a steep cliff about 80 metres high, connected by a ridge to higher hills on the north. On the west slopes of the ridge coarse pottery of classical to Hellenistic date is abundant, and on the top of the ridge on the same side is a wall running north to south, made of large blocks in a 'rough polygonal' style similar to those lower down the slope.[180] From this corner of the Molaoi plain roads must have run south-east to Daimonia and north-east to Phoiniki; whence one branch would have led to the Hyperteleatum,[181] and another to Sikea (where it would be joined by the road from Apidia (ancient Palaia) to Epidaurus Limera).

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[175] Five sherds of Weinberg's Class IA (Variegated Ware) from open *Bowls*. One rim is shaped as PART I, fig. 15, 3 (from Ayios Strategos).

[176] E.H.: rims of 'E.H. II' *Bowls* of micaceous or gritty fabric, with rope patterns similar to those from Tsasi (PART I pl. 22*a*, 8) and Elaphonisi (PART I, fig. 15, 2).

M.H.: two sherds of *Grey Minyan*.

L.H. III: sherds from *Kylikes* and *Low-stemmed Bowls*.

[177] *BSA* xiv. 164. Roman tombs, *JHS* lxxvii, suppl. 12.

[178] Not 'Katapygi', as spelled in *BSA* loc. cit. The name means 'place of refuge'.

[179] There are also Frankish walls enclosing the summit (for which cf. Geraki), and the foundations of a small (Turkish?) square tower on the north.

DAIMONIA

The rocky acropolis of Kastelli (PLATE 26*d*) lies midway between Daimonia and the sea. It is covered with potsherds and shows many signs of Hellenic occupation,[182] including foundations and rock cuttings on the south side. L.H. sherds are plentiful, including L.H. I (PLATE 24*b*, 5)[183] and L.H. IIIB (PLATE 24*b*, 1, 6–7);[184] and the bronze dagger[185] found here must also be L.H. Two fragments from M.H. *Grey Minyan Bowls* were found, and in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge is a large celt from Daimonia,[186] probably E.H. or M.H. There are local reports of *pithos* burials, on or near the acropolis, and the 'beaked jug of coarse red ware[187] came from one of these. The site commands the south end of the route from Epidaurus Limera, and lies on the land route from the Molaoi plain to Neapolis and Elaphonisi.

Between the Molaoi plain and Daimonia there are no ancient sites on or near the coast, and the same seems to be true of the broken hill country of the coastal district between Daimonia and the Vatika plain.[188]

STENA

The name Stena ('the narrows') is an apt description of the high pass through which runs the main road from Elika to Neapolis. In the centre of the gap, at the watershed, is a steep conical hill (FIG. 12 and Map, FIG. 13), completely dominating the pass and the Vatika plain to the south-east. On the east side of the hill is a stream (normally dry) with wells on either side, and there is a spring close to the chapel on the north-east flank of the hill. On the upper southern terraces of the hill E.H. and L.H. sherds [189] and obsidian are to be found over an area of about 120 metres by 80 metres. About 500 metres south-east of the summit, on the east bank of the stream, are two groups of plundered chamber tombs (FIG. 12),[190] cut in the soft sandstone. To north-east of the site, also on the east side of the stream, are caves which seem to have been chamber tombs.

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[180] Loc. cit.

[181] *BSA* xiv. 165–6 and xxiv. 147–8. About 2 km. to east of the ravine where the Hyperteleaton has been located, and after the ravine has opened out into the plain of Phloka, there is an abundance of ancient coarse pottery in the fields on both sides of the track to Velies, over an extent of at least 500 by 300 m. Some of the sherds are classical black-glazed. The site is called Pappagenies Daphni. It is less than 2 km. west of Velies.

[182] Loc. cit. It is confirmed that Kastelli is the site of Cotyrta. Recently Hellenic tombs have been found on the slopes leading down to the sea, and a relief of Artemis with a hound was discovered near the village (*JHS* lxxvi, suppl. 15, fig. 15), together with fragments of terracotta figurines. A BF sherd from the acropolis shows the lower folds of a *peplos*. It belongs to the last quarter of the 6th cent. B.C. A sherd illustrated in PART I (pl. 22*b*, 12), is either late Protogeometric or very early Geometric.

[183] From a *Bridge-spouted Jar* or *Amphora*, with 'tennis racket' pattern (*MP* Mot. 63: Hatched Loop).

[184] A *Kylix* fragment (PLATE 24 *b*, 1), and several fragments from *Deep Bowls* (ibid. 6–7). 6 has vertical chevrons as *MP* Mot. 58, 17. One sherd with 'lattice pattern' is illustrated in PART I (pl. 22*b*, 8). Another has traces of a panelled pattern, as *MP* Mot. 75.

[185] *BSA* xiv. 166.

[186] Loc. cit. It is of river stone, and over 0·10 m. long. It is *PT* Type A.

[187] Ibid. In Professor Wace's unpublished notes he recorded a small *Marble Bowl*, 0·11 m. in diameter and 0·06 m. high, of rough workmanship, which might be Cycladic, and a coarse *Jug*, much broken, with a high handle, and engraved ornament outlined in black.

[188] A walk from Oulendianos Pirgos (marked on FIG. 14) along the coast north to Daimonia gave negative results; although it is possible that a small site may be lurking in the part of the coast south-west of Elika.

[189] E.H.: 'E.H. II' rims of *Bowls*, in micaceous clay. Some have cable pattern decoration. L.H.: e.g. part of the base of a *Rhyton* (PART I, pl. 22*b*, 7) of L.H. I–II date. There were also sherds from *Deep Bowls* with linear band decoration (L.H. IIIB) and *pithos* fragments.

[190] The southern group (two tombs) have doorways 1·20 m. wide and chambers about 2·50 m. in diameter. The northern group (three tombs) have similar dimensions, but are less well preserved. The dromoi (if any) have disappeared.

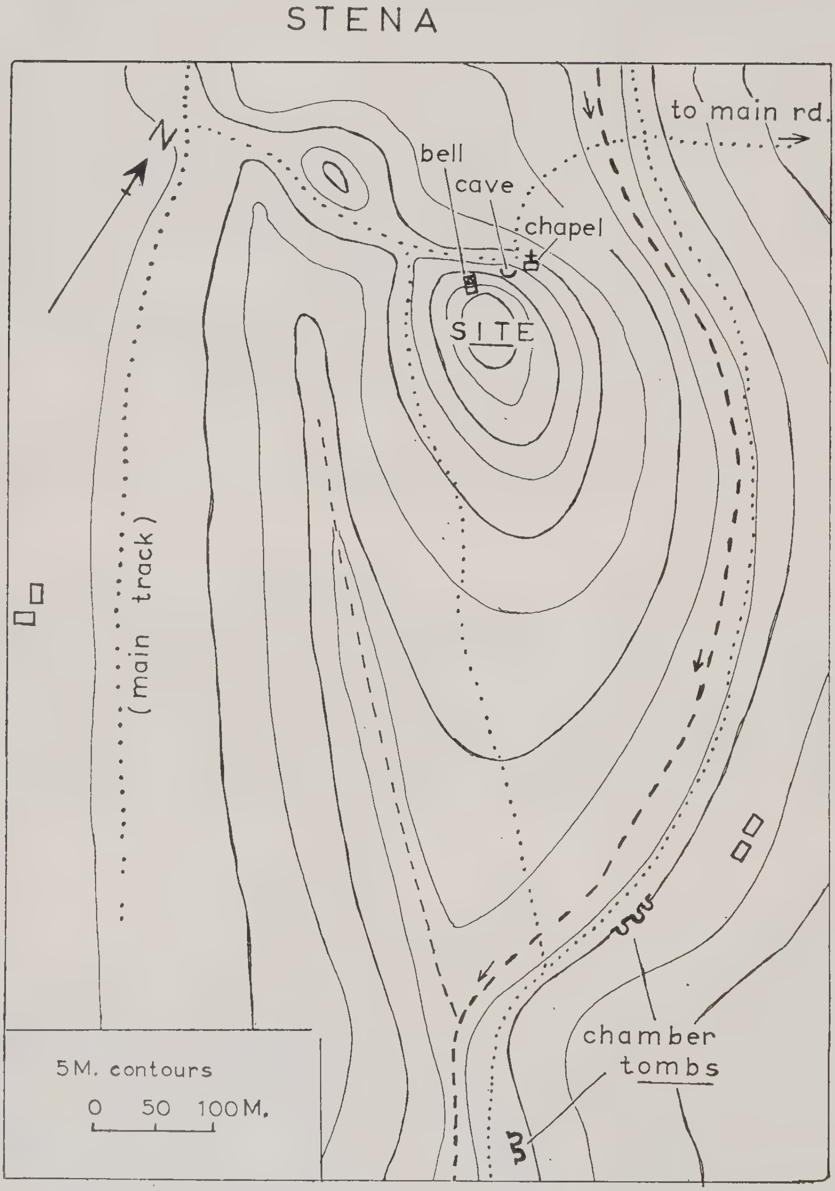

FIG. 12

NEAPOLIS (Vatika)

About a kilometre to north-west of the centre of the modern port of Neapolis, on the right of the Neapolis–Molaoi road, is the cemetery of the ancient city of Boeae.[191] Several tombs have been cut in the limestone of the plateau to right of the road;[192] and in the sides of the three low hills mainly to right, but also to left of the road farther to the north, are many caves which were once chamber tombs,[193] presumably Mycenaean. On the middle hill were obsidian chips and coarse sherds, some of them E.H. But the main prehistoric site lay on a very low hill near

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[191] *BSA* xiv. 168–72.

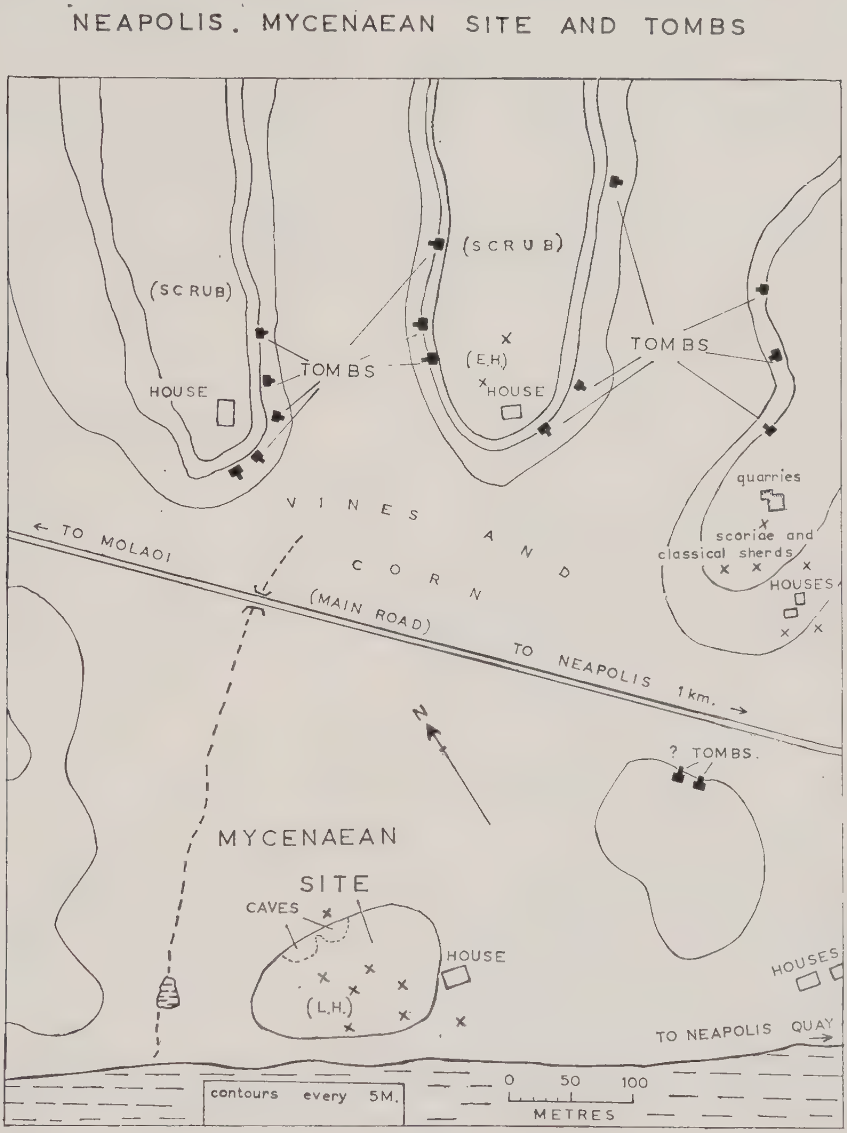
NEAPOLIS. MYCENAEAN SITE AND TOMBS
(SCRUB)
(SCRUB)
TOMBS
TOMBS
HOUSE
(E.H.)
HOUSE
quarries
scoriae and classical sherds
HOUSES
VINES AND CORN
← TO MOLAOI
(MAIN ROAD)
TO NEAPOLIS 1km. →
N
? TOMBS.
MYCENAEAN SITE
CAVES
(L.H.)
HOUSE
HOUSES
TO NEAPOLIS QUAY →
contours every 5M.
0 50 100
METRES

Fig. 13

---

[192] The 'small enclosure formed by excavations in the rock' and the 'quantity of scoriae' (iron slag) mentioned by Leake (*Morea* i. 510–11) are in this vicinity, on the southernmost of three spurs to right of the road (see FIG. 13), where there are also several classical and Hellenistic sherds. The tombs are often in pairs, and one closely resembles the (Hellenistic?) 'Tomb of the Dioskouri' at Kardamyle (*BSA* lii (1957) 236).

[193] Marked 'TOMBS' on FIG. 13. They are dug in soft limestone. The chambers are square or rectangular, with an average maximum dimension of 3 m., and doors approx. 1·50 m. high. No dromoi were visible. Leake called them 'catacombs' (op. cit. 511).

the shore, to left of the road. Here L.H. III[194] sherds and obsidian are plentiful. Little of the original extent of the site has survived the encroachment of the sea, and the depth of soil is slight. The small valleys which extend inland from the site, between the spurs on which are the tombs, are extremely fertile and well watered, and numerous classical sherds here indicate that part at least of the classical town lay in this area (FIG. 13).

Neither Palaiokastro[195] (where Leake[196] wrongly placed Boeae) nor the Venetian Fort (FIG. 14)[197] to north-east of Neapolis appear to have been inhabited in ancient times, and it is strange that Palaiokastro should have been given as the provenance of a group of objects which include seals of Hittite type.[198]

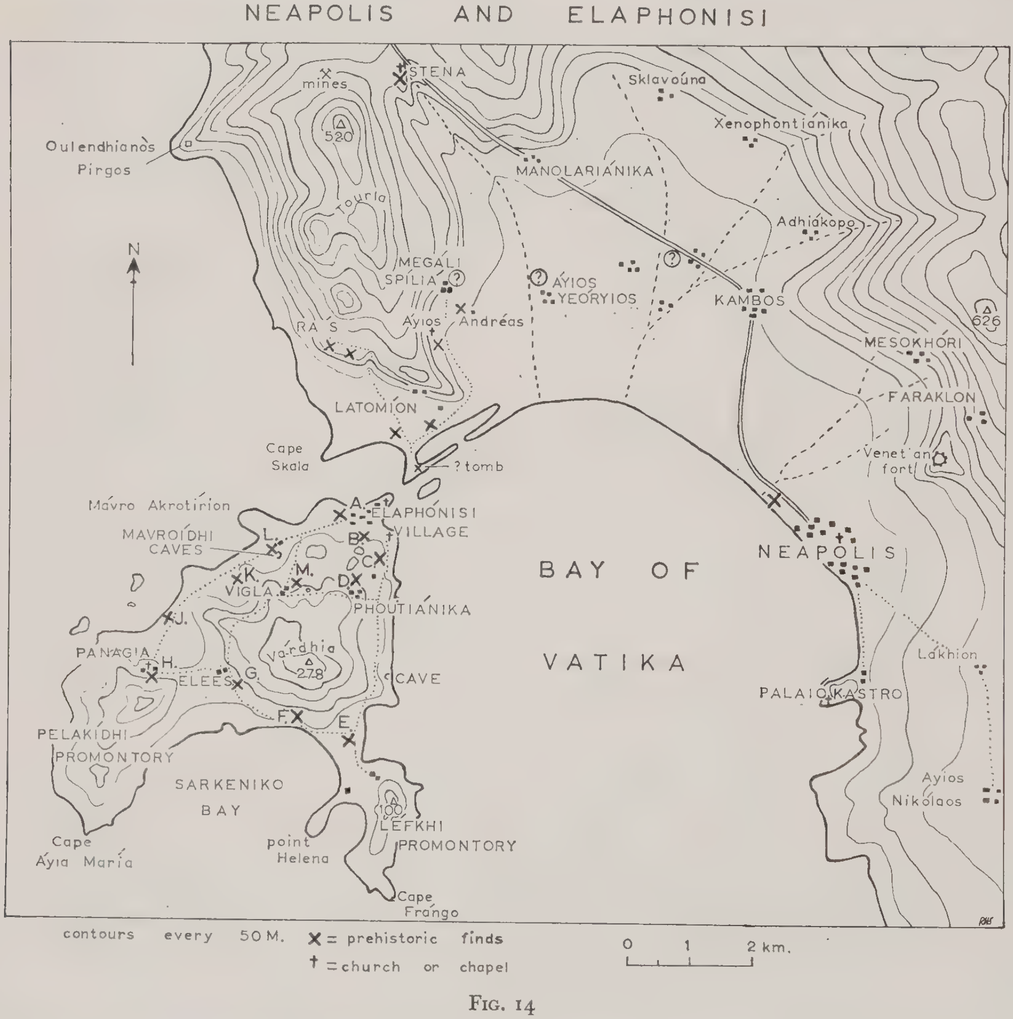
NEAPOLIS AND ELAPHONISI
mines
STENA
520
Sklavoúna
Xenophontiánika
Oulendhianós Pírgos
MANOLARIÁNIKA
Toúrla
Adhiákopo
N
MEGÁLI SPILIÁ
ÁYIOS YEORYIOS
KAMBOS
RÁS
Áyios Andréas
626
MESOKHORI
LATOMION
FARAKLON
Cape Skala
? tomb
Venetian fort
Mávro Akrotírion
A.
ELAPHONISI VILLAGE
MAVROÍDHI CAVES
L.
B.
C.
K.
M.
D.
VIGLA
NEAPOLIS
BAY OF VATIKA
PHOUTIÁNIKA
J.
PANAGÍA
H.
Várdhia
278
ELEES
G.
CAVE
Lákhion
PALAIOKASTRO
F.
E.
PELAKÍDHI PROMONTORY
SARKENIKO BAY
Áyios Nikólaos
100
LEFKHI PROMONTORY
Cape Áyia María
point Helena
Cape Frángo
contours every 50 M.
X = prehistoric finds
† = church or chapel
0 1 2 km.

FIG. 14

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[194] *Kylikes* and *Low-stemmed Bowls*, some with lustrous monochrome paint (L.H. IIIA?) and some with linear bands (L.H. IIIB). A *pithos* rim resembles examples from Karneas and Asteri (PART I, fig. 17, 6–7).

[195] *BSA* xiv. 168.

[196] Loc. cit.

[197] *BSA* xiv. 172.

[198] *BSA* li (1956) 170. The seals were illustrated by Matz, *Die frühkretischen Siegel* (1928) 102, fig. 37, cf. p. 66. They are shown here (PLATE 27*c*) by kind permission of the

The Vatika Plain

KAMBOS

A group of plundered tombs was reported in this neighbourhood,[199] but there does not appear to be an ancient site.

AGIOS GEORGIOS

Some plundered Mycenaean chamber tombs, similar to those described above near Neapolis, have been found near the village school.[200] Especially notable are a group to east of the school, which have stepped dromoi (compare those at Epidaurus Limera). There are ancient sherds in the vicinity of the school, including some that are probably Mycenaean, but there is no obvious ancient settlement.

MEGALI SPILIA

On the white cliffs of the hamlet were obsidian chips, and some black-glazed sherds in the fields below on the south-east.

AYIA TRIADHA

This is the name of a small hamlet about 500 metres south of Megali Spilia and north-east of the chapel of Ayios Andreas. A well had recently been dug (in 1956) and in the side was 'the entrance to a cave lined with stones'. The 'cave' had made the sides of the well unsafe, and digging was therefore abandoned. Pottery from the excavated earth included thin micaceous wheel-made coarse ware of the kind found at Asteri, Mavrovouni, and many other Late Bronze Age sites in Laconia.

AYIOS ANDREAS

Near the caves south and east of the chapel were coarse Bronze Age sherds and obsidian chips.

ELAPHONISI AND THE MAINLAND OPPOSITE

In the time of Pausanias (iii. 22. 10) Elaphonisi was joined to the mainland. In 1677 the island was already separated from the mainland, but the strait was easily fordable;[201] whereas there is now over a fathom of water.[202] On both shores the soil is light and sandy, and of little depth above the soft limestone. The same conditions obtain on the upper plateaux to south of Elaphonisi village, and over much of the rest of the island, as well as to the north-west of Latomion on the mainland opposite. The prehistoric sites are much eroded, and the ground is no longer under cultivation. The President of Elaphonisi village said in 1956 that the population of the island was rather less than 300. There are no springs, and the people rely on a few deep wells.

Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. They were originally purchased by Sir Arthur Evans. Their label reads: 'Seals of Hittite Form etc., found at Palaeokastro near Baia (Turkish Vatika) opposite the Isle of Elaphonisi or Cervi, Peloponnese.' It is to be hoped that this photograph may inspire the publication of further information, opinion, or conjecture concerning the group; and in particular some assurance (or the opposite) that the seals are genuine.

[199] *JHS* lxxvi, suppl. 15; *BCH* lxxx (1956) 277.

[200] *JHS* lxxviii, suppl. 10; *BCH* lxxxii (1958) 714.

[201] *BSA* xiv. 167 n. 2.

[202] *Mediterranean Pilot* vol. iv (5th ed. 1918) 80: 'The northern end of Elaphonisi is low, sandy, with rocky projections, and surrounded by shallow water; it is separated from Petri isle and the sandy point of the mainland on the North (both of which are bordered by banks) by a tortuous channel about a cable in width, carrying about one fathom of water and only fit for boats.'

LATOMION (opposite Elaphonisi)

On the cliffs above and to north-east of the quarries and houses of Latomion, at the place where Leake found the 'pyramid',[203] there are no prehistoric remains; but there are black-glazed sherds in the neighbourhood of the quarries, and the method of quarrying[204] is the same as that noted at Kardamyle, Oitylos, and Mezzapo. Leake thought that traces of Hellenic foundations 500 metres from the shore 'towards the western end of the strait' were those of the temple of Athena mentioned by Pausanias as having 'no image or roof' (iii. 22. 10) and that the 'pyramid' was the Tomb of Cinadus, the pilot of Menelaus.[205] In a sandbank near the south tip of the salt lake described by Leake[206] is a circular chamber cut in the rock, with sides preserved to a height of 0·75 m. The chamber is 1·50 m. in diameter, with an entrance about 0·75 m. wide. This may be one of the 'several ancient sepulchres hewn in the rock and nearly filled with sand', which Leake recorded. In this area, and in fact over the whole of the sandy shore as far as Latomion, obsidian chips and Bronze Age sherds are abundant, as they are also on the other side of the Strait near Elaphonisi village.

RAISI

Over a kilometre to north-west of Latomion, on the plateau overlooking the coastal strip, and separated from the Latomion cliffs by a small re-entrant, there are signs of scattered Bronze Age settlement. Obsidian is plentiful, with some coarse sherds similar to the E.H. from Elaphonisi (below), of a handmade red, gritty fabric.

ELAPHONISI

The sites are listed by letters, following a clockwise tour of the island (see Map, FIG. 14).

A. Elaphonisi Village

Several obsidian blades, some of them over 0·03 m. long, and fragments of worn E.H. and L.H. pottery.

B. About 500 metres south-south-east of the village outskirts, on the slopes of low hills to the south, were several E.H. sherds (FIG. 15, 2–3) and some apparently L.H.[207] with a great deal of obsidian.

C. A kilometre south of the village and 500 metres from the east coast is a small plateau, once terraced for cultivation. The site is now very eroded, and lines of small stones have been revealed, which are obviously ancient foundations. There is a fair quantity of E.H.,[208] and much obsidian. Some of the coarse sherds may be L.H.[209]

D. About 200 metres north of the Kalyvia of Phoutianika (two kilometres south of Elaphonisi village) is a similar plateau, about 200 by 300 metres, densely covered with obsidian and coarse pottery, including E.H.[210]

E. Near the shore on the neck of the Lefkhi promontory are a few coarse Bronze Age sherds, and to the north of Point Helena a few obsidian chips. The small plateau at the root of the promontory has a good well, and there are two houses. The southern part of the promontory is hilly and barren. There are exaggerated reports of a 'sunken city' in the vicinity of Point Helena, and these may contain a germ of truth. There is some obsidian in the sand dunes here.

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[203] Leake, op. cit. 508. It may have been similar to those found in the Argolid (*AJA* xliii (1939) 78 ff.), which are of the 4th cent. B.C.

[204] Leake, loc. cit.

[205] Paus. loc. cit.; *BSA* xiv. 167–8.

[206] Op. cit. 509.

[207] E.H.: 'E.H. II' rims with rounded profile and often with applied decoration. Also bases of *Pedestalled Bowls* or *Sauceboats* with raised and hollowed conical profile (e.g. FIG. 15, 4 (= PART I, pl. 22*a*, 13), and FIG. 15, 5). The fabric is soft, and there are traces of 'urfirnis' paint (cf. bases from Xeronisi and Lekas, South; PART I, pl. 22*b*, 11 (= FIG. 15, 13); and fig. 15, 14). L.H.: very worn *Deep Bowl* handles and fragments from *Stemmed Bowls*.

[208] A rim sherd has slanting incisions (cf. one from Tsasi in PART I, pl. 22*a*, 6). A flat base is similar to one from Lerna (*Hesperia* xxv (1956) pl. 45*f*).

[209] *Deep Bowl* handles in soft buff fabric (as at Site *B*).

[210] *Bowl* rims of the same type as on Sites *B* and *C*.

F. About 600 metres west of Site *E* is a cave 100 metres inland and 50 metres above the shore. E.H. sherds and obsidian are scattered on the terrace below it.

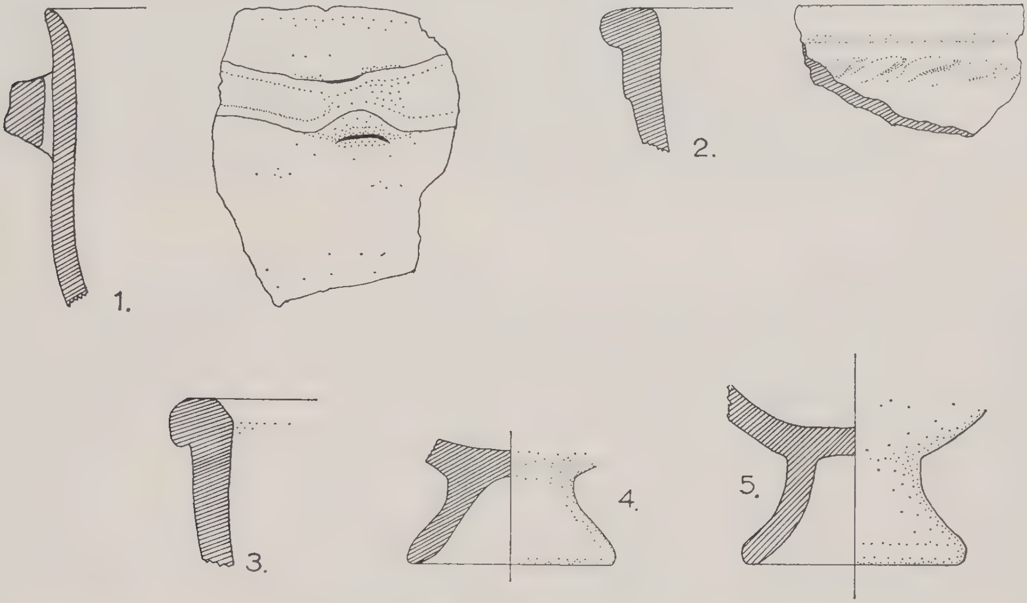

FIG. 15. SHERDS FROM EPIDAURUS LIMERA (1) AND ELAPHONISI (2–5)

G. Nearly a kilometre north-west of Site *F*, on the saddle between Mt. Vardhia and Pelakidhi promontory, and 200 metres south-east of the hamlet Elees, is a small plateau, still cultivated, about 500 by 300 metres. Here were some coarse sherds and obsidian fragments. To east of the track from Elees to Elaphonisi village, and between Elees and Panagia, there is a reasonably fertile plateau (the least barren part of Elaphonisi), and the farm at Elees is fairly prosperous.

H. At the hamlet of Panagia, especially in the immediate vicinity of the church of Panagia, on a low hill at the north foot of Pelakidhi promontory, there was a fairly extensive Mycenaean site, marked by worn fragments of L.H. III *Stemmed Bowls* and *Kylikes*,[211] together with E.H. and L.H. coarse wares and obsidian. To south and east of the church, for about 500 metres, sherds are abundant. In the white cliffs 200 metres west of the church and below the slopes of Pelakidhi are small caves, which may once have been Mycenaean chamber tombs. The slopes immediately west of and below the church also look as if they conceal chamber tombs.

J. On the shores of the bay about 500 metres north of Panagia, and 600 metres south of the low hillocks which terminate the bay on the north, there were some sand-worn *amphora* fragments.[212]

K. A kilometre north of *J*, and 300 metres to right of the track to Elaphonisi village, are caves at the foot of white cliffs. In terraces below them were obsidian chips and coarse sherds.

L. Near the caves called Mavroidhi, less than a kilometre north of Site *K*, and to right of the

[211] Some of these had neatly hollowed bases, and were not necessarily of 'provincial' style.

[212] One is shown in PART I, pl. 22*a*, 14.

track, are terraces above it with E.H. sherds and obsidian. There is a certain amount of fertile land here to left (west) of the track.

M. Veigla

Two kilometres south-west of Elaphonisi village, on a plateau 1½ kilometres from the west coast, there is a farmhouse and a remarkable cave, with a low vault-like roof. It is now used for storing hay. Four hundred metres to east-south-east of this is a heap of large stones on a prominent spur overlooking the Elaphonisi Strait and the mainland opposite. It is here that local tradition places the Sanctuary of Athena (Paus. iii. 22. 10). The heap of stones measures about 20 by 10 metres, and some of them are roughly squared; but there are no ancient sherds here, and some 'modern' pottery suggests that this may be only the ruin of another farmhouse. Between the cave and the ruin is another typical E.H. site on a small eroded plateau, with much obsidian and pottery similar to that of Sites *B* and *D*.

ELAPHONISI: SUMMARY

The prehistoric sites seem to follow the pattern of the modern hamlets. The chief sites are near the sea, on sandy soil, or on terraces with little depth of earth. The main E.H. concentration is around Elaphonisi village and the shore of the mainland opposite. The sites in the south and south-west are smaller and less important. The recognizable sherds belong to the 'E.H. II' class, notably rims of *Bowls*, of gritty and micaceous fabric, with thickened horizontal and rolled rims, below which are often bands of applied or incised decoration. There seem to be some *Sauceboat* bases and handles of large *Jars*. The finer wares are lacking. It is probable that most of the obsidian belongs to the E.H. period. Obsidian must have been especially necessary on the island for making hunting and fishing implements, since the agricultural resources of the island are poor, although the light sandy soil and its shallow depth would have rendered cultivation easy (on a rotation system?) for a primitive society.

In the Late Helladic period there seem to have been fewer sites. The only certain site (at Panagia) is on the best piece of farming land. It is likely that there was also sporadic L.H. occupation of the hill country between Elaphonisi village and Phoutianika (on sites *B*, *C*, and *D*), and there may have been Mycenaean tombs in the sand dunes on the mainland opposite Elaphonisi. The L.H. pottery is in general of poor quality, resembling that found at Neapolis, Stena, and Ayia Triadha. This area must always have been rather cut off from the main centres and consequently of lesser importance. Yet, although the 'tomb of Cinadus' and the 'temple of Athena' have not yet been found, it is seen that there is some truth behind the ancient traditions.[213]

KYTHERA

Sir Arthur Evans remarked that the island of Kythera[214] 'may be regarded as a stepping-stone between Crete and the Peloponnesian mainland'.[215] That this was certainly true of the prehistoric period has been shown by Miss Benton's work and by researches in 1957–8. There is no doubt that the identifications of ancient Skandeia (*Il.* x. 268; Paus. iii. 23. 1) at Kastri (and Palaiopolis),[216] and of ancient Kythera on the mountain Palaiokastro, are correct, despite certain views to the contrary.[217] The remaining prehistoric and classical sites in the island are much less important, as should be expected from a comparison of the fertility of the Palaiopolis–Palaiokastro district with the poverty of the soil in the rest of the island; and the literary evidence is wholly concerned with the town of Kythera, with its famous temple of Aphrodite (Hdt. i. 105; Paus. iii. 23. 1) and the port of Skandeia.

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[213] Paus. iii. 22. 11. The city of Boeae was said to be founded by Boios, one of the Herakleidai.

[214] *Ancient sources:*

Homer, *Il.* x. 268: xv. 431–2, 438; *Od.* viii. 288: ix. 81: xviii. 193 (Aphrodite Κυθερείη: cf. *Homeric Hymns* x. 1); Hesiod, *Th.* 192, 196, 198 (Aphrodite Κυθέρεια); Hdt. i. 82, 105: vii. 235; Thuc. iv. 53–57: v. 14. 3, 18. 7: vii. 26. 2, 57. 6; Xen. *Hell.* iv. 8. 7–8; Strabo viii. 363; Ptolemy iii. 16. 23; Pseudo-Scylax, *Peripl.* 46 (Müller, *GGM* ed. Didot i. 41); Pliny, *NH* iv. 12(19) 56; Lycophron, *Alex.* 108 (Skandeia); Paus. iii. 23. 1; cf. i. 14. 7, 27. 5; Steph. Byz. s.v. Κύθηρα.

Selected commentaries:

Riemann = Riemann, *Recherches archéologiques sur les Îles ioniennes* (1879) iv: Cerigo (inscriptions, pp. 42–45; cf. Koumanoudes, Ἀθηναῖον iv (1875) 464–6).

Weil = Weil, *AM* 1880, 224–43.

Leonhard = Leonhard, *Die Insel Kythera* (1889).

RE XII. i (1924) 207–18.

Benton = Benton, *BSA* xxxii (1931–2) 245–6.

Kasimates = Kasimates, Ἀπὸ τὴν παλαιὰ καὶ συγχρονὴ Κυθηραϊκὴ Ζωὴ (1957).

[215] *JHS* xvii. 349.

A short survey of Kythera was carried out in 1957–8, in two periods of about a week each[217a]. Prehistoric sites are described here from north to south, followed by a summary, and some notes on later sites and on the contents of the small museum at Khora.

PYREATIDES

About 2 kilometres north of Karavas, to left of the track which leads to the lighthouse on the north point of the island (the ancient Πλατανιστοῦς, Paus. iii. 23. 1), at a place named Pyreatides, there are caves in the white limestone rock, and outside them E.H.[218] sherds and obsidian chips. More obsidian and coarse sherds are to be seen to left of the track, about a kilometre farther on towards the lighthouse. The country is rocky and barren, and much resembles the terrain of Elaphonisi. There may have been scattered E.H. settlement here (and possibly also L.H.), but the position is isolated, and the land very poor.

VITHOULAS

A small acropolis (FIG. 16, crosses marking the distribution of ancient pottery), in rather bare hilly country (*c.* 150 metres above sea-level) overlooking the modern harbour of Agia Pelagia about 600 metres to the north-east. There were some E.H.[219] sherds, similar to those at Pyreatides, and a spindle whorl[220] which is probably E.H. To the Mycenaean period belongs a cist grave ('TOMB' in FIG. 16), 1·80 × 0·80 m., covered with a large flat stone. Round the grave were scattered L.H. III sherds.[221] On the summit of the hill a few Mycenaean sherds and obsidian fragments were found, and some classical black-glazed pottery, as well as iron scoriae of the same type as those found at Neapolis[222] (above). Classical tombs are recorded from the neighbourhood of Potamos to the west, and it is possible that they may be connected with the classical occupation at this site.

LIONI

The tomb excavated by Stais at Lioni[223] lies about a kilometre to north of Khora, and 150 metres to left of the road to Livadhi (FIG. 17A; Lioni tomb (*b*)). Another tomb (presumably the second tomb noted by Stais),[224] a few yards to the south-west, has recently been cleared,[225]

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[216] Frazer, iii. 385–6; Riemann 29–31. The distance between the remains at Kastri-Palaiopolis and those on the slopes of Palaiokastro agrees roughly with the 10 stades (Pausanias, loc. cit.) between Skandeia and Kythera.

[217] Leake, *Travels in Northern Greece* iii. 71–75; Benton 245. Miss Benton's argument is slightly weakened by the fact (as stated below) that the L.M. II *Lamp* was in fact reported to have been found at Palaiopolis and not at Palaiokastro.

[217a] My wife and I wish to record our gratitude to Mr. and Mrs. John Dimick for their support in 1958.

[218] 'E.H. II' rims, as on Elaphonisi. Some have cordons of rope pattern set below the rim.

[219] Including 'E.H. II' rims from *Bowls*.

[220] PART I, fig. 17, 11 = pl. 23*a*, 7.

[221] Of poor quality, from *Kylikes* and monochrome painted *Deep Bowls*. They resemble the L.H. III from Elaphonisi.

[222] There was presumably always a close connexion between the small ports of Neapolis and Agia Pelagía.

[223] *ADelt* i (1915) 191–4.

[224] Op. cit. 191.

[225] It is mentioned by Kasimates (op. cit. 45).

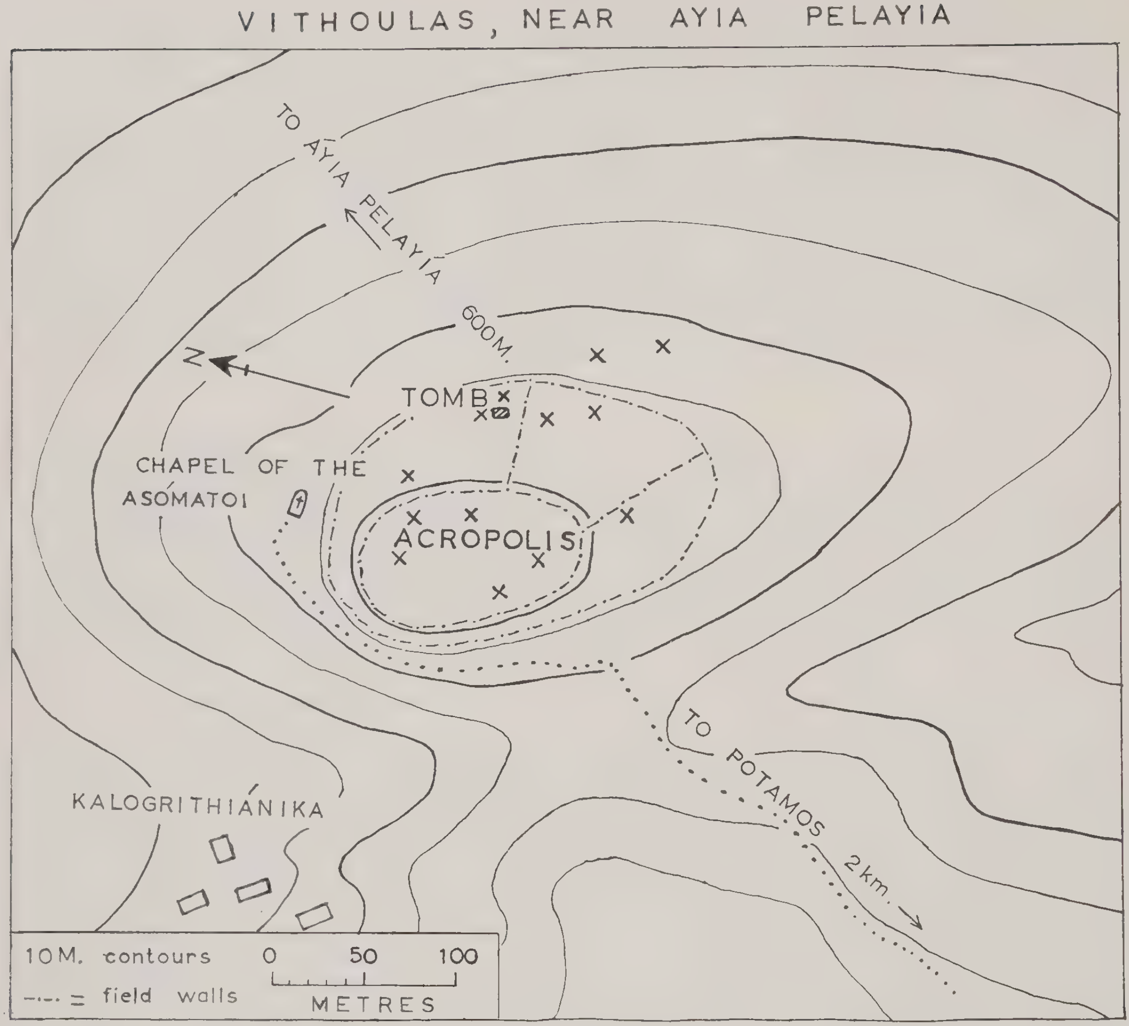
VITHOULAS, NEAR AYIA PELAYIA
TO AYIA PELAYIA
600M.
N
TOMB
CHAPEL OF THE ASÓMATOI
ACROPOLIS
KALOGRITHIÁNIKA
TO POTAMOS
2km.
10M. contours
-.-. = field walls
0 50 100
METRES

FIG. 16

apparently in 1956 (FIG. 17A; Lioni tomb (*a*)). Like Stais' tomb, it had a ramp, leading to an entrance about 1·60 m. high. The chamber (*c.* 5·0 × 4·0 m.) was about 3·0 m. high, with neatly cut sides. The tomb has been completely robbed. The cylindrical askoid vase from Stais' tomb[226] is classed by Furumark[227] as Minoan, and this vase and the three small piriform jars[228] seem to belong to the beginning of the L.H./L.M. IIIA period.[229] The gently sloping terraces 300 metres to north-east of the tomb and to east of the road, where Miss Benton found part of a L.M. II *Pithos*, are sparsely covered with ancient sherds over an extent of 200 by 100 metres, and some of these are of the L.H./L.M. period.[230] The nature of the site (scattered over an indefensible terrace) suggests Minoan rather than Mycenaean influence.

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[226] *ADelt* i. 192, fig. 1.

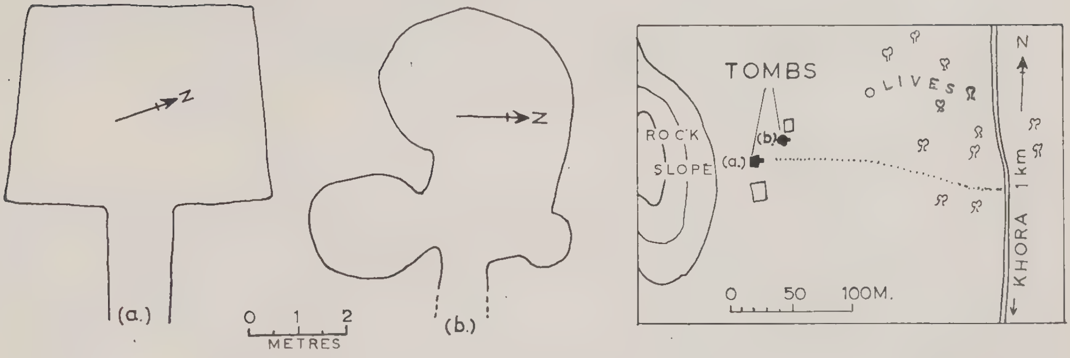
[227] *OpArch* vi (1950) 171.

[228] *ADelt* i. 192 says they are of the shape of Furtwängler–Loeschke, *Mykenische Vasen* pl. i, 3.

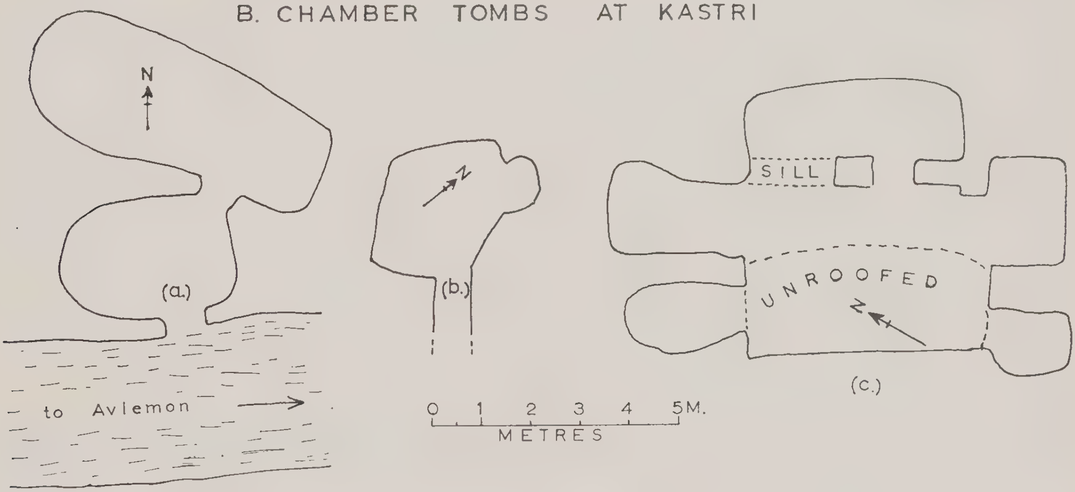
[229] Kantor, *The Aegean and the Orient* (1947) pl. iv D (p. 8), classes the tomb as L.H. III.

[230] Mainly plain '*saucers*', of L.M. I–II appearance.

A. CHAMBER TOMBS AT LIONI


N
(a.)
N
(b.)
0 1 2
METRES
TOMBS
OLIVES
ROCK
SLOPE
(b.)
(a.)
N
KHORA 1km
0 50 100M.

B. CHAMBER TOMBS AT KASTRI


N
(a.)
to Avlemon
N
(b.)
SILL
UNROOFED
N
(c.)
0 1 2 3 4 5M.
METRES

C. ROCK CUT TOMBS AT ELLINIKO

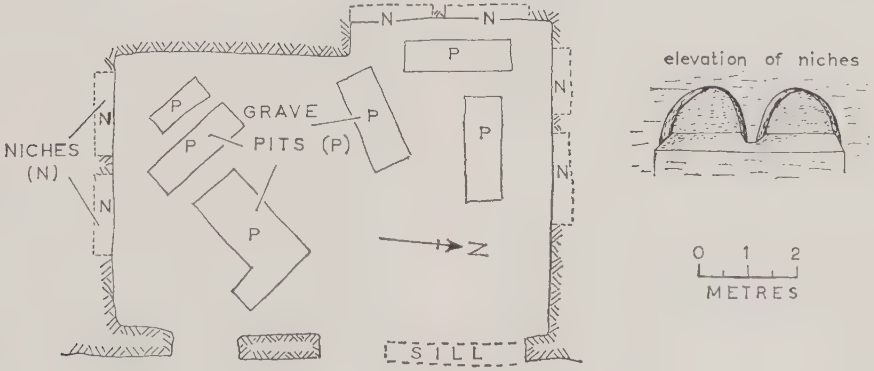

N
N
P
N
N
N
N
NICHES
(N)
P
GRAVE
PITS (P)
P
P
P
P
N
SILL
elevation of niches
0 1 2
METRES

FIG. 17

THE CAVE OF AYIA SOPHIA

The cave, marked on FIG. 23, lies to the south of the village of Kalamos, to east of Khora and about a kilometre south-east of the road from Khora to Kalamos, on one side of a steep gorge. Miss Benton found a L.M. I sherd here and 'polished Bronze Age pottery'.[231] The stalagmites and stalactites at the back of the cave, and the situation in a steep gorge, alike support the suggestion of a Minoan cult cave.

KASTRI AND PALAIOPOLIS

Fieldwork in autumn and summer 1958 confirmed and amplified Miss Benton's results at Kastri,[232] and established that occupation of the site was continuous from M.M. II to L.H./L.M. IIIB. In the eroded north-east cliff (where she found most of the Minoan pottery)[233] there is clearly a thick M.M. III–L.M. I level at about 3 metres below the present surface. On the top are L.H./L.M. II–III sherds,[234] with some classical black-glazed and Roman pottery and fragments from Roman glass bottles.

In 1957 men widening the track from Avlemon to Mitata discovered a chamber tomb about 150 metres north of Kastri (FIG. 17B, plan; FIG. 18, marked '(*a*)').[235] Three coarse ware painted jugs (M.M. III) were found (FIG. 19)[236] together with over forty plain '*saucers*' (as FIG. 20(*b*) 1, 2), also mostly M.M. III. In summer 1958 continued road operations ruined two more tombs (FIG. 18 '(*d*)').[237] Sherds recovered from the vicinity in July 1958 showed that the tombs had been in use from M.M. II to L.M. II. Of particular interest are a M.M. IIB–IIIA '*Kamares*' type *Cup* (PLATE 28*c*, 1), a M.M. III *One-handled Jug* (PLATE 28*a*), two *Rhytons* (M.M. IIIB–L.M. IA) (PLATE 28*b*), and two L.M. IB *Marine Style* sherds (PLATE 28*c*, 4–5). There were also quantities of plain 'saucers' (as FIG. 20(*a*)).[238] There is no doubt that many of the rock chambers at Kastri, Vothonas, and Asproga[239] were once tombs. Miss Benton identified one as L.M. I,[240] and there are prehistoric and classical sherds in the vicinity of others.[241] On the east side of Asproga half of a *pithos* is visible on the cliff edge, and 70 metres north of Kastri the rim of a large *pithos* (*in situ* ?)[242] is protruding from the ground.

There are now few visible remains of the town of Skandeia at Kastri and the mouth of the Palaiopolis River (which appears white on PLATE 27*b*). But there are traces of house walls in the sea to south of Kastri and Asproga,[243] and squared blocks and fragments of columns at

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[231] *BSA* xxxii. 245.

[232] Op. cit. 245–6.

[233] Ibid.

[234] Sherds from Kastri (1957) included M.M. II–III '*Kamares*' ware and *polychrome*, M.M. III *light-on-dark*, M.M. IIIB–L.M. IA plain '*saucers*', L.M./L.H. II '*Palace Style*', and *Kylix* stems which seemed L.H. III rather than L.M. III.

[235] The tomb was cleared by Mr. Petrocheilou, the headmaster of the Gymnasion at Khora, and the pottery was taken to the Khora Museum.

[236] Two are illustrated here; the third is similar, being of greyish clay (H. 0·034 m.) with traces of linear bands in olive paint.

[237] Apparently the workmen were not so afraid of the 'demons' (Riemann, op. cit. 35) as were their forefathers.

[238] Fragments of about twenty were recovered. An eyewitness account says that they were arranged in a circle round the sides of the tomb.

[239] Riemann 23–25 and 32–35; Weil 227–8.

[240] *BSA* xxxii. 246.

[241] Prehistoric sherd distribution shown on FIG. 18. For classical cf. Weil 228. The three southernmost tombs on Asproga (FIG. 18) are Riemann's A, B, and C (Riemann 33). Tomb (C) on FIG. 18 is Riemann's D+E (p. 34), and the same as that in Benton pl. 42*a*. The niches in Riemann's A, B, and C are exactly similar to those in FIG. 17C here at Elleniko. Weil 227 compared them with tombs at Melos (Ross, *Reisen auf den griechischen Inseln* (1845) iii. 10 ff.). They resemble Roman columbaria (Riemann 25). To north of these tombs is a pair of rectangular rock-cut graves, similar to some tombs at Neapolis (above) and also to some at Stymphalos in Arcadia and Kardamyle in Messenia (for the latter cf. *BSA* lii (1957) 236). They may be Hellenistic.

[242] Marked '?pithos burial' on FIG. 18 (Middle Minoan?).

[243] Castellan (Riemann 25), travelling in 1797 before the great earthquake of June 1798, saw towers to south of Asproga. The southernmost of the tombs seen by him on Asproga is now likewise covered by the sea. Kythera and its port of Skandeia must have been fortified in the Peloponnesian War, when it was garrisoned by the Athenians in 424 B.C. (Thuc. iv. 53. 3 and 54. 4; cf. vii. 26. 2 (413 B.C.)).

Vothonas,[244] besides prehistoric and classical sherds on the slopes of the ridge to north-east of the river, and limestone quarries on the top. Half-way down the western slope of this ridge, about 1½ kilometres north-west of Kastri, there are foundations of house walls of small stones together with L.M. IA and L.H. III sherds. It is said that the valley of the Palaiopolis River from Kastri to the foot of the mountain of Palaiokastro was once a gulf.[245] Ancient mooring-stones were found at a place now 3 kilometres inland called Kourkoula, at the foot of the hill Χαλεπή (shown on PLATE 27*b*, extreme right, in distance).

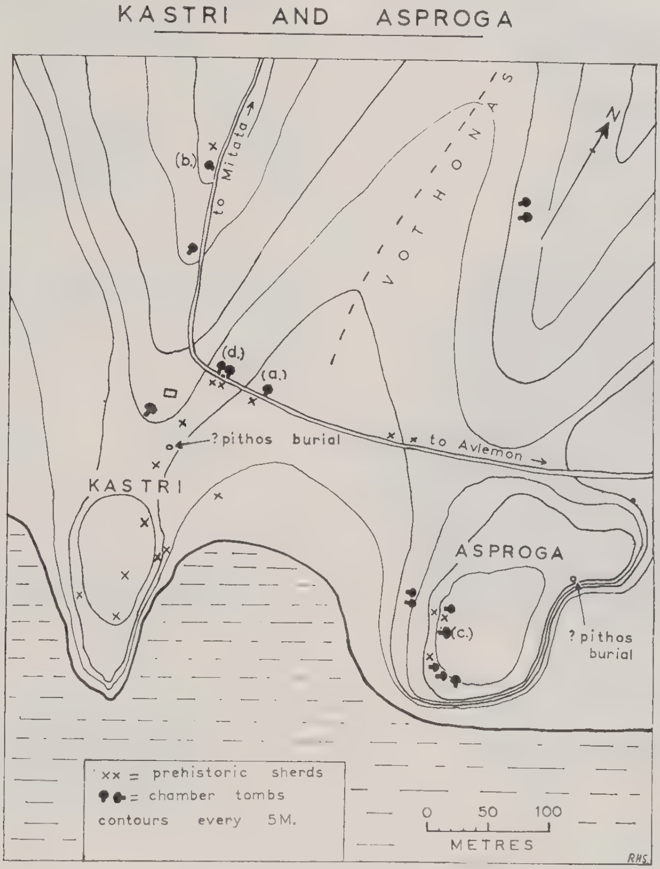
KASTRI AND ASPROGA
(b.)
to Mitata
VOTHONAS
N
(d.)
(a.)
? pithos burial
to Avlemon
KASTRI
ASPROGA
(c.)
? pithos burial
xx = prehistoric sherds
●● = chamber tombs
contours every 5M.
0 50 100
METRES
RHS

FIG. 18

ILLUSTRATED POTTERY FROM KASTRI TOMBS

PLATE 28 *a. One-handled Jug with splaying rim.* M.M. III. Whole except for handle. H. 0·33 m. D. of rim 0·12 m. D. of base 0·10 m. Max. w. 0·23 m. Pink-red coarse gritty clay. Light buff slip out and in. Decoration in red-brown glossy paint (broad band round outside and inside of neck). Tortoise-shell *Ripple Pattern* (*MP* Mot. 78, 1). Faint traces

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[244] Weil 228. The Roman 'Baths of Aphrodite' (Riemann 32 and Weil, loc. cit.), to north-east of the Palaiopolis River, are at the foot of Kastri on the south side. The building is of tiles, cement, and small stones.

Doric columns were noted by Riemann (loc. cit.) at Vothonas and near ancient quarries between Avlemon and Kastri (Weil 226) above the ravine of Skaphidhi (Riemann 35). A Corinthian capital is built into a field wall on Kastri, and Ionic capitals and Corinthian columns have been found in the vicinity.

[245] Riemann 27, quoting Stais. Local information (1958) agrees.

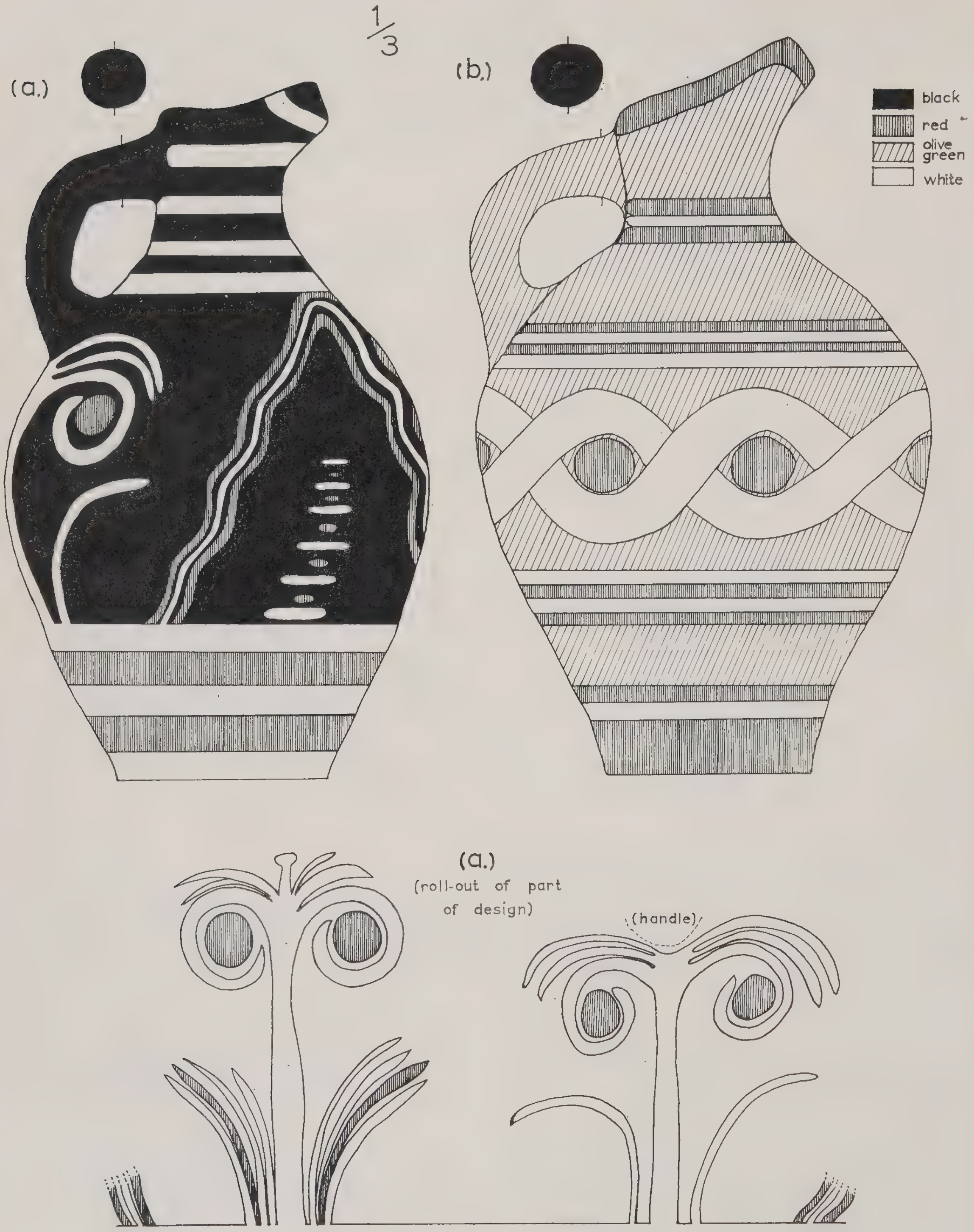
1/3
(a.)
(b.)
black
red
olive green
white
(a.)
(roll-out of part of design)
(handle)

Fig. 19. Minoan jugs from Kastri

of superimposed bands of white paint round the brown band at the base. *Shape* as *PM* i, fig. 415B (M.M. III) and *pattern* as *PM* iv, fig. 90 (M.M. IIIA *Cup*).

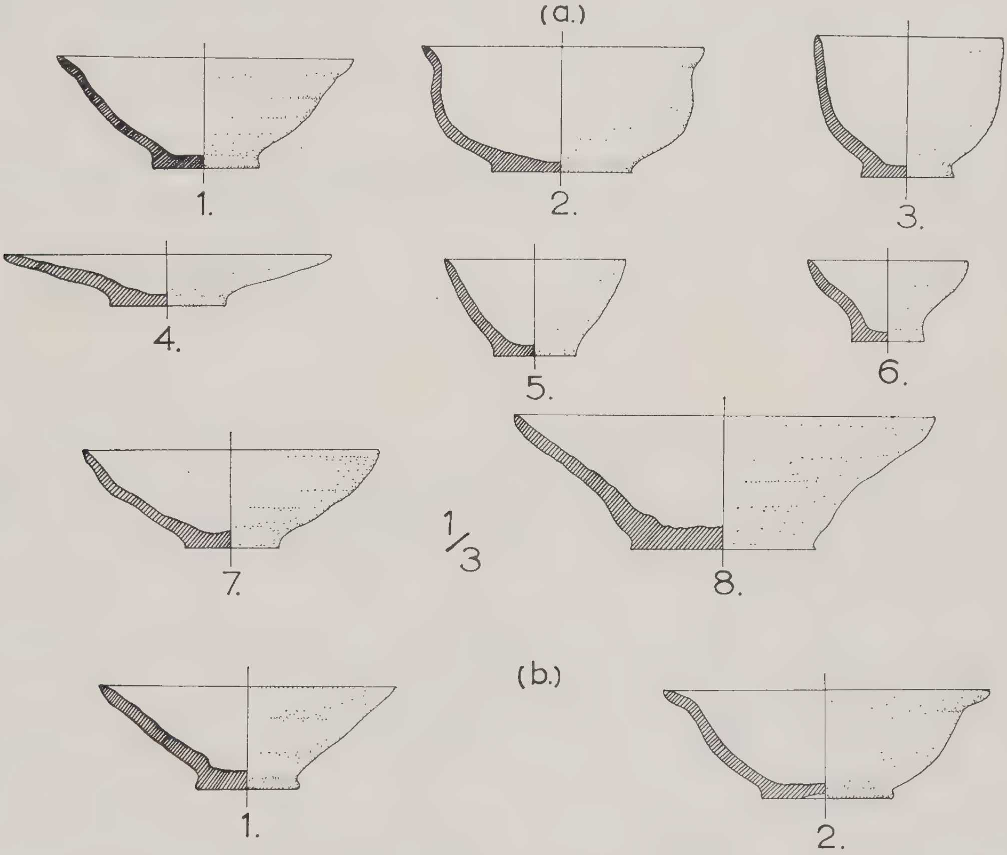

FIG. 20. PLAIN 'SAUCERS' FROM KASTRI (*c.* 1 : 9)

PLATE 28*b*, 1. *Rhyton.* Probably L.M. IA. Fragments of body and rim. D. of rim 0·09 m. Buff clay and light buff slip on exterior. Tortoise-shell *Ripple Pattern* (*MP* Mot. 78) in brown paint. Neck zone has thin horizontal band with wavy line below in added white. Other zones have thin band at top and bottom in added white. *Shape* as *Gournia* pl. vii, 32. *Pattern* as *Gournia* pl. vii, 28.

PLATE 28*b*, 2. *Rhyton.* Probably L.M. IA. Fragments of body and base (pierced). Buff clay (pink at surface). Buff slip on exterior. Tortoise-shell *Ripple Pattern* (as PLATE 28*b*, 1) in orange-brown glossy paint. Two thin bands in added white on every brown zone, and two bands in added white at base.

PLATE 28*c*, 1. '*Kamares*' *Cup.* M.M. II–IIIA; with flat 'metallic' handle. Profile complete, except for part of handle. D. of rim 0·11 m. Dark buff clay, well fired. Thin slip of black matt paint and traces of added decoration in purple and white. Horizontal purple bands at rim and base, and purple curvilinear decoration between. *Shape* as *PM* i, pl. ii (M.M. IIA), or *PM* i, fig. 437*e* (M.M. III).

A similar sherd (also with flat 'metallic' handle) is from a *Cup* like *PM* i, fig. 184*b* (M.M. II), showing spiral fluting as *PM* i, fig. 434*a*.

PLATE 28*c*, 2. '*Vaphio*' *Cup.* L.M. IA. Part of rim. D. 0·088 m. Pink-buff clay, not well levigated. Thin fabric, imitating metal. Light buff slip. Naturalistic *running spiral* pattern in dull paint. Pattern as *MP* Mot. 46, 29 (cf. *Gournia* pl. vii, 25, 29–32, 38–39, 41 and pl. viii. 8). Probably of local manufacture, but delicacy suggests strong Cretan influence. Contrast thicker fabric on mainland (e.g. *Korakou* fig. 53, 7–9 and fig. 56 (on right)).

PLATE 28*c*, 3. *Jug.* L.M. IA. Part of base (d. 0·075 m.). Pink-buff clay. Light buff slip. Lustrous but streaky orange paint round base. Probably Minoan.

PLATE 28*c*, 4 and 5. *Squat Amphora or Jug.* L.M. IB. Two fragments. Light buff clay with added grit. Cream slip. *Octopus* and *Seaweed* pattern in lustrous brown paint (cf. *Gournia* pl. ix; *PM* iv. 280, fig. 215; *Palaikastro* pl. xviii (*a*);

Pseira fig. 13). The sherds are definitely *Minoan* in style (contrast *Prosymna* fig. 437, and *PM* iv. 278, fig. 213 from Kakovatos). The vase may have been actually imported from Crete. For the difference in style between Cretan and Mainland versions cf. Furumark, *OpArch* vi (1950) 157–9.

PLATE 28*c*, 6. *Cup*. L.H. II? *Shape* as *MP* fig. 16, 254. Part of rim (d. 0·14 m.). Pink-buff clay, not well levigated or fired. Light buff slip. Decoration in glossy black paint (*MP* Mot. 46, 29, cf. *Gournia* pl. viii, 8). This decoration is, however, more common on the mainland, cf. *Asine* fig. 204, 1 (L.H. I); *Korakou* pl. iv, 1; *Hesperia* xxiv (1955) pl. 16*e* (from Lerna).

PLATE 28*c*, 7–9. *Bridge-spouted Jug*. L.H. IIIA–B. Three fragments. Pink-buff clay. Light buff slip. *Linear bands* and *Scale Pattern* (*MP* Mot. 70, 3) in glossy orange-brown paint. *Shape*, cf. *Prosymna* fig. 665, 1004. *Pattern*, cf. *Korakou* fig. 63, 11.

Sherds (not illustrated) from Kastri Tombs

Jug (M.M. IIIA?). Polychrome (lustrous orange with superimposed purple).

Jug (M.M. IIIA?). Polychrome (tortoise-shell *Ripple Pattern* below neck, with thin bands of added white).

Jug (M.M. IIIA?). Splaying neck (d. 0·12 m.). Black matt paint on exterior of rim, with thin reserved band of purple just below rim.

Amphora (M.M. III). Whole of elliptical neck and handle (max. w. of neck 0·095 m.). Coarse pink-buff clay, gritty. Olive-green overall slip on exterior, with band of added white just below neck (cf. *PM* i, figs. 333, 403*a* and *c*, 446; *Gournia* pl. i, 11 and 12).

Amphora (M.M. III). Similar to above in shape, but plain.

PALAIOKASTRO

The summit of Palaiokastro was the acropolis of the ancient town of Kythera. An area about 900 metres north to south by 500 metres east to west was enclosed by a wall of large stones, with small stones used in the interstices.[246] This might suggest a 'Cyclopean'[247] style, but in fact the work is more akin to polygonal masonry. It may perhaps be Archaic. The best preserved section is on the north-west. The citadel is steep on all sides except the south, where there were strong towers to compensate.[248] The summit is now extremely bare and rocky, and it does not appear to have been much occupied.[249]

The lower town on the south slopes, about 1,250 by 750 metres in extent, was also apparently walled (there are certainly remains of walling on the south-east side). Classical, Hellenistic, and Roman sherds are abundant, especially on the lower south-west terraces.

The Temple of Aphrodite does not lie under the chapel of Ayios Kosmas on the south-east slope, as Schliemann thought,[250] despite the fact that there are built into the chapel the remains of four columns and six half-columns (all unfluted), four Doric capitals of poros stone, several large squared poros blocks, and part of an architrave with guttae. There are here no signs of a temple foundation, and the rock in the vicinity (bare in many places) has never been levelled, as it would have been for a temenos. Besides this, an ancient circuit wall passes within 15 metres of the chapel. A better location for the Temple (and one suggested by local informants) is on the south-west slope, about 400 metres west of Ayios Kosmas. Here a small terrace called variously Κολῶνες ('The Columns') or Βίγλες ('The Sentinels') once boasted two upright columns.[251] These were unfluted, like the columns now in the chapel of Ayios Kosmas. There are now at this spot several squared poros blocks, a fragment of a metope, the remains of two unfluted columns, and a great quantity of classical sherds, the earliest recognizable being of the fifth century B.C. Weil[252] noted some other architectural fragments. It is surely clear that the columns now in Ayios Kosmas were taken from this area; and that the Temple of Aphrodite should be looked for here.

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[246] Riemann 35–36; Weil 229.

[247] Schliemann, reported in *AJA* iv (1888) 96.

[248] Weil, loc. cit. Scanty remains of one are visible.

[249] The marble pedestal used as an altar in the chapel of Agios Georgios on the summit is obviously moved from elsewhere. It closely resembles *Aegina* Taf. 66, 4.

[250] His investigations (*AJA* loc. cit. and *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* xx (1888) 20 f.) were superficial. He said that two of the columns and one base (*sic*) were *in situ*. But the cement floor (not renewed since his day) would make any such observation impossible.

[251] Weil 230. Riemann 36 describes the place, and records that coins of Philip and Alexander were found here. The bronze head of a girl, seen by Stais in Berlin Museum (Riemann, loc. cit.), and a 4th cent. B.C. marble head of a youth (now in Khora Museum) also came from here, as did fragments of other marble statues.

ELLENIKO AND MITATA

At Elleniko in the district of Gonies, to east of Mitata and to left of the road from Avlemon to Mitata, there are several rock-cut tombs (FIG. 23, 'Elleniko', southernmost cross)[253] in the side of a steep ravine leading into the Palaiopolis River. The tombs are much damaged, but one (FIG. 17C) much resembles tombs at Asproga (above), though its niches are better preserved. There are more tombs to east (FIG. 23, 'Elleniko', northernmost cross) and west[254] of the road a kilometre farther to the north. On the slopes of the ridge to west of the southern group of tombs, and between them and Mitata, is a chapel of Ayios Nikolaos, in whose vicinity are abundant classical, Hellenistic, and Roman sherds. To the south, on the east of the road, there is a channel, about 0·25 m. wide, cut in the rock, running north-west to south-east. This is apparently part of an ancient conduit which supplied the town of Skandeia at Kastri with water from the abundant springs at Gonies below Mitata.[255] In the valley between Palaiokastro and Mitata, at a place called Galati, are classical sherds.

KYTHERA: SUMMARY

The E.H. pottery on the north of the island is similar to that found on Elaphonisi, and the amount of obsidian (none has yet been found in the Kastri–Palaiopolis area) also suggests a connexion with Elaphonisi and Vatika, as does the poor quality of the L.H. pottery from the north of Kythera. It is by no means unlikely that Kastri was settled in E.H./E.M. times.[256] There was undoubtedly a Minoan colony at Kastri in the Middle Minoan period,[257] probably beginning in M.M. II, and it appears to have had contacts with the east.[258] The 'floruit' of the colony seems to have been in M.M. III–L.M. IA,[259] but Cretan influence may have continued into L.M. II. At some time between the L.H. II and L.H. IIIB periods this influence was apparently replaced by Mycenaean,[260] since some finds from the Palaiopolis area seem clearly L.H. III,[261] and none are certainly L.M. III. The pottery from Vithoulas is clearly L.H. III. On the other hand, Furumark now maintains that the *askos* from the tomb at Lioni[262] (originally dated by him Myc. IIB) is Minoan rather than Mycenaean.[263]

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[252] Loc. cit.

[253] The tombs are described by Riemann 38–39.

[254] Especially the tomb on the plateau of Tholari (Riemann, op. cit. 38) at Βεργιδούνια, which may be prehistoric. It has steps leading down to a small rectangular chamber with smaller chambers on either side, and a chamber of similar dimensions at the back. Seven skulls were found in the main chamber. The tomb is now empty.

[255] Riemann 39. Apparently the deep ravine, which now exists between the remains of the channel in two places, was caused by earthquakes—quite possibly by the very severe earthquake of June 1798 (Riemann 29). The broken and rounded hillocks which partially fill the ravine certainly look as if they were the result of a landslip. The district is called Ἀλόη.

[256] But the *Marble Jug* from Vothonas (*AM* xvi (1891) 53–54, Athens National Museum No. 3946, cf. *Bericht. Berl. Akad.* 1897, 265) might have been an heirloom. It much resembles *Mochlos* pl. iv (Tomb VI, 14). It is possibly E.M. II.

The stone bowl from the Lioni tomb (*ADelt* i (1915) 192, fig. 1, and *PM* ii. 208, fig. 117B) is E.C. III, but it was found in a L.H. II–III chamber tomb (Kantor, *The Aegean and the Orient* (1947) pl. ivD (p. 8)).

[257] *BSA* xxxii. 245; Furumark, *OpArch* vi. 201.

[258] The *Mesopotamian inscription* (*JHS* lix (1939) 137–8) found at Palaiopolis is dated to the 18th cent. B.C. (*JNES* xvii (1958) 245); and the *Inscribed Marble Vase* (*JHS* xvii. 349–50) with the name, in hieroglyphs, of the Fifth Dynasty Sun Temple of the Pharoah Userkaf (*JNES* loc. cit.) testifies to even earlier connexions with Egypt. Evans (*JHS* xvii loc. cit.) also mentions as from Kythera 'a prism seal with a variety of conventionalised pictographic symbols . . . in company with a lentoid gem of the ordinary Mycenaean type'.

[259] Within this period there was also a small settlement at Lioni, and the cave at Ayia Sophia was in use.

[260] Cf. Miletus, Trianda in Rhodes, Cos, Phylakopi in Melos, and other sites in the Cyclades (Stubbings, *Mycenaean Pottery from the Levant* (1951) 6–8; Furumark, *OpArch* vi. 150–271; Scholes, *BSA* li (1956) 36–40). Some patterned sherds from Kastri (PLATE 28*c*, 6–9 especially) seem to show mainland influence.

[261] Especially the Mycenaean *figurine* (Khora Museum **5** below) and the stirrup-vase (Khora Museum **6** below) from Palaiopolis.

It is as yet uncertain whether Kythera suffered the same fate at the hands of the Dorians as did Crete and Laconia. There are vases of the early Geometric period in Khora Museum (**8** and **8a** below), and several of the Archaic and early classical periods (**9–12** below), while from classical to Byzantine times the series is virtually complete (**13–21** below, and many unlisted late Roman and Byzantine objects).

Herodotus records (i. 105. 3; cf. Paus. i. 14. 7) that the temple of Aphrodite was a Phoenician foundation, and Xenophon mentions a harbour Φοινικοῦς on the island.[264] Literary evidence asserts that Kythera was rich in purple (πυρφύρουσα).[265] Presumably this period of Phoenician activity would be the 'dark ages' between the tenth and eighth centuries B.C.,[266] unless the tradition really reflects Minoan antecedents;[267] for, although we have instances of contacts between Kythera and the East in the Minoan period (above, n. 258), we have as yet no evidence for them in the Geometric period.

SOME OBJECTS IN KHORA MUSEUM, KYTHERA

A. *Prehistoric*

1. *Stone Bowl* (M.M.). Complete. H. 0·065 m., d. 0·18 m. Of grey steatite, with thin sides and vestigial handles (not unlike *Gournia* pl. v, 11). Beautifully made and highly polished. Exact provenance unknown (Palaiopolis?).

2. *Stone Bowl* (M.M.). Complete. H. 0·045 m., d. 0·12 m. Material and shape as **1.** Obviously found *with* **1.**

3. *Stone Lamp* (L.M. II). This is *BSA* xxxii. 245, pl. 42*c*. Of grey porphyry. Miss Benton reported it as from Palaiokastro, but local information in 1957 gave an exact provenance at Palaiopolis (cf. Kasimates, op. cit. 46–47).

4. *Stone Lamp* (L.M. II). Very much worn, and smaller, but otherwise similar to **3.**

5. *Clay Figurine* (Mycenaean. Probably L.H. IIIB). FIG. 21*a*. Type as *ChronMP* 87. H. 0·08 m. Buff clay. Traces of *Linear Bands* of brown paint on arm. Resembles *Aegina* Taf. 108, 2–4, and 109, 4. But it is not 'phi' type; since the mother's body is thin, and the baby extremely large and ungainly. But the mother's right arm is plastically moulded, as *Aegina* Taf. 109, 4, and the baby has a similar cap. It is altogether more anthropomorphic than the stylized Aegina examples, and is probably a local copy of the type. It was found at Palaiopolis.

6. *Stirrup Vase* (L.H. IIIB). FIG. 21*b*. H. 0·22 m., w. 0·20 m. Made up from frags. Profile complete, except for spout. *Shape* as *MP* fig. 12, 182 (on left) but wider. Top of false neck as *MP* fig. 23 (IIIB). Hard buff clay, *linear bands*, and '*Myc. Flower*' on neck zone (*MP* fig. 45, 128 (IIIB)), and a double zone of '*Bivalve shell*' pattern (*MP* Mot. 25, 28 (IIIB–C: 1). Cf. *TAPA* 1953, pl. 15, fig. 17). Found at Palaiopolis.

7. *Long-stemmed Kylix* (L.H. IIIA–B). Fragment of stem and bowl. Hard buff clay. Horizontal bands in lustrous brown paint. Polished.

B. *Geometric and Archaic*

8. *Trefoil-lipped Jug* (Early Geometric). H. 0·19 m. Double handle and ring base. Ridge at neck. *Shape*, cf. *Kerameikos* v. 1, Taf. 71 (No. 2139, Grab 38). Buff clay, streaky black paint. Reserved bands at shoulder and belly. Possibly early 9th cent. B.C., and at latest early 8th.

8a. *Group of coarse Domestic Pots*. Found together at Palaiopolis. Probably Tomb Group. May be Late Protogeometric or Early Geometric (9th–8th cents. B.C.).

1. *Round Jar with Handle*. H. 0·17 m. *Shape*, cf. *Kerameikos* v. 1, Taf. 154 (No. 896, Grab 12). But the rounder shape is similar to *Olynthus* v, pl. 19, 10. Plain red micaceous clay. Slow wheel.

2. *Trefoil-lipped Round Jug*. H. 0·15 m. Coarse hard grey clay. *Shape* as *Kerameikos* v. 1, Taf. 156 (No. 297, Grab. 22), but with rounder shape and handle not so high swung.

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[262] *ADelt* i (1915) 193, fig. 2.

[263] *OpArch* vi. 171 and 201.

[264] iv. 8. 7. Possibly this was another name for Skandeia (so Riemann 31).

[265] Pliny, *NH* xii (19) 56; Eustathius, *Comm. in Dion. Perieg.* (*GGM* ed. Didot ii. 310) and Steph. Byz. s.v. Κύθηρα.

[266] Gray in Myres, *Homer and His Critics* (1958) 284.

[267] Cf. Dunbabin, *The Greeks and Their Eastern Neighbours* (1957) 35 ff.

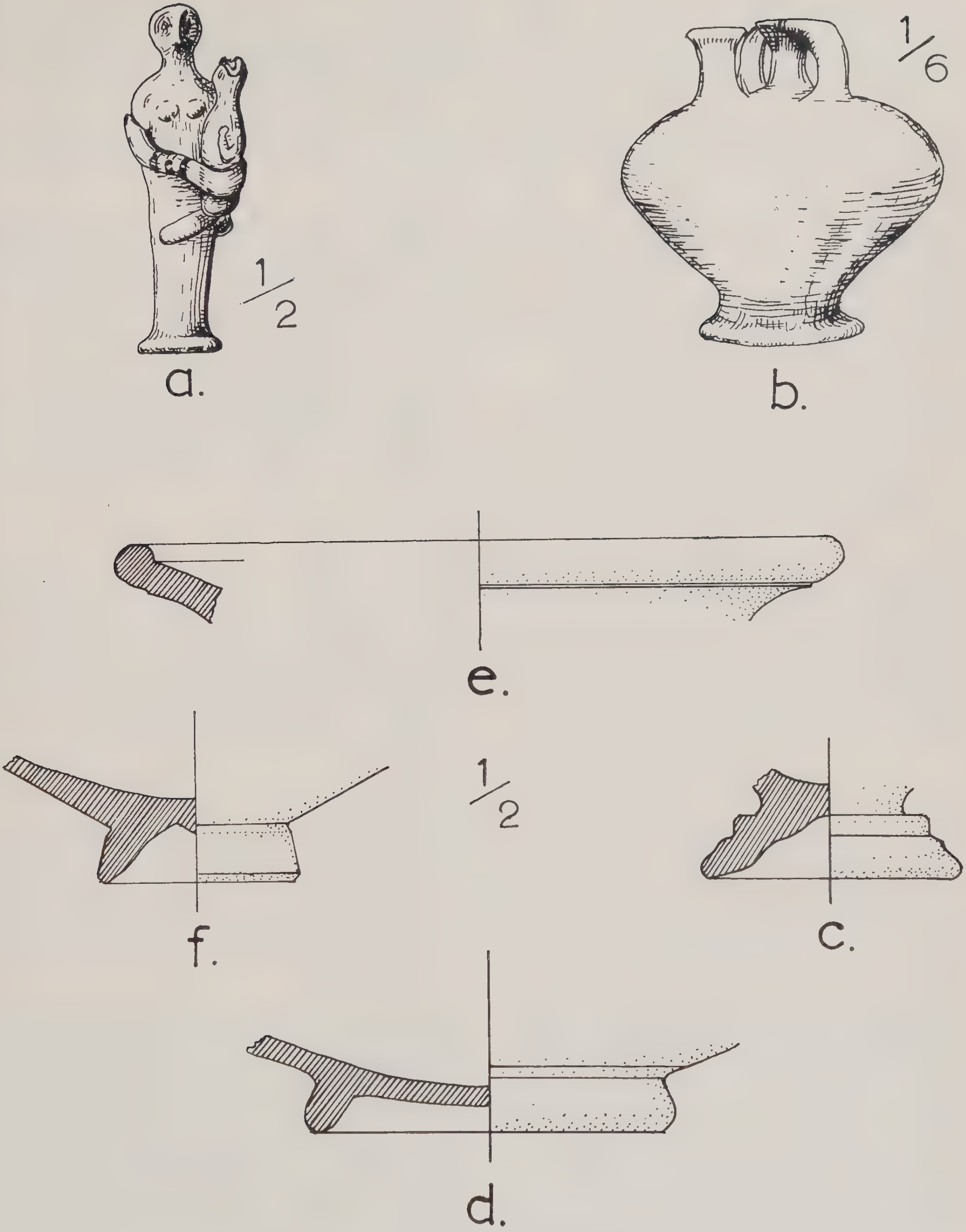
1/2
a.
1/6
b.
e.
1/2
f.
c.
d.

Fig. 21. Objects from Kythera (a, b) and Antikythera (c–f) (a, *c.* 1:3, b, *c.* 1:9)

3. *Ovoid Jar*. Small vertical handle below rim. H. 0·15 m. Handmade. *Shape* as *Olynthus* v, pl. 19. Was found full of smooth pebbles.

9. *Amphoriskos*. Corinthian. Design of 'deteriorated' animals and filling dots. From Palaiopolis. Early 6th cent. B.C.?

10. *Skyphos*. Corinthian. H. 0·08 m., d. 0·09 m. *Shape* and *decoration* as *Olynthus* v, pl. 44, 8 (black and purple bands, and rays above base). From Palaiopolis. First quarter of 6th cent. B.C.

11. *Round Aryballos*. Late Corinthian. Design (poorly executed) of cocks. Exact provenance unknown. Probably Palaiopolis. Mid-6th cent. B.C.

12. *Skyphos*. Very fine black glaze. *Shape* similar to *Olympia* iii. 45, Abb. 34a, and 46, Abb. 36. Mid-6th cent. B.C.

C. *Classical and Hellenistic*

13. *Lekythos* (Attic). H. 0·12 m. *Shape* and *decoration* as *Olynthus* xiii, pl. 31, no. 23. Said to come from Dokana, near Potamos. First quarter of 5th cent. B.C.

14. *Stemless Cup*. H. 0·04 m., d. 0·10 m. Two handles set at rim. Black glazed. Provenance unknown. Possibly Palaiopolis. First quarter of 5th cent. B.C.

15. *Lagynus*. H. 0·10 m. Brown-black shiny glaze. *Shape* as *Olynthus* xiii, pl. 169, no. 429. First half of 4th cent. B.C.

16. '*Infant Feeder*'. Black-glazed. Similar to *Olynthus* xiii, pl. 178, nos. 479–80. First half of 4th cent. B.C.

17. *Deep-lidded Bowl*. Red-figured. Second quarter of 4th cent. B.C.

18. *Three 'Duck Askoi*. H. *c*. 0·18 m. Strap handles. *Shapes* as *Olynthus* v, pl. 192, no. 1068, and xiii, pl. 171, no. 455. Probably early 4th cent. B.C. (although the type persists from 7th to 4th cent. B.C., cf. *Olynthus* v, pl. 28).

19. *Moulded Lamp*. Hellenistic. Late 3rd cent. B.C.

In addition there are coins of Aegina (404–350 B.C., showing land tortoise) and of Philip II and Alexander the Great, some Roman portrait heads in marble, a Roman lamp of 1st–2nd cent. A.D., a lamp of 5th–6th cent. A.D., and many other finds listed by Riemann, op. cit., esp. 32 n. 1 and 40–45.

SOME NOTES ON OTHER SITES IN KYTHERA (north to south)

Karavas. Report of Roman bath at Loutron (Riemann 40).
Palaiokhora. Medieval only (Weil 236).
Phoenikies (south-west of Potamos. See FIG. 23). Medieval only (visited in 1957).
Dhiakophti (Riemann 40). Only medieval (visited 1957).
Mylopotamos. Fine cave with stalagmites and stalactites. But no Minoan cults or the like observed on 1957 visit.
Dokana near Potamos (Khora Museum **13** above).
Livadhi. Various minor antiquities (cf. Riemann 39–40). Said to have been tomb with vases near the Bridge of Katouni (built by the British for an abortive road from Livadhi to Avlemon).
Ayia Theodora (Riemann 39). Tomb reported. But 1958 visit indicated that tomb must have been connected with ruined chapel. No suitable place for ancient site.

ANTIKYTHERA

The ancient name of Antikythera was Aigilia[268] (or Aigiliai), and the ruins of the fortress town of Aigilia lie at Palaiokastro (PLATE 29, FIG. 22)[269] on the north-east promontory of the island, 'Αἰγίλου τ' ἄκρον' (Lycoph. 108). The oldest fortifications enclosed only the small acropolis (about 175 by 75 metres). They are of Polygonal masonry (quarry face) in local limestone, and probably belong to the fifth century B.C.[270] The extant remains are a stretch

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[268] *Ancient sources:*

Pliny, *NH* iv. 12(19) 57: Aigila autem XV (sc. milia) a Cythera eademque a Cretae Phalasarna oppido XXV.
Plutarch, *Cleomenes* 29–32: Cleomenes travels from Gythion to Kythera and thence to Libya and Alexandria via Antikythera (Αἰγιαλία).
Paus. ii. 7. 7.
Lycophron, *Alex.* 108 (s.v. Αἴγιλος): Θρέξεις ὑπὲρ Σκάνδειαν Αἰγίλου τ' ἄκρον.
Dionysios (ὁ περιηγήτης) 499: Αἴγιλά τ' ἠδὲ Κύθηρα Καλάυριά τε τρηχεῖα (Müller, *GGM* ed. Didot ii. 134).
Schol. Theocrit. *Id.* i. 147: καὶ Λακωνικὸν χωρίον Αἴγιλον, τινὲς δ' ὅτι καὶ νῆσος μεταξὺ Κρήτης καὶ Λακωνικῆς οὕτω λεγομένη.
Schol. ad Ptol. iii. 16, s.v. Ἔπλα νῆσος (Αἴγυλα).

Modern commentaries:

Leake, *Travels in Northern Greece* iii (1835) 75–76; Curtius, *Peloponnes* ii (1852) 331; Weil, *AM* v (1880) 243 n. 3; Stais, *ADelt* 1889, 237–42, cf. 171 and 233–4; *RE* I. i (1893) 962 s.v. Aigila 2; Frazer, *Pausanias* iii. 52–53; Leonhard, *Die Insel Kythera* (1899) 43–47; *AE* 1902, 145–72 (the wreck off Antikythera).

[269] Natives consider the site Venetian, and point out walls of tile and cement on the acropolis. There seem to be no other ancient sites on the island. In particular there is nothing in the small fertile area near the chief village of Potamos on the north.

[270] Scranton, *Greek Walls* (1941) 54–55 and 162–3. All the examples that can be dated are 5th cent. B.C.

(maximum height 3 metres) about 50 metres long on the south-east (PLATE 29*b*, FIG. 22, 1, with arrow showing direction of photograph) behind the later walling, and another stretch (maximum height 4 metres) behind the later walls on the north-east angle (FIG. 22, 1(*a*)). The blocks are large[271] and rough, with the outer surfaces only partially smoothed, and small stones are sometimes used in the interstices. These walls were replaced by rough Isodomic Ashlar masonry, also in the local limestone, apparently at some date between the late fifth and mid-fourth century B.C.[272] Not only were the acropolis walls now reconstructed, but also an outer enceinte was added, enclosing an area of about 300,000 square metres, comprising the whole of the upper part of the promontory. In places on the north side these walls are 2 metres thick, and stand to a height of 4½ metres. The walls were extensively repaired in the late classical or

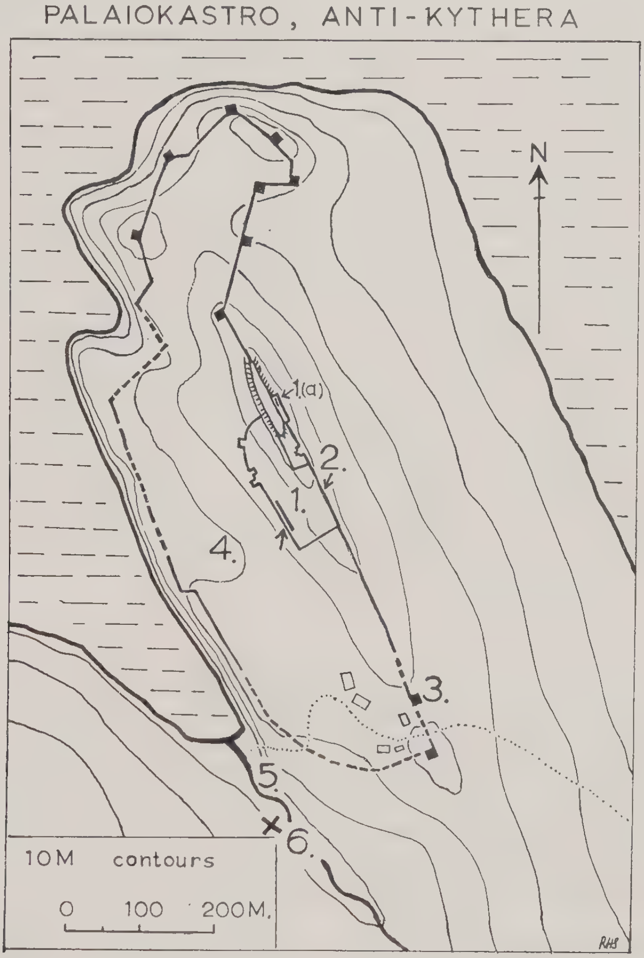

FIG. 22

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[271] The largest are about 1·20×0·80 m. They are comparable in size and shape to some on the acropolis of Palaiokastro on Kythera.

[272] The walling seems to belong to Scranton's Group D. 2, 'Isodomic Ashlar; Quarry Face, Somewhat Irregular' (Scranton, op. cit. 175). These are the walls described by Stais, *ADelt* 1889, 238–9.

Hellenistic period, this time in poros masonry.[273] The style is variously Isodomic Trapezoidal (PLATE 29*c*, FIG. 22, 2),[274] or Isodomic Ashlar,[275] and may be dated between the last half of the fourth century B.C. and the end of the third century B.C., according to the provisional chronology worked out by Scranton. The earliest sherds picked up in the vicinity are of the late fifth or early fourth century B.C. (Catalogue, **1** and **4** below). The latest are of the first century B.C. or first century A.D. (**8** below). There are many black-glazed sherds and amphora fragments. The area occupied by the ancient town comprises the southern two-thirds of the enceinte, the rest being barren and rocky.

THE TEMPLE OF APOLLO

Stais's excavations in 1889,[276] on the shore beside the creek which must have been the ancient harbour, revealed a mosaic floor, and walls built with mortar (which he assumed to be Roman). Near them he found an inscription, set up by a Thessalian and an Athenian to 'Apollo of Aigilia',[277] which belongs to the fourth or third century B.C. Stais very plausibly connected this inscription with the passage in Pausanias (ii. 7. 7) describing the visit of Apollo and Artemis to Aegialia after the slaying of Python. Part of a statue was also discovered, of Apollo playing a lyre.[278] Below the 'Roman' walls were the foundations of a Hellenic building, one side of which was 12 metres long, made of squared isodomic blocks, joined by clamps. Stais assumed that he had found here the site of the Temple of Apollo. The remains are not now visible, but the lack of architectural fragments in the immediate area[279] suggests that this is not quite so certain. There are, however, remains of other ancient walls in the gardens farther inland beside the stream bed.[280] The inhabitants say that erosion caused by the stream is continually filling up the mouth of the creek, and there may be a chance that excavation would reveal the remains of a harbour and perhaps of the Temple.

ANTIKYTHERA: SUMMARY

No trace has yet been found of prehistoric occupation on the site of Palaiokastro. Stais's conjecture that the underground chamber at Φυλακάς[281] was a prehistoric tomb cannot now be checked, but it seems unlikely. Leonhard[282] reported many tombs 'inland', which he said were dug in the marl soil of the 'northern plain' (*sic*). These tombs are not locally known.

Stais[283] remarked that it is strange to find walls of such size and excellence on an island as insignificant as Antikythera; and he concluded that it must have been fortified in the Peloponnesian War, and used as a base in the same way as Kythera,[284] because of its central position.[285] Leonhard[286] speaks of arrowheads and slingstones found near the walls. This suggests a siege,

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[273] The stone is from quarries within the walls at Φυλακάς (marked 4 on FIG. 22). Here Stais (op. cit. 242) found an underground chamber hewn in the rock. In 1958 the entrance was blocked by boulders, but it has not the normal appearance of a chamber tomb dromos. The description (of a square chamber with smaller chambers on either side) recalls the tomb (described above) at Βεργιδούνια near Mitata on Kythera.

[274] The southernmost tower (now partially destroyed by a threshing floor) is in the same style—'Isodomic Trapezoidal; Pointed Face' (Scranton, op. cit. 173).

[275] Especially the remains of a tower (marked 3 on FIG. 22) and part of the NE. wall. This style is 'Isodomic Ashlar: Pointed Work' (Scranton, op. cit. 178).

[276] *ADelt* 1889, 239–41; cf. Frazer vi. 52–53. The excavations were said to have been on the right side of the stream (the presumed location is marked 5 on FIG. 22).

[277] The text (Stais, op. cit. 233, 240) reads: Αριστομενης Αριστομηδους | Θετταλος εκ Φερων | Νικων Κιφησοδωρο[υ] Αθηναιος | Απολλ[ω]νι Αιγιλει [α]νεθηκαν.

[278] Stais, op. cit. 233–4, 240.

[279] Op. cit. 241.

[280] In particular the corner of a building in Isodomic poros masonry near a well, in a garden to SW. of the stream (marked 6 on FIG. 22).

[281] Op. cit. 242.

[282] *Die Insel Kythera* 45.

[283] Op. cit. 238–9.

[284] Presumably by the Athenians in 424 B.C. (Thuc. iv. 53. 3 and 54. 4) or 413 B.C. (vii. 26. 2).

[285] As a base for attacks on Laconia or Sicily, and an intermediary stop for ships from Egypt and Libya (cf. Cleomenes' journey in Plutarch, *Cleomenes* 29–32; and Hdt. vii. 235).

[286] Op. cit. 45.

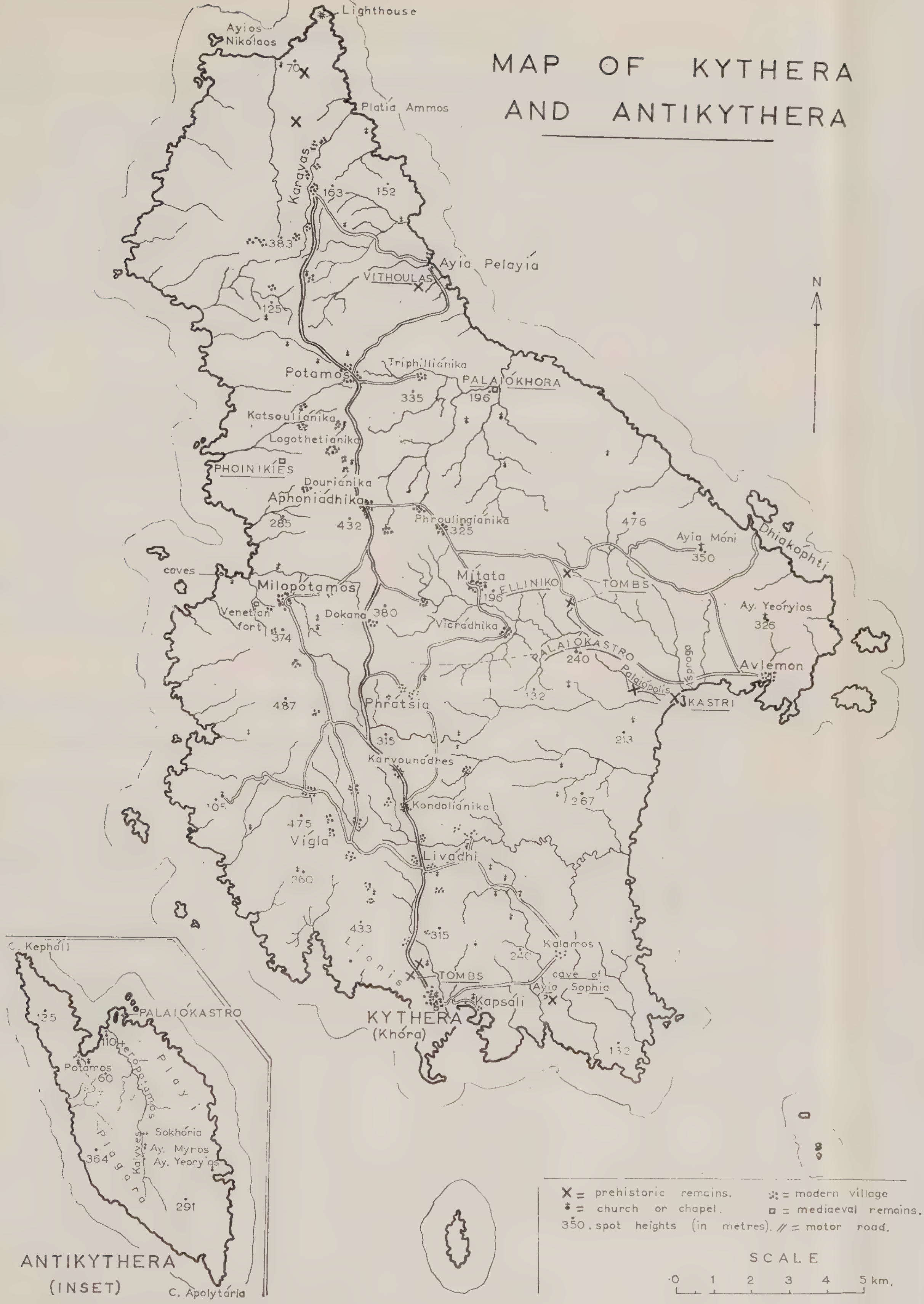
MAP OF KYTHERA AND ANTIKYTHERA
Lighthouse
Ayios Nikolaos
70
Platia Ammos
Karavas
163
152
383
Ayia Pelayia
VITHOULAS
N
125
Potamos
Triphillianika
PALAIOKHORA
335
196
Katsoulianika
Logothetianika
PHOINIKIES
Dourianika
Aphoniadhika
285
432
Phroulingianika
325
476
Ayia Moni
350
Dhiakophti
caves
Milopotamos
Mitata
ELLINIKO
TOMBS
196
Venetian fort
Dokana
380
Viaradhika
374
Ay. Yeoryios
326
PALAIOKASTRO
240
Palaiopolis
Asproga
Avlemon
132
KASTRI
487
Phratsia
213
315
Karvounadhes
Kondolianika
105
267
475
Vigla
Livadhi
260
433
315
Lionis
Kalamos
240
TOMBS
cave of Ayia Sophia
Kapsali
KYTHERA (Khora)
132
C. Kephali
135
PALAIOKASTRO
110
Xeropotamos
Potamos
60
Plati
Plagara
Sokhoria
Ay. Myros
Ay. Yeory'os
Kalyves
364
291
ANTIKYTHERA (INSET)
C. Apolytaria
X = prehistoric remains.
⁂ = modern village
‡ = church or chapel.
□ = mediaeval remains.
350 . spot heights (in metres).
// = motor road.
SCALE
0 1 2 3 4 5 km.

Fig. 23

or at least preparations to meet it. A possible explanation is that Aigilia was captured by the Athenians; and that the second walls (the rough Isodomic Ashlar), enclosing a larger enceinte, were erected by the Athenians at the same time as Skandeia was garrisoned, and for the same reason (Thuc. iv. 54. 4). The rough character of the walls, and the fact that there was apparently no time to remove the remains of the polygonal walling that still exist behind them, alike suggest the rapid execution of a military task. Of the surface sherds a considerable number belong to the early fourth century B.C. (cf. **1–4** below), when one would expect the island to be recovering from the effects of the war (perhaps with an increased population and trade?). The *floruit* of Aigilia was obviously the fourth to third centuries B.C.,[287] and it continued to be occupied until at least the first century A.D. Antikythera must often have been a port of refuge in rough weather, when it would be desirable to avoid Cape Malea.[288]

CATALOGUE OF SELECTED SHERDS FROM ANTIKYTHERA

1. *Kantharos* (FIG. 21(*c*)). Part of foot. *Shape* as *Olynthus* xiii, pl. 184, nos. 497, 512–13. First half of 4th cent. B.C.

2. *Oenochoe*. Two frags. with vertical ridges. Probably first half of 4th cent. B.C.

3. '*Fish Plate*' (FIG. 21(*d*)). Mid-4th cent. B.C.

4. *Amphorae*. Two frags. of ring feet with hollowed bases. 5th–4th cent. B.C.

5. *Hydria*. Fragment of mouth, with overhanging rim and stamped oval pattern below it. Late 4th to early 3rd cent. B.C.

6. *Platter* (FIG. 21(*e*)). First half of 3rd cent. B.C.

7. *Bowl*? (FIG. 21(*f*)). High splaying foot, with dull black glaze and rosette pattern on base inside. Local Hellenistic? Probably 2nd cent. B.C.

8. *Amphorae*. Three frags. of bases. 1st cent. B.C.–1st cent. A.D.

Addenda to Part I

VAPHIO TOMB: Marinatos, in *BSA* xxxvii. 187–91, esp. 189.

AYIOS VASILIOS: Doric column capital (*AA* 1938, 562).

GOUVES: for the small classical site (mentioned under Apidia), cf. *BSA* xv. 163 and xxiv. 146.

Notes for Fieldwork

We suspect that the following were Mycenaean, despite the lack of surface indications:

Chrysapha, Ayios Ioannis (near Vezani) and Kokkinia in the Helos Plain, Lagio, Passava (Las), Oitylos.

The following areas especially deserve further search:

1. In *Mani* and *Vardhounia*, Skutari and the district between Passava and Oitylos.
2. In the north-east, Sellasia and villages to north and east.
3. On the east coast, Kyparissi, Ieraka, and the coast south of Monemvasia.
4. On the south edge of the Sparta plain, the area Xerokambi–Kaminia–Potamia–Daphni.

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[287] The famous wreck off the north-east coast, from which the fine bronze statues were recovered (*AE* 1902, 145–72), may belong to this period—unless the statues were the property of some rich man.

[288] Seamen of Antikythera say that it is often possible for small boats to sail from Crete to Antikythera at times when sailing is impossible in the area of Kythera and Malea.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

PG = Protogeometric; G = Geometric; C = Classical; H = Hellenistic; R = Roman; M = Medieval; O = Obsidian; * = major site

SITE	NEOLITHIC	E.H.	M.H.	L.H. I AND II	L.H. III	DESCRIPTION
SPARTAN PLAIN						
Classical Sparta	—	—	—	—	sherds [seals from Artemis Orthia]	'open' site or acropolis? PG; G; C; H; R; M.
The Menelaion	—	—	—	L.H. IIB sherds	L.H. IIIA–B houses, sherds*	'open' hill site
Kouphovouno	houses, graves, sherds, celts*	houses, graves, sherds, celts*	—	—	L.H. IIIB sherds	low mound O.
The Amyklaion	—	sherds	sherds, pithos burial	L.H. II sherds	sherds, figurines, chamber tombs*	acropolis (? walled) PG; G; C; H; R. O.
Palaiopyrgi and Vaphio	—	sherds, animal figurine*	sherds	Vaphio tholos tomb, sherds	L.H. IIIA–B sherds*	large 'open' hill site O.
Ayios Vasilios	—	sherds, ?celt, animal figurine	sherds	—	sherds	hill site (?walled) C; H. O.
WEST PARNON AND THE LOWER EUROTAS VALLEY						
Chrysapha	—	sherds, celt	—	—	—	'open' hill site C; H. O.
Goritsa	cave, sherds	sherds, animal figurine	sherds	sherds	sherds	'open' hill site O.
Vrondama	—	—	—	—	sherds	acropolis (?walled) C; H.
Geraki	?sherds	sherds	sherds, graves*	—	sherds, figurines, ?walls*	acropolis (walled) C; H; R; M. O.
Apidia	sherds	sherds	sherds	sherds*	sherds*	high hill site PG; G; H; R; M. O.

HELOS PLAIN

Ayios Ioannis (*near Vezani*)	—	—	sherds, celt	—	?sherds	'open' hill site C; H; R. O.
Ayios Strategos	sherds	sherds	sherds	L.H. II sherds	L.H. IIIA–B sherds, ?tombs	low hill site ('open') O.
Asteri (*Dhragatsoula*)	—	sherds	sherds	—	sherds	low hill site ('open') O.
Asteri (*Karaousi*)	sherds	sherds, celt*	sherds*	sherds, ?tombs*	sherds (L.H. IIIA–B), ?tombs*	'high mound' site O.
Asteri (*site to north*)	—	—	—	—	sherds	'open' hill site C.
Vlakhioti	—	sherds	—	—	sherds, ?tomb	'open' hill site C; H.
Tsasi	—	sherds	—	—	sherds, chamber tomb	low hill site C; H; R. O.
Ayios Nikolaos, Skala	—	—	sherds	—	sherds	low hill M.
Ayios Ioannis (*near Skala*	—	—	—	—	sherds	hill terrace C; H.
Xeronisi	—	sherds	sherds	—	sherds	low mound O.
Lekas (*Panayiotis*)	—	sherds	sherds	—	sherds, ?walls*	low hill (?walled) C; H. O.
Lekas (*south*)	—	sherds	sherds	—	sherds	low mound C; H. O.
Ayios Stephanos	—	sherds	sherds*	sherds*	sherds, ?tombs*	acropolis (?walled) H. O.

EASTERN VARDHOUNIA

Krokeai	—	—	?sherds	sherds, chamber tombs	sherds	'open' hill site C; H; R; M.
Lagio	—	sherds	—	—	—	'open' hill site O.
Paizoulia	—	sherds	sherds	sherds	sherds	'open' hill site C; H; R; M.

WESTERN VARDHOUNIA

Cranae	—	?sherds	—	—	sherds	low island
Mavrovouni	—	sherds	—	—	L.H. IIIB–C sherds, chamber tombs*	'open' hill site G tombs; C; H; R. O.
Las	—	—	—	—	?sherds, ?walls	fortress site C; H; R; M. O.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE (*continued*)

SITE	NEOLITHIC	E.H.	M.H.	L.H. I AND II	L.H. III	DESCRIPTION
SOUTH MANI						
Kotrones	—	sherds	?pithos burials	—	?sherds	promontory site R. O.
Spira	—	BRONZE AGE SHERDS				'open' hill site
Kipoula	—	—	—	—	?sherds	hill site (ridge) C; H; R.
NORTH-WEST MANI						
Koutiphari	—	—	—	—	sherds	'open' terrace site PG?; C; H; R.
Leuktro	—	—	?celt	—	sherds	acropolis C; H; R.
Kardamyle	—	?celts	—	—	sherds*	acropolis C; H; R.
Kambos	caves, sherds	—	—	tholos tomb, sherds*	sherds*	acropolis C; H.
Mavrinitsa	—	—	—	gold cups, &c.	—	finds only from shaft grave?
Pigadhia	?sherds, ?celt	—	?sherds	?sherds	cave burial and rough sherds	site not yet found
Kalamata	—	?sherds	—	—	sherds, chamber tombs*	acropolis ?PG; ?G; C; H; R; M.
EAST TAYGETUS						
Belmina	—	?sherds	—	—	sherds, ?pithos burial	terraces C; H. O.
Kalyvia Pellanes	—	—	—	—	beehive chamber tombs*, sherds	acropolis C; H; M. O.
Arkines	—	—	—	—	tholos tombs	hill site?
THE NORTHERN BORDER AND THE THYREATIS						
Analipsis	—	celts	—	tholos tombs, sherds*	sherds*	acropolis C; H. O.
Xerokambi	—	BRONZE AGE SHERDS				small finds only
Astros	—	sherds	tombs, sherds	—	sherds	acropolis PG tombs; C. O.
KYNOURIA						
Tyros	—	sherds	—	—	—	acropolis C.
Leonidhi Skala	—	—	—	—	sherds	acropolis C. O.
Vaskina	—	—	—	—	tombs, pottery	[site not yet found]
Palaiokhori	—	sherds, celt	—	L.H. II tholoi and vases*	tombs, pottery	acropolis
Kosmas	—	—	—	—	?celt	small hill site C; H.

THE MALEA PENINSULA

Monemvasia	—	—	—	—	sherds, celts	small finds only M.
Epidaurus Limera	one sherd?	—	—	tombs, pottery*	tombs, pottery*	acropolis C; H; R; M. O.
Ayios Ioannis	—	sherds	—	—	tomb, sherds	acropolis O.
Angelona	—	sherds	—	—	?sherds	'open' hill site C; H. O.
Anemomylos (Sikea)	—	sherds	—	—	sherds	low hill O.
Gangania	—	sherds	sherds	—	sherds, ?tombs	acropolis
Elea	—	sherds	?sherds	—	sherds	acropolis C; H; R; M. O.
Goulas (Plitra)	sherds	sherds	sherds	—	sherds	acropolis C; H; R. O.
Daimonia	—	?sherds	pithos-grave	sherds*	sherds*	acropolis C; H.
Stena	—	sherds	—	sherd	sherds, ?tombs	acropolis O.
Neapolis	—	sherds	—	—	sherds, chamber tombs*	low hill C; H; R.
Elaphonisi and mainland opposite	—	sherds on 12 sites	OBSIDIAN		sherds on 2 sites	all 'open' sites, mainly on terraces C; H. O.

KYTHERA

North Lighthouse area	—	sherds	—	—	?sherds	?sites on terraces O.
Vithoulas	—	sherds	—	—	sherds, cist tombs	acropolis C; H. O.
Cave of Ayia Sophia	—	—	?sherds	L.M. I sherd	—	cave only
Lioni	—	E.C. III stone bowl	—	L.M. II pithos	tombs, pottery	?terrace site near tombs
Kastri and Palaiopolis	—	E.M. II ? marble jug	M.M. sherds*	L.M. I–II sherds ?L.H. II *	L.H. III sherds and figurine, ?L.M. III sherds*	acropolis and houses on terraces C; H; R; M.
Elleniko	—	—	—	? MINOAN TOMBS		terrace site ?

SUMMARY

It must be emphasized that the conclusions to be drawn from our survey can at present seldom be more than tentative; but some general trends may be observed from the distribution of the sites in the various periods,[289] and progress has been made towards the solution of the various problems posed by the literary evidence.

NEOLITHIC (FIG. 24)

The most important site is Kouphovouno in the Spartan plain, a low mound comparable in size to Lerna in the Argolid. Among the earliest settlements are the low hills of Asteri and Ayios Strategos.[290] Only one example (at Apidia) of the later neolithic polychrome pottery has been discovered, but all the other periods are well represented. Surface finds suggest a preponderance of the earlier wares.[291] The quantity of stone artefacts from Kouphovouno may indicate that this was a centre for their manufacture. In general, the Laconian neolithic pottery agrees closely with that found in central and eastern Peloponnese,[292] Attica,[293] and Central Greece; and the distribution of the known sites suggests that the neolithic people first entered Laconia by sea,[294] via the Helos and Molaoi plains, and possibly also via the east coast at Monemvasia, if the solitary sherd from Epidaurus Limera is to be trusted. The position of the inland sites at Goritsa and Apidia (and Geraki?) suggests that several other neolithic sites await discovery, but the general pattern is already clear. With the exception of the two cave sites at Kambos and Goritsa, the settlements discovered are on low hills or mounds. Asteri and Goulas resemble Thessalian 'High Mounds'. All the sites continued to be occupied in the Early Helladic period.

EARLY HELLADIC (FIG. 24)

The settlements are widely diffused, with a large proportion on or near the coastline. The main concentrations are in the Helos and Sparta plains, with subsidiary groups in the Gythion area, the Molaoi plain, the Monemvasia district, and the Vatika plain and Elaphonisi. As in Attica, Corinthia, and the Argolid, the preference for coastal settlement suggests penetration by sea[295] and the importance of sea trade. Sites on low hills were preferred, but they also occur on the plains themselves (in particular Mavrovouni and the vicinity of Elaphonisi village) or on flat terraces (the Elaphonisi sites, and the north of Kythera). There is so far no evidence that any of the settlements were fortified.

None of the pottery can be attributed with certainty to the 'E.H. I' period; but 'E.H. II' wares are common, especially at Palaiopyryi in the Sparta plain, and at Ayios Stephanos, Asteri, and Tsasi in the Helos plain, and they are very similar to those found in north and east Peloponnese,[296] Attica,[297] and Boeotia.[298] It appears likely that the present lack of 'E.H. III' surface sherds from Laconia is only a chance result.[299] It would be interesting to know whether some of the Laconian sites were destroyed at the end of the Early Helladic period, as in the

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[289] We regret that, for practical reasons, it has not yet proved possible to make a study of Mycenaean pottery in Laconia comparable to that of Attica (Stubbings, *BSA* xlii (1947) 1–75).

[290] The earliest Peloponnesian neolithic 'Variegated Ware' (*Corinth* Class IA) and 'Red Slipped Ware' (*Corinth* Class IB), are represented here.

[291] Cf. Weinberg, *AJA* li (1947) 165–82.

[292] i.e. at Corinth, Asea, Ayioryitika, and Lerna.

[293] Kokkinia (Peiraeus), in *PAE* 1951, 103, fig. 93 ('Variegated Ware') and 106, fig. 18α–β ('Red Slipped Ware').

[294] Cf. Holmberg, *OpArch* vi (1950) 129–35.

[295] Cf. Holmberg, op. cit. 136; *Korakou* 113; Wace, in *Documents* (foreword) p. xix. The best routes into Laconia would have been via the Helos plain and via Epidaurus Limera (the latter would avoid the dangers of Cape Malea).

[296] Korakou, Zygouries, Asine, Tiryns, Lerna, and Asea.

[297] Especially Ayios Kosmas and Raphina.

[298] Eutresis and Orchomenos.

[299] No Early Helladic settlement in Laconia has yet been fully excavated; although E.H. levels have been found at Kouphovouno, the Amyklaion, and Geraki.

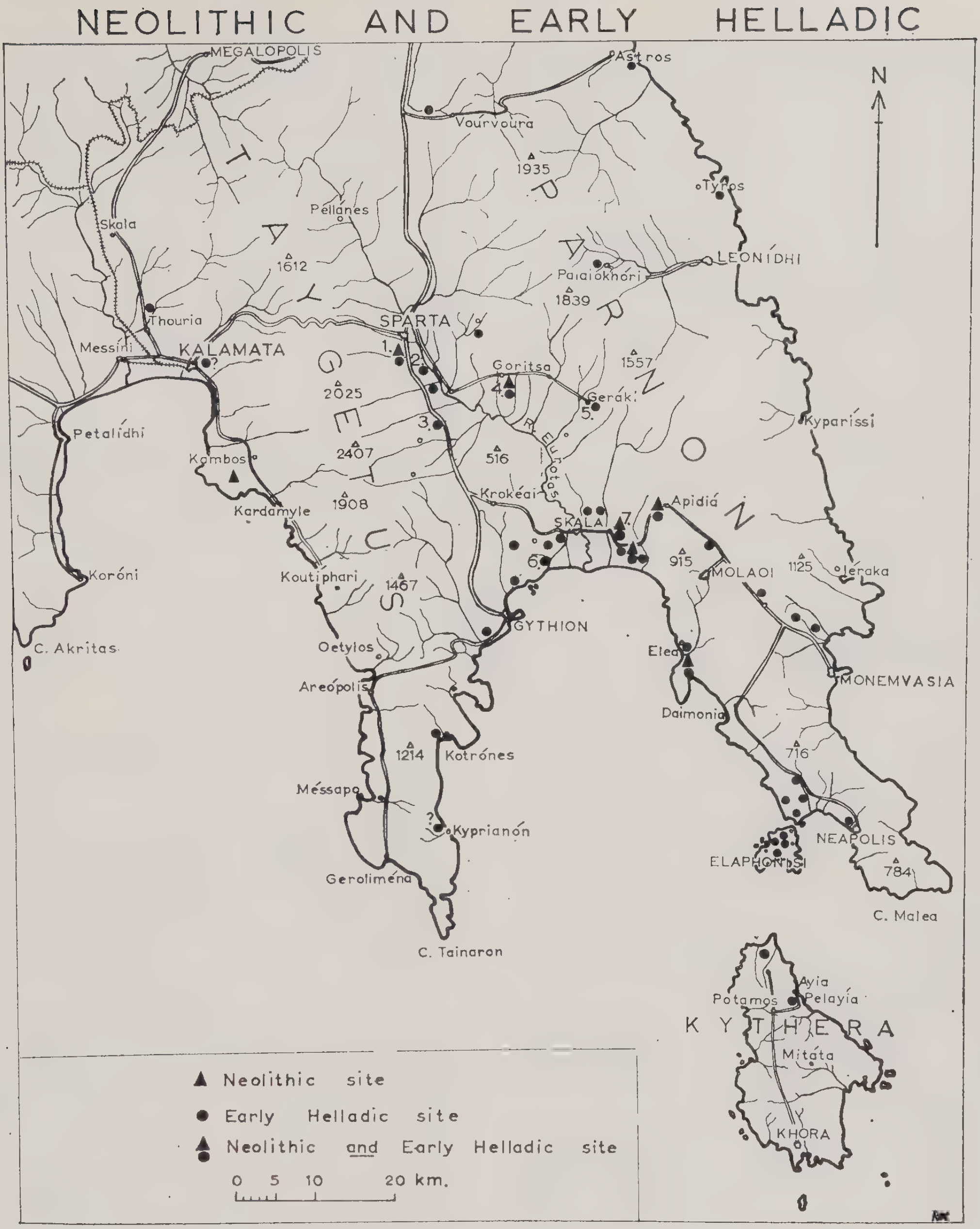
NEOLITHIC AND EARLY HELLADIC
N
MEGALOPOLIS
Astros
Vourvoura
1935
Tyros
Pellanes
Skala
1612
LEONIDHI
Paiaiokhori
1839
Thouria
SPARTA
Messini
KALAMATA
1.
2.
?
Goritsa
4.
1557
2025
Geraki
5.
Kyparissi
Petalidhi
3.
Kambos
2407
516
Krokeai
Apidia
Kardamyle
1908
SKALA
7.
915
6.
1125
MOLAOI
Ieraka
Koroni
Koutiphari
1467
GYTHION
C. Akritas
Oetylos
Elea
MONEMVASIA
Areopolis
Daimonia
716
1214
Kotrones
Messapo
?
Kyprianon
NEAPOLIS
ELAPHONISI
784
Gerolimena
C. Malea
C. Tainaron
T A Y G E T U S
P A R N O N
E U R O T A S
Potamos
Ayia Pelayia
K Y T H E R A
Mitata
KHORA
Neolithic site
Early Helladic site
Neolithic and Early Helladic site
0 5 10 20 km.

FIG. 24. 1, KOUPHOVOUNO. 2, AMYKLAION. 3, AYIOS VASILIOS. 4, GORITSA. 5, GERAKI. 6, AYIOS STEPHANOS. 7, ASTERI

case of many other mainland sites,[300] or whether there was a more gradual and peaceful transition from E.H. to M.H., as at Lerna[301] (and possibly also at Tiryns).[302]

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[300] Mellaart, in *AJA* lxii (1958) 11, has a useful list enumerating the mainland sites destroyed by the M.H. invaders. He is, however, in error when he states that 'Palaiopyrgos' (i.e. Palaiopyryi) was deserted at the end of the E.H. period, and the situation at Kouphovouno is uncertain.

[301] *Hesperia* xxiv (1955) 49; xxv (1956) 173; Gray in Myres, *Homer and his Critics* (1958) 254–5.

[302] Gray, op. cit. 245, and refs.

MIDDLE HELLADIC (FIG. 25)

The number of Middle Helladic sites in the Helos plain, and the considerable quantity of M.H. pottery, particularly Minyan ware,[303] on the main sites there (Ayios Stephanos and Asteri) suggests that the plain was the main point of entry for M.H. invaders coming into Laconia by sea,[304] whence they reached north to the Sparta plain,[305] north-east to Geraki and Apidia, and south-east to the Molaoi plain and Daimonia. The main Early Helladic centres were taken over, but it seems that some smaller E.H. settlements, particularly in the Mani, and in the Vatika plain and Elaphonisi, were not reoccupied.[306] Hill sites were preferred, especially those of the 'acropolis' type,[307] and some of these, in particular the Amyklaion, Geraki, and Ayios Stephanos, may have been first fortified in the latter part of the M.H. period or early in the Late Helladic period.[308]

LATE HELLADIC (FIG. 25)

It is now generally accepted that there was no sharp break in culture between the Middle and Late Helladic periods, [309] and Laconia is no exception to this rule. Most of the major M.H. sites are known to have been inhabited also in L.H. I or L.H. II. With few exceptions[310] the L.H. I–II settlements are the same as the M.H. The real Mycenaean expansion begins in Laconia (as elsewhere) in the L.H. IIIA period (or perhaps at the very end of L.H. II),[311] reaching its peak probably in the earlier part of L.H. IIIB.[312] Although the lack of L.H. I–II sherds at some sites may be only accidental, it is probable that many of the smaller settlements were not occupied (or re-occupied)[313] until the L.H. III period. The pattern of the L.H. III sites agrees remarkably well with that of the E.H., especially in the chief plains and on or near

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[303] Especially common are incised *Minyan* and local imitations of both *Grey* and *Argive Minyan*. *Matt-painted* is less common on the surface, but the quantity found in the excavations at the Amyklaion and Geraki indicates that this scarcity may not be a reliable guide. Sherds of *Light-on-dark* ware have been found at Ayios Stephanos, Skala, and Gangania.

[304] Mellaart, in *AJA* lxii. 9–33, esp. 19–20; Wace, in *Documents* (foreword) xx–xxi; Gray, op. cit. 254–6.

[305] M.H. is scarce on the surface at Palaiopyryi and Ayios Vasilios, but fairly common at the Amyklaion. No other sites are known in the plain.

[306] It would be of some value in this connexion if it could be discovered whether or not Kouphovouno was occupied in M.H. (cf. Mellaart, op. cit. 11).

[307] Good examples are Geraki, Apidia, Ayios Stephanos, Goulas, Daimonia, and Astros.

[308] Mellaart, op. cit. 19, noted the appearance in the M.H. period of 'feudal' centres such as Mycenae (cf. Gray, op. cit. 260) and Malthi–Dorion. See PART I under Geraki for the problem of the dating of the walls at Malthi and Geraki. We now have also the circuit walls (L.H. I?) at Ano Englianos (*AJA* lxiv (1960) 156).

[309] Wace and Blegen, *Klio* xxxii. 2 (1939) 10–11; Wace, in *Documents* (foreword) xx; Gray, op. cit. 260. More evidence will be forthcoming in *AJA* from a survey of sites in SW. Peloponnese by Professor W. A. McDonald and R. Hope Simpson.

[310] The exceptions are, of course, established by 'negative evidence' alone, and it is to be expected that many of the sites will prove, after all, to have been occupied in M.H. as well. They are: the Menelaion (beginning late in L.H. II), Krokeai (begins L.H. II–III), Analipsis (begins L.H. I), Epidaurus Limera (begins L.H. I), and Stena (begins L.H. I or II).

[311] Notable are the L.H. II–IIIA pottery from the Menelaion and the Amyklaion, the contents of the Vaphio and Analipsis tholoi, and the considerable amount of L.H. II–IIIA surface pottery of fine quality from Ayios Stephanos and Asteri.

[312] The early part of L.H. IIIB was probably the *floruit* of the sites at the Menelaion, Ayios Stephanos, Asteri, and Lekas. N.B. For the time being we adopt the provisional chronology proposed by Wace, in *PAPS* 1953, 424 n. 8, rather than that of Furumark (in *Chron MP*). Wace's chronology allows a time span of reasonable length (there is a case for making it even longer) for the obviously large mass of L.H. IIIB pottery in the Mycenaean world (cf. *BSA* lii (1957) 220–3).

B.C.	*Furumark*	*Wace*
1500	L.H. II	L.H. II
1425	L.H. IIIA	L.H. IIIA
1400		
1340		L.H. IIIB
1300	L.H. IIIB	
1230	L.H. IIIC	
1210		L.H. IIIC
1100	L.H. IIIC (end)	L.H. IIIC (end)

[313] To judge from the surface finds, there is apparently a complete break in the occupation of some outlying Laconian sites between E.H. and L.H. III.

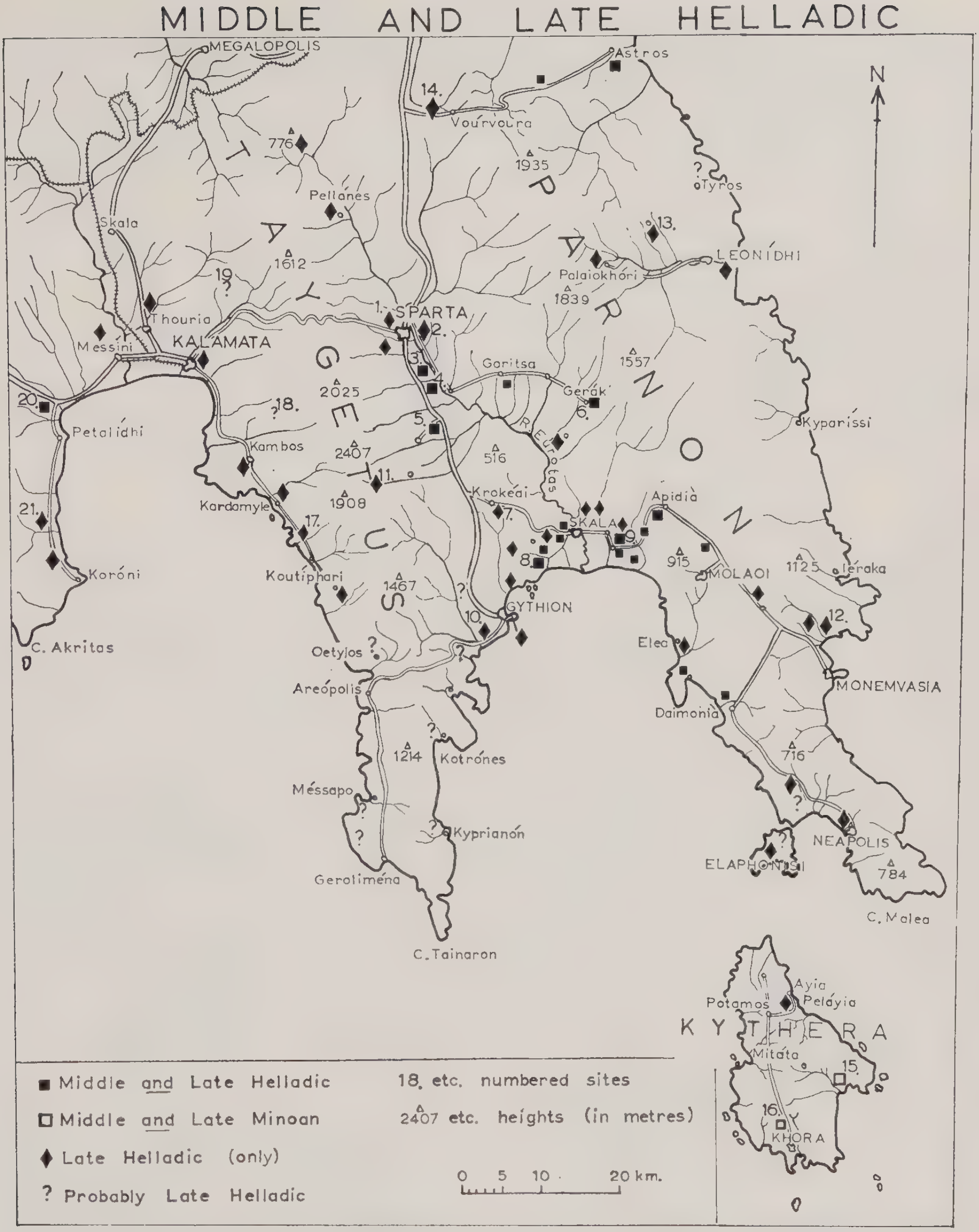
MIDDLE AND LATE HELLADIC
N
MEGALOPOLIS
Astros
14.
Vourvoura
776
1935
TAYGETUS
PARNON
Pellanes
Tyros
Skala
13.
1612
LEONIDHI
19
Palaiokhori
1839
Thouria
1. SPARTA
2.
Messini
KALAMATA
3.
Goritsa
1557
4.
2025
Gerak
20.
18.
6.
Petalidhi
5.
Kyparissi
Kambos
2407
516
EUROTAS
11.
Krokeai
Apidia
1908
7.
Kardamyle
SKALA
9.
17.
21.
8.
915
1125
Ieraka
MOLAOI
Koroni
Koutiphari
1467
GYTHION
12.
10.
C. Akritas
Elea
Oetylos
MONEMVASIA
Areopolis
Daimonia
Kotrones
1214
716
Messapo
Kyprianon
NEAPOLIS
ELAPHONISI
Gerolimena
784
C. Malea
C. Tainaron
Ayia Pelayia
Potamos
KYTHERA
Mitata
15.
16.
KHORA
■ Middle and Late Helladic
□ Middle and Late Minoan
♦ Late Helladic (only)
? Probably Late Helladic
18. etc. numbered sites
2407 etc. heights (in metres)
0 5 10 20 km.

FIG. 25. 1, CLASSICAL SPARTA. 2, MENELAION. 3, AMYKLAION. 4, VAPHIO. 5, AYIOS VASILIOS. 6, GERAKI. 7, KROKEAI. 8, AYIOS STEPHANOS. 9, ASTERI. 10, MAVROVOUNI. 11, ARKINES. 12, EPIDAURUS LIMERA. 13, VASKINA. 14, AYIOS ANALIPSIS. 15, PALAIOPOLIS. 16, LIONI. 17, LEUKTRO. 18, KOKKINOCHOMATA (PEGADIA). 19, VOLIMOS (ATREMISIA). 20, NICHORIA (KARPOPHORA). 21, KAPHIRIO (LONGA)

the coast. Penetration was widespread, extending even into mountainous districts.[314] The main L.H. III centres are the Sparta and Helos plains, with lesser nuclei in the Gythion area, Pellanes,

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[314] The Arkines tholoi probably belong to the L.H. III period; and we may compare Vaskina in Kynouria.

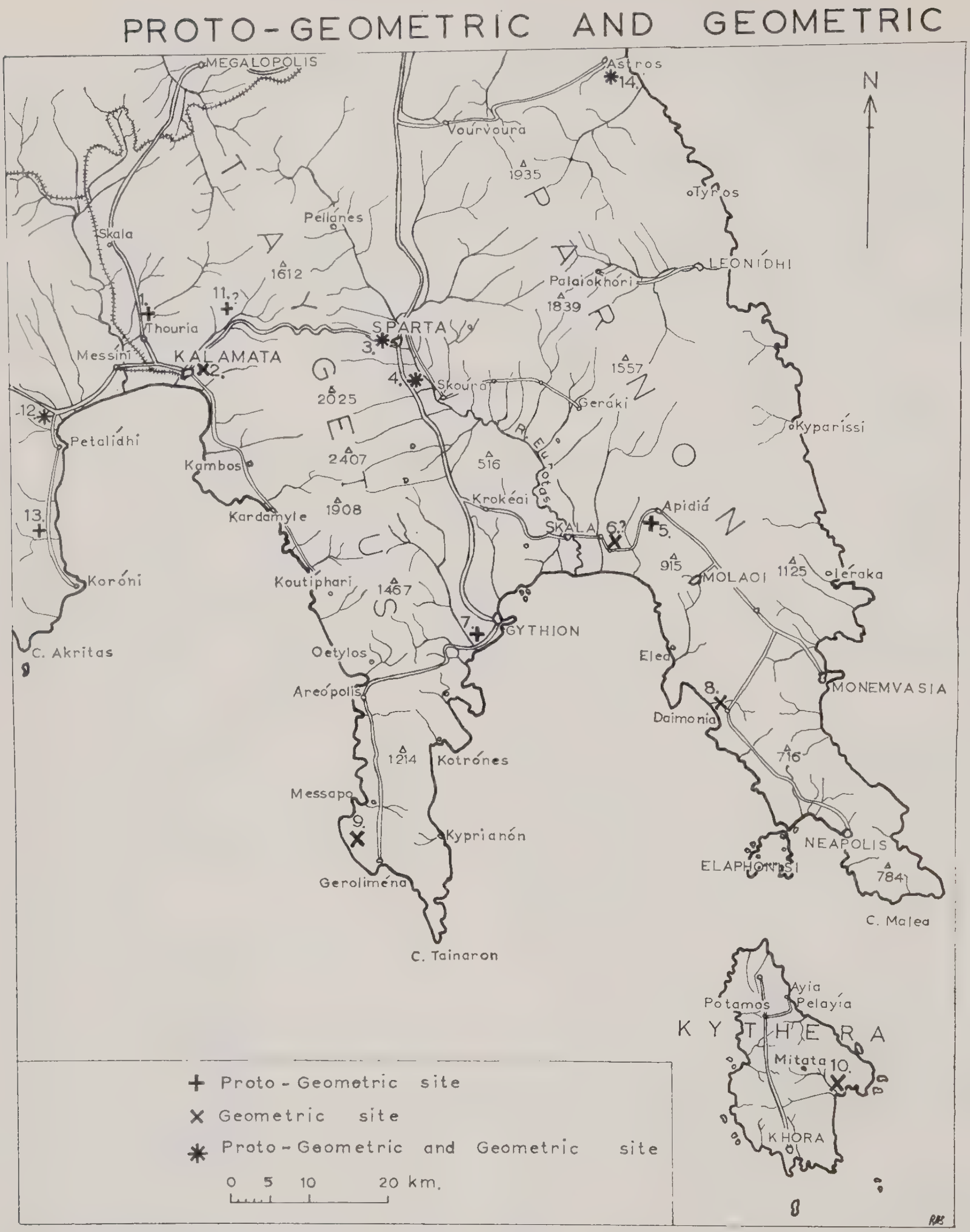
PROTO-GEOMETRIC AND GEOMETRIC
N
MEGALOPOLIS
Astros
14.
Vourvoura
1935
Tyros
LEONIDHI
Palaiokhori
1839
Skala
Pellanes
1612
1.
Thouria
11.?
SPARTA
3.
4.
Skoura
Messini
KALAMATA
2.
1557
Geraki
12.
2025
Petalidhi
Kyparissi
Kambos
2407
516
Kardamyle
1908
Krokeai
Apidia
SKALA
6.?
5.
13.
915
MOLAOI
1125
Ieraka
Koroni
Koutiphari
1467
7.
GYTHION
C. Akritas
Oetylos
Elea
8.
MONEMVASIA
Areopolis
Daimonia
1214
Kotrones
716
Messapo
9.
Kyprianon
NEAPOLIS
ELAPHONISI
784
Gerolimena
C. Malea
C. Tainaron
TAYGETUS
PARNON
EUROTAS
Ayia Pelayia
Potamos
KYTHERA
Mitata
10.
KHORA
+ Proto-Geometric site
× Geometric site
✱ Proto-Geometric and Geometric site
0 5 10 20 km.
RHS

FIG. 26. 1, THOURIA. 2, KALAMATA. 3, CLASSICAL SPARTA. 4, AMYKLAION. 5, APIDIA. 6, ASTERI. 7, MAVROVOUNI. 8, DAIMONIA. 9, KIPOULA. 10, PALAIOPOLIS. 11, VOLIMOS (ARTEMISIA). 12, NICHORIA (KARPOPHORA). 13, KAPHIRIO (LONGA). 14, ASTROS

Analipsis, Palaiochori in Kynouria, the Molaoi plain, Epidaurus Limera, and the Vatika plain. There appear to be several new settlements (although we cannot be certain, without excavation, that these sites were not occupied earlier), including Classical Sparta, Pellanes, and some small sites in the Helos plain. L.H. IIIA and B pottery is common, but there is little L.H. IIIC, and the later ‘close’ style is extremely rare.[315] The settlements are nearly always on low hills, many of which are of the acropolis type (see Chronological Table). Some appear to have been walled, in particular the Amyklaion, Geraki, Lekas (north), Ayios Stephanos, and Epidaurus Limera. But some of the larger sites may have been ‘open’ settlements, the outstanding examples being Palaiopyryi, the Menelaion, and Mavrovouni; while many of the smaller sites (also ‘open’) can hardly have been more than hamlets or farms.[316]

THE HOMERIC CATALOGUE OF SHIPS AND OTHER LITERARY EVIDENCE

> οἳ δ’ εἶχον κοίλην Λακεδαίμονα κητώεσσαν,
> Φᾶρίν τε Σπάρτην τε πολυτρήρωνά τε Μέσσην,
> Βρυσειάς τ’ ἐνέμοντο καὶ Αὐγειὰς ἐρατεινάς,
> οἵ τ’ ἄρ’ Ἀμύκλας εἶχον Ἕλος τ’ ἔφαλον πτολίεθρον,
> οἵ τε Λάαν εἶχον ἠδ’ Οἴτυλον ἀμφενέμοντο,
> τῶν οἱ ἀδελφεὸς ἦρχε, βοὴν ἀγαθὸς Μενέλαος,
> ἑξήκοντα νεῶν.
>
> (*Il.* ii. 581–7).

Λακεδαίμων, with its epithet κοίλη, is normally taken to mean the whole Spartan plain.[317] The other names are apparently of towns. All have been approximately located.[318] In the Sparta plain Σπάρτη, ’Αμύκλαι, Φᾶρις, and Βρυσειαί coincide with the four main Mycenaean sites—the Menelaion, the Amyklaion, Palaiopyryi, and Ayios Vasilios respectively. Of these, Palaiopyryi is the largest, both in the Sparta plain and indeed in all Laconia. The proximity of the Vaphio tomb testifies to its importance in the L.H. II period, while surface sherds seem to indicate a L.H. III *floruit*. Φᾶρις, indeed, is mentioned first in the Catalogue, although this may have been for metrical reasons.[319] The name Σπάρτη occurs only once in the *Iliad* apart from the Catalogue passage,[320] and it is possible that the prominence of the name dates only from the Geometric (or Protogeometric?) period, when it was taken over as the name of the new capital city at Sparta. The evidence for locating Βρυσειαί at Ayios Vasilios has been discussed above. Ἕλος, if it does not refer to the whole Helos plain, must surely have been the settlement at Ayios Stephanos.[321] It is still uncertain whether Αὐγειαί should in fact be located at the site of the classical Aegiae.[322] Λάας is presumed to have been on the site of the Fort at Passava,[323] although no conclusive evidence of Mycenaean occupation can be found there.

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[315] The known instances are a few sherds from the Amyklaion, and some vases from chamber tombs at Epidaurus Limera.

[316] e.g. Ayios Strategos, the small site to north of Asteri, and Ayios Ioannis and Xeronisi to west of Skala.

[317] Burr, *Klio* Beiheft ix (1944) 53–58, takes Λακεδαίμων as having been originally the name of a polis (as Schol. ap. *Il.* ii. 581), and regards it as the old Achaean name for Sparta. He believes that the name Σπάρτη is a Dorian intrusion, and that the Achaean Λακεδάιμων became in Dorian times a district name. But κοίλη and κητώεσσα are surely intended as qualifications of a *district* name. In *RE* iiiA^2 (1929) s.v. Sparta, 1271–2, it is said that in Homer Λακεδαίμων only twice refers to the Kingdom of Menelaus (*Od.* xxi. 13, 15, and *Il.* ii. 581–2), and that elsewhere it is used as equivalent to the city of Menelaus. But we should not expect consistency of meaning throughout the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* (cf. the ambiguity of the name *Pylos*). On the origin of the name, see Szemerényi, *Glotta* xxxviii (1959) 14–17.

[318] Allen, *The Homeric Catalogue of Ships* (1921) 74, summarizes the topographical evidence; cf. Thompson, *LAAA* iv (1911) 131.

[319] Burr, op. cit. 54.

[320] Cf. Whitman, *Homer and the Heroic Tradition* (1958) 322 n. 12.

[321] Trial excavations made at the site in July 1959 produced important stratigraphic evidence for the Middle and Late Helladic periods.

[322] The mounds known locally as ‘Tombs of Kings’ are suggestive, but we found no surface indications for a Mycenaean site. It is worth noting that Αὐγειὰς τ’ ἐρατεινὰς recurs in the Catalogue in the Locris section (*Il.* ii. 532). A Homeric ‘diplography’ cannot be ruled out.

[323] As noted in *BSA* xiii. 232–3, the situation is ideal for a Mycenaean fortress; but the nature of the ground makes it impossible to glean any surface indications.

The traditions attaching to Cranae[324] and classical Las[325] (at the foot of Passava), as well as the important Mycenaean settlement at Mavrovouni, all testify to the early importance of this district. As far as can be judged in the absence of definite proof, Οἴτυλος lay on the site of the present village of Ano Oitylos, and Μέσση on Tigani near Mezzapo.[326] It is unlikely that these last two towns were important in the Mycenaean period, since there appears to be little Bronze Age occupation in southern Mani.

The distribution reflected in the Catalogue, covering the main plains and the Tainaron promontory, makes sense geographically. The omission of the Malea peninsula may be surprising, but Kynouria seems to have had more connexions with Attica (cf. the Palaiochori tombs) and the Argolid (Paus. iii. 2. 2; 23. 6–7 (Epidaurus Limera)) than with Laconia.

Apart from the Catalogue, Cranae and Kythera both feature in the *Iliad*,[327] and there are pre-Dorian traditions connected with other Mycenaean settlement sites in Laconia,[328] particularly Pellana, the home of the Tyndareus legend, and Geronthrae (both of which might have been expected to feature in the Catalogue), while the site at Arkines may have had something to do with the still unexplained story in Herodotus about the Minyans in Taygetus.[329] Amyklai, Pharis, Geronthrae, and Helos were traditionally associated with the Dorian Invasion[330] (or the 'Return of the Heracleidae').[331] Pharis and Geronthrae gave in at the first onslaught of the Dorians, but Amyklai and Helos resisted.[332] The archaeological evidence supports the traditions, suggesting as it does a breaking-up of Mycenaean civilization in Laconia during L.H. IIIC, and even considerable depopulation,[333] whatever the impact of the Dorian Invasion may have been elsewhere.[334] It is difficult to assess the degree of continuity in Laconia from the latest Mycenaean to the Protogeometric styles,[335] since Laconian Protogeometric has so far been found at few sites[336] (FIG. 26), and in quantity only at the Amyklaion; but it appears to have begun later than the Attic Protogeometric.[337] The present evidence certainly indicates a period of 'Dark Age' in Laconia at the end of the Mycenaean period,[338] when some major Mycenaean settlements were abandoned.[339] Only later do the new 'Dorian' cities begin to appear,[340] together with new cults,[341] sometimes on the sites of Mycenaean settlements,[342] and often incorporating elements from the worship of earlier, and presumably Mycenaean, deities.[343]

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[324] *Il.* iii. 443–6; cf. Paus. iii. 22. 1–2.

[325] Paus. iii. 24. 6–8 and 10–11; Strabo viii. 5. 3 and 5. Strabo says that the Dioscuri sacked Las, and were called 'Lapersae' (cf. Schol. ad Lycoph. *Alex.* 1369: Ζηνὶ τῷ Λαπερσίῳ ὁμώνυμος Ζεύς).

[326] Although Strabo (loc. cit.) thought that the name was short for Messene (cf. Valmin, *La Messénie ancienne* (1930) index s.v. Messa). The epithet πολυτρήρωνα is also used of Thisbe in the Catalogue (*Il.* ii. 502).

[327] Cranae—*Il.* iii. 445 (but the suggestion by Allen, op. cit. 67 n. 2, that Agamemnon's Corinthian and Arcadian forces could have gathered here is geographically absurd).

Kythera—*Il.* x. 266–71; xv. 429–41; cf. Andron (*FGH* ii. 350), who said that Agamemnon on his return was blown to Kythera.

[328] Kalyvia-Pellanes (Pellana), Paus. iii. 21. 2; Geraki (Geronthrae), Paus. iii. 22. 6 and iii. 2. 6; Goulas (Asopus), Paus. iii. 22. 9–10; Neapolis (Boeae), Paus. iii. 22. 11; Elaphonisi (Onugnathus), Paus. iii. 22. 10.

[329] Hdt. iv. 145–50; cf. Strabo viii. 3. 19 (346–7) on the antecedents of the River Minyeios near Arene (*Il.* xi. 722–3).

[330] Strabo viii. 5. 4; Paus. iii. 1. 5–6; 2. 6–7; 19. 6; 20. 6; 22. 6.

[331] Wace, in *Documents* (foreword) xxx, and Broneer, *Antiquity* xxx (1956) 15, equate the Dorian Invasion with the Return of the Herakleidai; cf. Huxley, *BICS* iii (1956) 25, and Broneer, *Antiquity* xxxii (1958) 80–83.

[332] Particularly Amyklai (Paus. iii. 2. 6). In the case of Helos resistance is implied by the word Πολιορκία (Paus. iii. 20. 6).

[333] Cf. Desborough, *Protogeometric Pottery* 296–7. Pausanias (vii. 1. 5) records the expulsion of the Achaeans from Lacedaemon and Argos by the Dorians, while Strabo (viii. 5. 5) says that the Achaeans migrated at this time from Laconia to Achaea (on Achaea, cf. *AJA* lxiv (1960) 1–21, esp. 19–20).

[334] Attempts have been made to explain away an actual 'Dorian Invasion' (e.g. Wace, in *Historia* ii (1953) 91 and *Viking* (1954) 222, cf. *Documents* (foreword) xxviii–xxxi). But the literary evidence is firm and, where it can be checked, appears to be borne out by archaeology (cf. Hammond, *BSA* xxxii (1931–2) 151–79; Broneer, in *Antiquity* xxx (1956) 16; Desborough, op. cit. 296–7). The question is well summed up by Gray in Myres, *Homer and His Critics* (1958) 276–83.

[335] Desborough, op. cit. 287.

[336] At Sparta on the acropolis and the Chalkioikos site (Desborough, op. cit. 289–90), and at the Amyklaion, Mavrovouni, Apidia, and Daimonia.

[337] And the transition from Protogeometric to Geometric in Laconia occurs later than the same transition in Attica (Desborough, op. cit. 294–5, cf. 287–8 and 293).

[338] Possibly from *c.* 1100 B.C. to *c.* 950 B.C.

[339] Particularly the Menelaion and Palaiopyryi, and probably also Ayios Vasilios, Ayios Stephanos, Asteri, and Lekas.

The picture that we have been able to reconstruct agrees reasonably well with that given by Homeric and later tradition. The status of Mycenaean Laconia as compared with Mycenaean Argolis corresponds accurately enough with the relationship between the Kingdom of Menelaus and that of his brother Agamemnon in Homer;[344] and there is no reason to suppose that the Palace of Menelaus, when it is discovered, will prove far inferior to that of Agamemnon or Nestor.

HELEN WATERHOUSE
R. HOPE SIMPSON

Appendix

Among the material found by peasants in the area of classical Aegiae (p. 114) was an inscribed bronze bowl, which was in Gythion Museum before the last war. We give here a tracing (FIG. 27) of the inscription, which runs retrograde round the rim, in characteristic Laconian lettering of the latter half of the sixth, or the early fifth century: Ͱυακινθιοι ανεθεν ⟨?Αθαν⟩αι ται απροικο⟨ι⟩ (αγροικο⟨ι⟩?). The meaning is not clear.

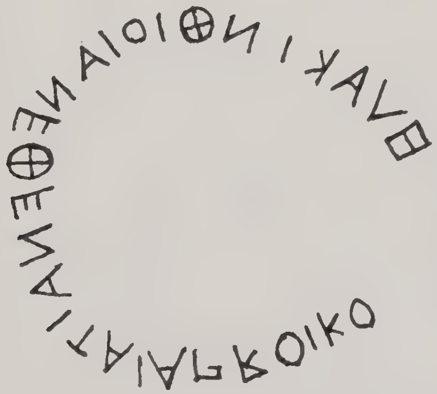

FIG. 27. ARCHAIC INSCRIPTION ON BRONZE BOWL

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[340] For Sparta see Gray, op. cit. 283, and Whitman, loc. cit.

[341] Artemis Orthia, Apollo (the Amyklaion), Menelaus, and Helen (the Menelaion). The connexion of Agamemnon and Orestes with Amyklai and their localization in Lacedaemon is discussed by Nilsson, *The Mycenaean Origin of Greek Mythology* (1932) 69–73; cf. Allen, op. cit. 67.

[342] To the Menelaion and the Amyklaion we may perhaps add the temple of Apollo at Geronthrae (Geraki), Paus. iii. 22. 7; the temple of Dionysus at Bryseae (Ayios Vasilios), Paus. iii. 20. 3; and the sanctuary of Athena at Asopus (Goulas), Paus. iii. 22. 9.

[343] Cf. Nilsson, *The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion* (1950) Index s.v. *Dioscuri* (esp. 541 ff.), *Hyakinthos* (esp. 556 ff.), *Helen* (esp. 528 ff.); and Nilsson, *The Mycenaean Origin of Greek Mythology* 76–78 (Dioscuri and Hyakinthos), 68 and 73–76 (Helen). N.B. also the wooden image at the temple of Artemis Orthia 'stolen by Orestes and Iphigeneia from the Tauric Land' (Paus. iii. 16. 7).

[344] Cf. Nilsson, op. cit. 68–69 and 79. The simple conception of a 'Kingdom of the Atridae' in the east Peloponnese (Gray, op. cit. 270), as balancing a 'Kingdom of Pylos' in the south-west, while it contains an element of truth, yet implies too simple a division to suit the more complex pattern given by Homer, wherein Agamemnon is *primus inter pares*; and it takes little account of the geographical relationship of Laconia, Arcadia, and the Argolid.

INSCRIPTIONS FROM BOEOTIA: A NOTE

The following inscriptions were seen in the course of two journeys;[1] unfortunately, in neither case was it possible to measure or photograph them adequately. But since they are, to the best of my knowledge, unpublished, they are recorded here as a small addition to the prosopography and cults of Boeotia.[2]

1. *Loutsi* (west of anc. Hyettos). Built into the wall of the ruined chapel of Ayios Dimitrios at the northern outskirts of the village. Block in two fragments, comprising the lower left-hand corner of the inscription.

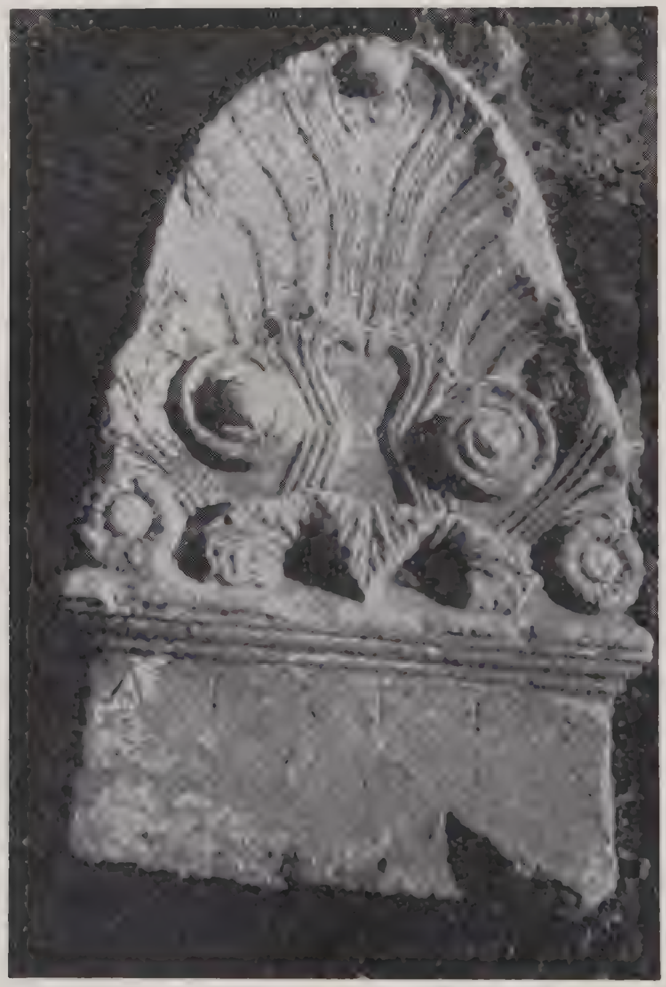

Fig. 1. 2

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[1] **1–6** were found by me in 1958, **7–10** by Mr. J. Boardman in 1950.

[2] I am indebted to Mr. D. M. Lewis for his advice on the dates.

[- - -]
Δ̣ημητ̣ρ̣[ι - - - εκ]
τ̣ων ιδιων̣ [εδωκεν?]

About first century B.C. or first century A.D.
If the restoration is correct, this is the first known reference to Demeter at Hyettos.

2. *Loutsi.* At the church of Ayios Ioannis Chrysostomos, near the eastern edge of the village. Upper part of a grave-stele. FIG. 1.

Λιλεις
Καλλις

Third century B.C. See H. Mobius, *Ornamente der griechischen Grabstelen* 57, pl. 49*a–b*.

3. *Loutsi.* At a private house, brought there from Ayios Athanasios (site of anc. Hyettos). Grave-stele.

ΝΕΙΚΙΠΠΑ | Νεικιππα

4. *Loutsi.* Built into the wall of the same house. Grave-stele.

ΑΣΚΛΗΠΙΑΔΗΣ | Ἀσκληπιαδης

5. *Loutsi.* From the wall of a farm, just west of Ayios Athanasios. Inscribed block, part of a gravestone(?). FIG. 2, upper.

Ευελπιστος

Second or third century A.D.

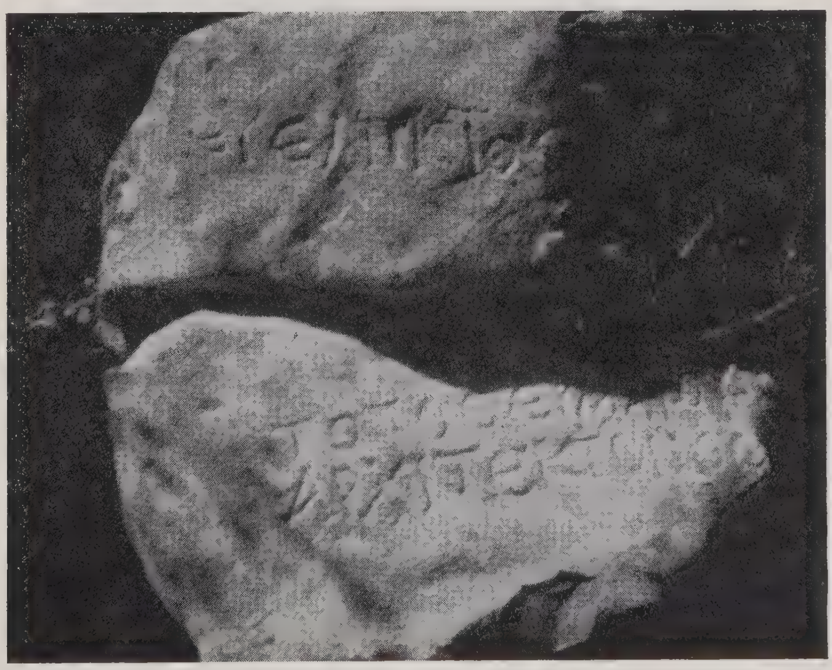

FIG. 2. **5**, **6**

6. *Loutsi.* Found with **5.** Boundary-stone(?). FIG. 2, lower.

Τοπος Ευμαιου
αρχιτεκτονος

Second or third century A.D.

7. *Kardhitsa* (anc. Akraiphnion). Upper part of a grave-stele, h. 0·40 m. FIG. 3, left.

Ωφελιων.

Fourth century B.C.

8. *Kardhitsa.* Upper part of a grave-stele, h. 0·77 m. FIG. 3, centre.

Ερμαια
χαιρε.

9. *Kardhitsa.* Upper part of a grave-stele, h. 0·55 m.; letters cut away. FIG. 3, right.

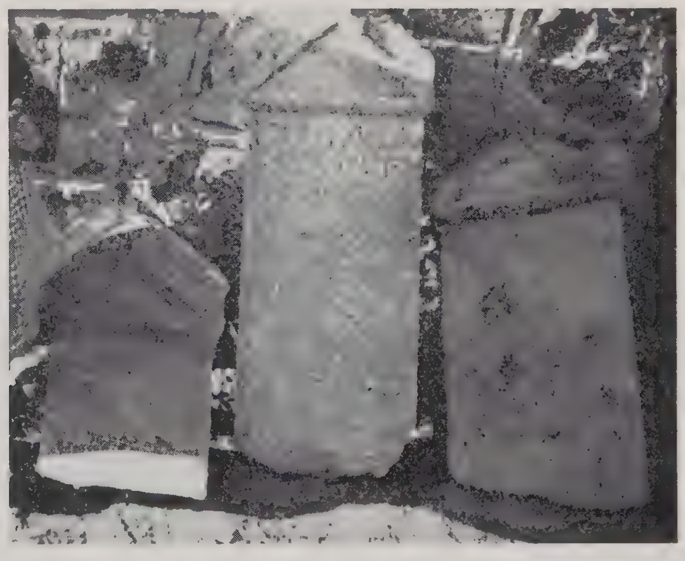

FIG. 3. **7, 8, 9**

10. *Skripou* (anc. Orchomenos). Stele, bearing 'Totenmahlrelief', and two inscriptions:

(*a*) *Above*: (ΑΠΩ)

Παιωνιο[υ]
Ηγημωṿ[ος?].

(*b*) *Below* (later date): (Α)

Διονυσιε χαιρε
Παραμονα χαιρε.

A. SCHACHTER

NOTES ON LETTERING BY SOME ATTIC MASONS IN THE SIXTH AND FIFTH CENTURIES B.C.

(PLATES 30–31)

Tools

THE Greeks used certain words for workmen's tools, apparently without any distinction as to whether they were employed by wood- or stone-carvers, stonemasons, metal-workers, jewellers, shoemakers, &c. It was sufficient for them that the words used described something that carved or chipped (σμίλη), something that bored (τρύπανον), something that hit (σφῦρα), or something that rounded off (τόρνος). There may, indeed, have been some distinction as regards the word κολαπτήρ, which is believed to have meant a stonemason's chisel (refs. in *LSJ*^{9} s.v.). But σμίλη seems to have been used also for a knife. For instance, σμίλης ὁλκοί is believed to mean 'chiselled furrows cut into a wooden surface' (Aristophanes, *Thesm.* 779), as well as a sculptor's chisel (*Anth. Pal.* vii. 429), though perhaps too much reliance should not be placed on poetical usage. The word τρύπανον seems to have been originally applied to a bow-drill worked by a thong twisted round it, as in the Polyphemus story (*Od.* ix. 385), but later appears to have been used for any instrument that turned (τρέπειν). στάθμη was evidently a carpenter's rule (*Od.* v. 245, *et al.*), and κανών was also a rule used for making straight lines (Plato, *Phil.* 56b). σφῦρα was a mallet or hammer, whether smith's (*Od.* iii. 434, Hdt. i. 68), carpenter's, or mason's. These are the main tools used, we may presume, for the engraving of stone inscriptions. Of particular interest from the point of view of technique are the words apparently used for tools that rounded off, or perhaps carved circularly. In Homer men 'rounded off the tomb' (τορνώσαντο σῆμα) (*Il.* xxiii. 255), or a ship's hull (*Od.* v. 249). Compare another early allusion, in Herodotus' Scythian section (iv. 36): 'they describe the ocean flowing round the earth which is made circular as if by a lathe' (κυκλοτέρης ὡς ἀπὸ τόρνου).

Raubitschek[1] quotes a passage from Euripides (F 382 N) as a reference to the carving of a circular sign or letter:

κύκλος τις ὡς τόρνοισιν ἐκμετρούμενος,
οὗτος δ᾽ ἔχει σημεῖον ἐν μέσῳ σαφές.

But attempts to apply such words as τόρνος to any particular turning tool (bow drill, cutting compass, tridental drill, tubular drill) will probably fail unless further evidence is forthcoming, for it is more than likely that the Greeks would have referred to all these indiscriminately under one name.

Illustrations of stonemasons at work in antiquity are very few compared with representations of bronze-workers, miners, potters, gem-carvers, and so on, and none exists (as far as I know) of an engraver of stone inscriptions. The most interesting representation of a stonemason, from the point of view of technique, is the well-known relief attributed to the second half of the fifth century, carved in the rock at Vari on Mount Hymettus in Attica.[2] This large relief portrays

I am greatly indebted to the Director of the American excavations in the Agora for permission to reproduce the photographs PLATES 30*a*, *c*, *d*, 31*a*–*c* and FIG. 1, and to the staff of the Stoa Museum for much kind help and information; also to the Librarian of the Museum of Classical Archaeology, Cambridge, for permission to photograph the squeezes shown in PLATE 30*b* and FIGS. 2–3.

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[1] *Festschrift A. Rumpf* (1950) 125.

[2] Casson, *Technique of Early Greek Sculpture* (1933) fig. 55.

a man holding a trimming hammer and a square. As the relief is finished off roughly with a punch, we may assume that these three tools (hammer, square, and punch) were commonly used by masons in such cases. (Bluemel[3] supposes the use of four kinds of chisel, two rasps, two hammers, and three drills in the sixth and fifth centuries.) In addition a saw would be required to cut out the marble blocks for use in buildings, sculpture, or stelai. The blade was probably fed with emery or some other stone with abrasive qualities. Emery, obtained in large amounts from the islands of Naxos and Icaria, was most often used for cutting purposes, also for smoothing the surface of the block after it had been cut out, but pumice was also employed. If a roughened surface was required in the finished block, this result could be achieved by using a pointed punch; cf. *DAA* 26, and the rough bands on the 'Marathon base'.[4] Files and rasps also served to roughen the surface, and claw chisels to mark it with striations.

The most essential tool for engraving lettering was, of course, the flat chisel.[5] That the Greek mason possessed sets of chisels for engraving is clearly shown from examination of existing stelai, where the width of the chisels used is seen to vary from about 0·001 m. to 0·018 m. or more. Sometimes two chisels of different sizes were used for short inscriptions,[6] but very often it can be seen that the sculptor used a narrow chisel only, and simply moved it along when he wanted to chip out a larger letter, so that the chisel marks slightly overlap.

In addition to the usual tools of the stonemason's trade, the skilled engraver would probably possess various punches and circular cutting tools for incising round letters. In some cases a ruler of some kind must have been used for drawing lines on the stone to keep the lettering straight (either simple horizontal lines, or vertical as well as horizontal for a single or double chequer; cf. below, p. 181 n. 12). If these were drawn, a stick of charcoal would probably be required for the purpose, but occasionally the lines were incised with a knife.

Paints also formed part of the stock-in-trade of the engraver, as the letters of inscriptions were usually, if not always, painted in. Apart from the fact that traces of paint can still be seen on certain stelai, we know that red ochre, cinnabar, blue frit, and other pigments were used in the Agora (where they were detected and analysed by Professor Caley in 1937; see the Agora Records, now in the Stoa Museum), probably chiefly by potters. That red and blue paints were used for painting in the letters of inscriptions is known,[7] though red pigment was mainly used for this purpose in the Classical Age, especially for public records.[8] Unfortunately no evidence remains for the method of applications of these paints. The engraver may have used brushes of pig's bristles or, in the case of small letters, a bronze, iron, or lead stylus with a fine point. It is tempting to suppose that such may have been the use of the pointed iron (IL (Invoice Letter) 772) or lead (IL 155) instruments now in the Stoa Museum, or the slender lead stylus ending in a narrow spatulate tip (IL 535), whose function is not yet known. The fact that the latter was excavated from a fifth-century pit of marble chips does suggest that it may have been employed in some way in connexion with the engraving of stelai.

Among the Agora inscriptions, from which these notes were mostly taken, a few of the early stones (mainly those dating from the sixth century) are of poros, but the majority of those belonging to the fifth century are of Pentelic marble, which, oxidizing with age, gains a very beautiful golden tinge on the surface; but the oxidization also causes the surface to become more or less corroded and pitted, so that it is impossible to decide in many cases whether the stone was originally smoothed by any particular process before engraving took place. The general impression gained is that the process was probably the simple one of levelling the surface with a flat chisel and finally smoothing out the chisel marks, i.e. the slight furrows or depressions at the end of each stroke,[9] with rubbing stones of emery or pumice (p. 180 above).

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[3] *Griechische Bildhauerarbeit* (1927) 3 ff.

[4] *DAA* = Raubitschek, *Dedications from the Athenian Acropolis* (1949). Marathon base: Kirchner, *Imag. Inscr. Att.*² (1935) pl. 9.

[5] It is notable that, among the many ancient tools found in the Athenian Agora, there is no single recognizable iron chisel of the kind of which hundreds must have existed for use on the buildings, sculpture, and stelai on this site. One reason for their absence may be the necessity for constant resharpening, with resultant wearing-down of the chisels, the stumps of which may then have been melted down and recast.

[6] Meritt and West, *The Athenian Assessment of 425* (1934) 26.

[7] Kirchner, op. cit. 10, no. 12.

[8] *DAA* no. 51.

The boundary stones (ὅροι) provide interesting examples of a primitive method of letter-cutting on stone, some of them being 'scrawled' with the edge of a knife-like blade,[10] perhaps in imitation of an earlier method of carving letters on wooden horoi with a knife. Surviving boundary stones are usually 'dated down', and their primitive lettering ascribed to archaizing, or to the fact that they were private documents generally engraved by untutored persons.[11]

Guide-lines, either horizontal for keeping the rows straight, or else forming a complete horizontal and vertical chequer unit,[12] were not noted on any of the fifty-six fragments examined. If originally present, they must have been drawn on the stone and subsequently erased by the engraver.

Owing to the fragmentary nature of the inscriptions, it was not possible to detect errors such as the omission of letters. But, as is well known, serious errors do occur in the best executed inscriptions. Omitted letters have been ingeniously ascribed by Klaffenbach[13] to the letters' having been painted in beforehand, the chiselling of one or two being then omitted through an oversight. Various minor errors of a different nature, noted in the Agora fragments, will be dealt with below.

The letters themselves, with the exception of certain circular letters, were almost certainly inscribed with a flat chisel; the resulting lines are firm and generally rounded in cross-section. Klaffenbach[14] described them as arched (*bogenförmig*). Constant sharpening of the chisel appears to have been required, for the ancient stonemason did not have the modern mason's advantage of tempered steel, and in some of the more complete inscriptions sharpening can be seen to have taken place every dozen or so lines. In large inscriptions the vertical lines of the letters are often cut with two blows of the chisel, the horizontal with one. Frequently overlapping takes place, resulting in variable measurements. In I 1203 (*Hesperia* xxix (1960) 50, pl. 13. 16; here PLATE 30*a*) it can be seen from the marks on the stone that a broad chisel of about 0·015 m. was used. In the third line the vertical and horizontal strokes of the *chi* are done with two slightly overlapping blows of the chisel, so that the letter measures 0·026 m. both ways. The vertical lines of the other letters have approximately similar lengths, varying from 0·026 m. to 0·03 m., depending on the amount of overlapping. The short strokes measure 0·015 m. fairly consistently.

In the list of Athenian archons (I 4130; *Hesperia* viii (1939) 59 f.), a beautifully inscribed but now fragmentary document belonging to the late fifth century, a chisel of 0·012 m. was employed for the upright lines and one of 0·009 m. for the horizontal bars, these measurements remaining fairly constant. The *stoichedon* arrangement is also very regular. These two inscriptions are typical of good early and late work of this period.

Punctuation

The use of punctuation occurs in the earlier Attic inscriptions and practically ceases after the middle of the fifth century, though occasionally found later in dedicatory inscriptions. There appear to have been no special rules for its use. It was most commonly inserted at the ends of the lines of verses inscribed continuously (*DAA* 13), or even at times between every two words (*DAA* 7). About 450 B.C. it became practically confined to separating proper names or numerals or to indicating abbreviations (cf. Tod, *GHI* i (1946) 30), perhaps because it did not fit in with the *stoichedon* arrangement adopted about that time. But in all such cases there are many omissions of punctuation in places where it would be expected to occur.

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[9] Cf. Casson, op. cit. figs. 65–66.

[10] Cf. Agora I 3701, *Hesperia* suppl. 9 (1951) 9, pl. 3. 7.

[11] Op. cit. 48.

[12] For details see Austin, *The Stoichedon Style* (1938) 28, pl. 12, and *DAA* nos. 1 and 168.

[13] *Griechische Epigraphik* (1957) 46.

[14] Ibid.

There also seem to have been no specific rules for the number of dots in the punctuation. There were usually two or three (rarely four) dots one above the other in a vertical row or colon, occasionally forming blocks of four (*Hesperia* xviii (1949) pl. 45. 1), six (*DAA* 331), eight (*DAA* 296), or nine (Austin, op. cit. pl. 5).

When considering the technique of incising the dots, it will be found that the inscriptions containing punctuation fall naturally into three groups, as follows:

1. Those with punctuation consisting of 'simple' dots.
2. Those with punctuation consisting of 'hollowed-out' dots, normally having a minute pit at the base.
3. Those with punctuation consisting of circles with a simple shallow dot in the centre.

1. *Simple dots*

IG i.^{2} 1 (the Salamis Decree). Pentelic marble. Excavated on the Acropolis.

One of the oldest texts of Attic decrees in existence, now dated down to the turn of the sixth and fifth centuries.[15] It is of particular interest owing to the many irregularities, especially in the *stoichedon* arrangement, which was evidently still at the experimental stage, being discarded after the first six lines: in the cola consisting of two, sometimes three, dots (in the latter case not regularly aligned): also in the unevenness of the actual dots, which were apparently executed with a carelessly sharpened punch.

In the colon with double dot the upper dot is roughly circular in outline, the lower triangular. A photograph taken from the reverse side of a squeeze (PLATE 30*b*) shows how this irregularity mars the artistic effect. Cf. also *DAA* 135b.

I 1495b. A small fragment, evidently belonging to a money account (PLATE 30*c*). It contains more errors than usual in *stoichedon* inscriptions. The punctuation-dots are not evenly spaced, the upper interval being 0·005 m. and the lower 0·004 m. apart. They are, however, executed with a punch carefully sharpened to a nail-like point, but the mason applied slightly more pressure to the upper and lower hammer strokes than he did in the case of the middle one. The three dots of the colon in another fragment of the same inscription (1495d) are somewhat similar.

I 1709. Another small inscription on Pentelic marble (FIG. 1) is, again, rather spoilt by the fact that the punctuation-marks are not evenly spaced, and the rows of letters remarkably uneven, showing that no guide-lines were drawn on the stone beforehand.

2. *Hollowed-out dots*

I 1230c. This fragment probably belongs to the early fifth century (PLATE 30*d*). The type of punctuation, which is rather common at this period, consists of shallow depressions evidently gouged out by some tool that leaves a small pit at the bottom. The fragment is imperfectly *stoichedon*, and the first complete colon is far from vertical. In the block of nine dots in line 4, the height of the central *stoichos* is 0·018 m. and that of the right-hand one 0·02 m. On the actual stone the points at the base of the dots can be very clearly seen, and it is even possible to detect them faintly in the photograph. As a comment on the photography of inscriptions, it may be noted that the left-hand stoichos of the triple colon is extremely obscure on the stone, owing to the fracture that occurs at that place, but examination of the photograph shows it to be present without any doubt.

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[15] H. T. Wade-Gery, *CQ* xl (1946) 101 ff.

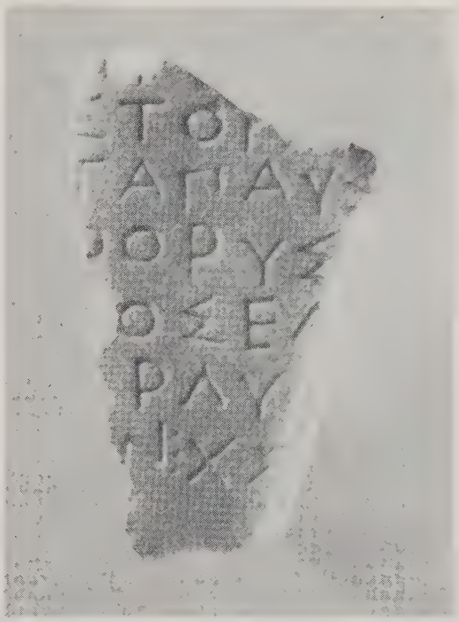

FIG. 1. AGORA I 1709

3. *Circles with a simple shallow dot in the centre*

IG i². 3–4 (Hekatompedon Inscriptions).[16] Two slabs of Parian marble found on the Acropolis, thought to be re-used material from the old Hekatompedon temple. Dated to 485–484 by the name of the archon, they are believed to have been engraved by the same hand as the first Marathon inscription[17] and the dedication of Smikros.[18] It seems hardly necessary to include a reproduction here, but it will be seen from FIG. 2 that a photograph of a squeeze, taken on the reverse side, shows up particularly well the lettering and punctuation of these very beautiful inscriptions. The punctuation consists of either three or nine circles, each with a simple dot in the centre. The circles measure 0·005 m. in diameter, the block of nine occupying a whole chequer-unit and so balancing each of the letters. Much of the artistic effect is due to the fact that there is no variation in the size of the circles and the dots are always exactly in the centre. In the first Marathon inscription the punctuation-dots are slightly smaller (0·004 m. in diameter); and, as in so many cases, the aesthetic effect is marred because the three dots of the solitary example of punctuation are not regularly aligned.

It is now necessary to consider the method of execution of the forms of punctuation belonging to these three groups. The first group (simple dots) presents no difficulty. In early times, when a dot was required, it was the natural course for the mason to take up the first mallet and punch that came to hand and make the necessary incisions without further thought. By the fifth century, however, a more artistic effect was aimed at by sharpening the chisel to an even point, though this practice was by no means always adhered to. But it appears that seldom, if ever, at this early period did the mason take the trouble to draw a vertical line on the stone before engraving took place, so as to ensure that his dots were regularly aligned, still less to measure beforehand the distance between the dots so that they would be evenly spaced.

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[16] Austin, op. cit. 8, 29, 43, pl. 5; Kirchner, op. cit. 12, pl. 9.

[17] Wilhelm, *AM* xxiii (1898) 491; Austin, op. cit. 6 f., 10; Kirchner, op. cit. 18.

[18] Austin, op. cit. 7, 12, pl. 2.

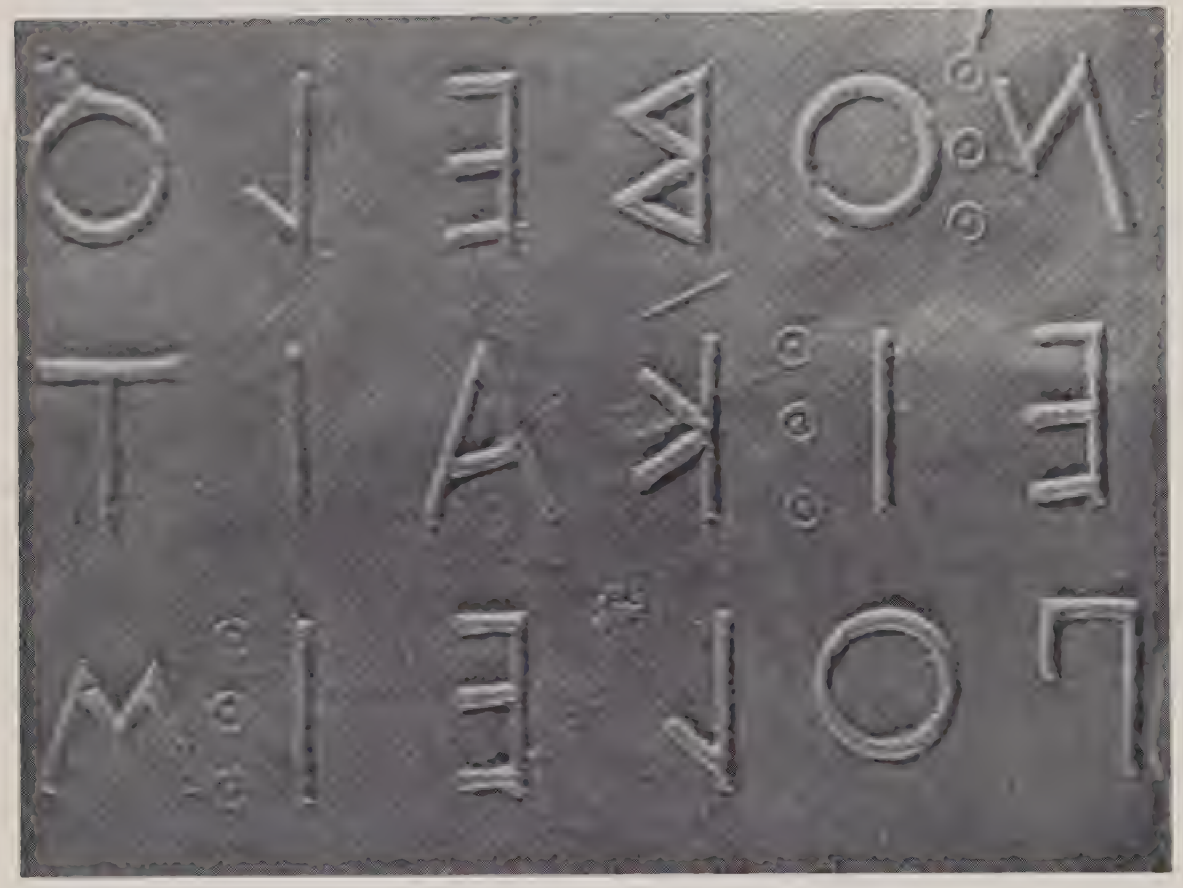

Fig. 2. *IG* I², 3–4 (squeeze, reverse)

The punctuation of the second group (hollowed-out dots with a very small pit at the base) is more problematical. These dots are shallow near the edge and deeper in the centre from the presence of the depression or pit. L. H. Jeffery was of the opinion[19] that a punch was used for this type of punctuation, but if so, would it not have been more natural to adhere to the archaic method (cf. the dedication of the Alcmaeonidae, FIG. 3, photographed from the reverse side of a squeeze) and use a punch that was rounded at the end? What is the significance of the pits at the base? There is a mechanical sort of regularity about them that leads one to suspect that they may have been gouged out by some sort of instrument such as the auger drill,[20] which was probably employed in sculpture for making small shallow holes. It would have revolved round a central point, which would have been the cause of the pit at the base of the rounded depression. Naturally this matter cannot be decided without further research, which would require the examination of similar stone cavities in works of art in other parts of the Greek world besides Athens.

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[19] *Hesperia* xvii (1948) 95.

In the third group (circles with a simple dot in the centre) it is plain from the perfect regularity of the circles and the fact that the dot is always exactly central that an instrument was used similar to those in use for the cutting of circular letters (but of much smaller size), since each circle resembles a miniature *theta* with a dot in the centre where the point of the instrument rested. This tool may have been some kind of tubular drill (p. 179).

Circular letters

Raubitschek drew attention (see p. 179 n. 1) to the technique of cutting circular letters in Greek inscriptions, and indicated the possibility that three different tools (cutting-compass, tridental drill, and tubular drill) had been used for this purpose. The technique seems to have evolved very rapidly, from the early attempts at chipping round letters with a chisel at the beginning of the sixth century to the perfect finish achieved by the master stone-cutters of the fifth century at Athens. Casson describes[21] the inscription on the base of the 'boy-and-girl' stele, now in the Metropolitan Museum, as having the letters *theta*, *omicron*, and *phi* executed by means of a pointed punch used vertically, each circle involving at least a hundred strokes of the punch. In another sixth-century work, the base of a funeral monument of Pentelic marble,[22] it is clear that no cutting tools were used, since the round letters are, like the others, rudely chipped and by no means circular.

Even in the fifth century examples of very rough work exist. In I 4809 (*Hesperia* viii (1939) 54, *ATL* ii. 33), a fragment of the heading of the quota list of 422–421, the examples of *theta* and *omicron* are particularly uneven, and evidently done laboriously with an ordinary punch or chisel. It is only to be expected that the ingenious mind of the Greek should look for some labour-saving device, and, lacking the technical skill of later, more scientific ages, should have turned to the tools already employed for cutting circular designs in stone sculpture. Such, it is believed, were the cutting-compass, the tridental drill, and the tubular drill.

As in the previous notes on Punctuation, the inscriptions examined have been placed in three main groups:

1. Circular letters executed by deepening with a chisel the thin lines incised on the stone by a circular cutting tool which leaves a faint central dot.
2. Circular letters more deeply and widely incised by a circular cutting tool leaving a broad dot in the centre.
3. Circular letters with a wide shallow circumferential line and (in *theta*) a wide shallow dot in the centre.

1. *Circular letters deepened with a chisel*

DAA 59. Dedication of Rhonbos, on a poros statue-base of *c.* 570–560 B.C. found on the Acropolis. The retrograde inscription shows the first complete example of *omicron* (at least) with a central dot that has not been erased (though it was usual to do so in the case of this letter), proving that it was made by means of a circular tool of some kind. The round letters have been skilfully chiselled over so that they closely resemble the rectilinear ones.

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[20] Casson, op. cit. 118, 205.

[21] *AJA* xxxix (1935) 516.

[22] *Hesperia* xvii (1948) 45, pl. 18. 36; Friedländer, *Epigrammata* (1948) 32, no. 28A.

IG i². 472. Dedication of the Alcmaeonidae, on a poros Doric capital, probably *c.* 550 B.C. (FIG. 3). In the *boustrophedon* inscription are two examples (one shown in FIG. 3) of *omicron* with the central dot not subsequently erased by the engraver. The circumferential lines are thinner than those of the straight lettters. In this case the circular lines were not chiselled over to bring them into conformity with the others.

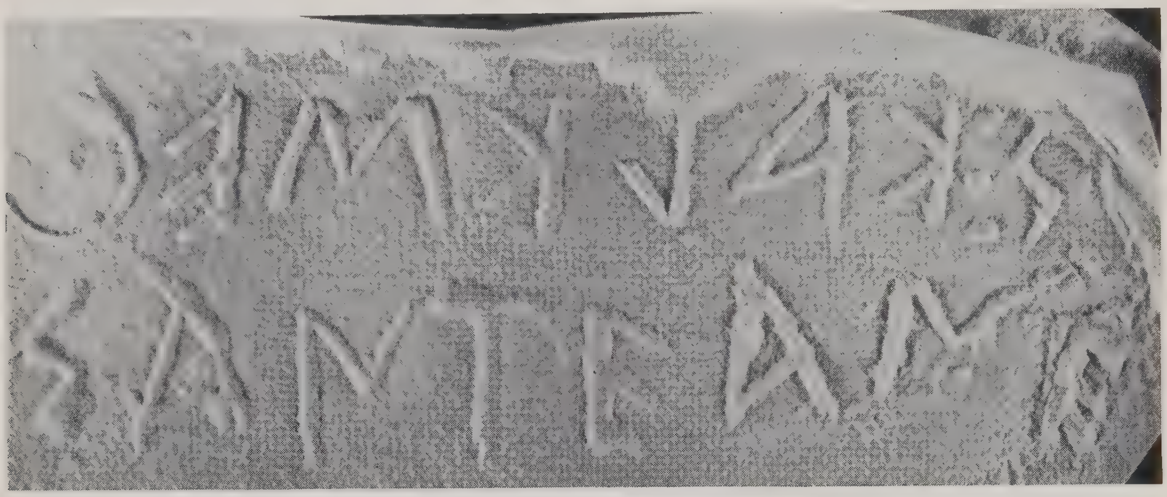

FIG. 3. *IG* i². 472 (squeeze, reverse)

I 4977. A fifth-century *stoichedon* proxeny-inscription on Pentelic marble (PLATE 31*b*). A typical example of Athenian work of this period. The rectilinear letters are slightly irregular in size and seem to have been engraved with a chisel 0·007 m. or 0·008 m. wide, of which the strokes often overlap, but only to a small extent. *Omicron* and *theta* (of which there is apparently only one example) are regularly circular but carelessly chipped over, with the result that the circles are of varying sizes from 5 to 7 mm.

I 2277. The Potidaea Epigram, small additional fragment (*Hesperia* xii (1943) 19 ff., with photograph from a squeeze). This epigram can be accurately dated to 432–431. It shows the chisel marks clearly 'dotting' the original outlines of the round letters.

2. *Circular letters more deeply and widely incised*

IG i². 931–2; I 2006a–c. Argive Monument (*Hesperia* xiv (1945) 134 ff. and xxi (1952) pl. 89. 4). The photograph (PLATE 31*a*), taken from the reverse side of a squeeze, shows only part of the epigram and first names on this large marble stele, of which several fragments have survived, as well as part of the ornamental moulding. The engraver is believed to have been an Argive, but the inscription was probably engraved by him in Athens, where it was set up. The large. bold lettering is very effective, and the circular letters can be seen to be regularly and evenly cut (as far as can be ascertained from the portions of the inscription where the surface of the stone is not destroyed), and measure 0·012 m. in the case of the Agora fragments. Raubitschek refers (see p. 179 n. 1) to some inconsistency in letter-size over the whole inscription, and other irregularities may also have happened because the names of the dead were added to the stele *in situ* as they became known. The central points of the circular letters are slightly deeper than the grooves of the circumferential lines.

A victor's dedication (*DAA* 61), an archaic altar (*DAA* 331), and an archaic cult document (*DAA* 152) are also cited by Raubitschek as having been incised by the same method. No example of this type of lettering (apart from the Agora fragments referred to above) was seen by me in the Stoa Museum. It seems likely that it was not in common use at Athens, except perhaps in the archaic period.

3. *Circular letters with wide shallow lines and dots*

IG i². 3–4. These two inscriptions from the Hekatompedon have already been referred to, p. 183. The photograph taken of a squeeze from the reverse side (FIG. 2) shows up clearly the way in which the lines of the circular letters exactly reproduce those of the rectilinear ones. The punctuation-dots are also reproductions in miniature of the examples of *theta*, and the inscriptions are therefore more consistent than is usual. It should be noted that the central dots of the letter *theta* are shallow and rounded in section like the lines encircling them, and their diameter measurement corresponds exactly to those of the lines. This type of lettering did not apparently come into general use in Attica until the fifth century, but was then increasingly employed, to become eventually the most successful of the various methods of engraving. As has been mentioned (p. 183), the first Marathon inscription and the Smikros dedication are similarly cut. An Amphictyonic decree[23] has the same method of technique, with the notable exception that the three examples of *phi* are executed with a dot in the centre similar to those of *theta*.

I 3745a. A Pentelic marble decree in a comparatively good state of preservation (PLATE 31*c*), chosen from a large number of somewhat similar, but usually less well preserved, fragments in the Stoa Museum. The circular letters are flawlessly executed, although the edges are now occasionally abraded from the oxidization of the surface of the stone; they measure consistently 0·008 m.

There are a few exceptions which do not fall within either of the three groups. Such are: I 3110, where the central dots of the *thetas* are hollowed out in the same way as the punctuation-dots, having a small depression in the centre (p. 182 above), and the well-known Tyrannicides statue-base, which differs in having the central dot of *theta* in εθετεν (the final word) consist of a small circle measuring 0·006 m. in diameter with a boss in the centre measuring 0·003 m. The diameter of the whole *theta* is 0·018 m. This treatment of the letter is clearly ornamental.

In attempting to discover the method of technique by which the circular letters belonging to the first group (thin lines usually deepened afterwards by means of a punch or chisel) were incised, there seems no reason to query Raubitschek's conjecture[24] that the small central dot was made by a tool and therefore that a cutting-compass similar to that used by archaic sculptors and vase painters was a likely instrument for the purpose. This seems almost a certainty when one considers his evidence, based on the inscription on the Polyxenos dedication (*DAA* 342), where one thin incised circle which was larger than the others remains visible outside the chiselled-over circle of the correct size. The cutting-compass, much used in Crete and from the sixth century also in Greece for the cutting of circular objects like the eyes of archaic statues and the spots on a leopard's skin,[25] appears to have been a simple two-legged instrument resembling the modern compasses. It seems unlikely, at any rate, that Greek letterers, who were probably ordinary masons or sculptors by profession, should have overlooked such an obvious and suitable tool for the purpose.

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[23] Meritt, *AJP* lxix (1948) 312 ff.; Wilhelm, *Mnemosyne* ii (1949) 286 ff.

[24] Loc. cit. (n. 1).

The technique of the second group (letters more deeply and widely incised, with deeper central dot) presents much more of a problem, largely because we have so few examples to judge from. The tridental drill, presumed to have been used for these letters by Raubitschek, is thought to have been a three-legged instrument, of which the two outer revolved round a slightly larger central spike. Unfortunately we have no proof that such an instrument ever existed, and we can only presume that some such tool was employed, forming a transition between those used for the first and third groups.

For the Hekatompedon and other inscriptions belonging to the last group (wide shallow dots and lines) some kind of tubular drill may have been used.[26] This tool, commonly used in Egypt, probably consisted of a hollow cylinder which, being rapidly revolved, cut into the surface of the stone by means of emery or some other cutting agent, leaving broad circular lines. In the case of *theta* and the punctuation-dots a variation would have been used, with a central shaft ending in a rounded protuberance which would have left a central depression as well as a surrounding line. That at least two different types were used is fairly certain from the examples of *omicron* and *phi* showing no trace of a dot, and we can only suppose that a very small version of the *theta* tool was employed to cut the punctuation-dots in the Hekatompedon (and related) inscriptions. It is not at all clear how the engravers managed to make the rectilinear lines exact replicas of the circular ones (this is particularly well shown in FIG. 2). It seems hardly possible that they should have gone over them all afterwards with a chisel to make them consistent, but in the present state of our knowledge there is unfortunately no alternative to supposing that this was the case. Finally, it must be remembered that any attempt to classify inscriptions in three or any other number of groups based on the technique of lettering must be to a certain extent inconclusive. Greek tools were almost certainly not mass-produced, at any rate at this early date, and we can assume that most of them were made by the engraver himself. As a result, scores or perhaps hundreds of variations in circular cutting tools may have existed, depending on the individualism of their owner. After all, there may have been a good reason for referring to them all simply as τόρνος, as the Greeks themselves appear to have done.

URSULA K. DUNCAN

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[25] Casson, op. cit. fig. 85.

[26] Ibid. 209 ff.; Raubitschek, loc. cit. (n. 1).

'PLAIN', 'SHORE', AND 'HILL' IN EARLY ATHENS[1]

All those concerned with the early history of Athens must give some consideration to the three 'parties' (the term used in this discussion rather than 'faction') which, it was believed in classical antiquity, divided Attica in the first half of the sixth century B.C. and formed the background to the career of Peisistratos. A considerable bibliography might be assembled on this subject[2] and there would be little excuse for adding to it, did the present writer not feel that previous treatment of the problems involved has been too brief and disjointed. It is intended here first to examine at some length the questions at issue, even if this entails some repetition of generally accepted ideas, and then to hazard some general observations on Athenian affairs of the period.

There are, in fact, four heads under which the problems must be treated: (i) the reality of the existence of regional divisions of Attica such as the parties presuppose, and their localization; (ii) the question of the degree to which parties are, in the ancient sources, connected with these regions; (iii) the question how far persons of whose position and activities we know something can be connected with the regions and the parties; (iv) the validity of the generally accepted views of the aims and policy of the parties and their supposed leaders, followed by an effort to discover an issue which divided Athens and gave rise to the tradition of party strife.

(i)

Basic to the description of the parties in question is a division resting on physical geography: plain, shore, hill. Very characteristic of Attica is the close relation in a relatively small area of all these physical features. Most of Attica can show areas of level or relatively level land, of limited dimensions in every case. These areas are divided by hills in such fashion that hill and

Abbreviations additional to those in standard use

Andrewes = A. Andrewes, *The Greek Tyrants* (1956).
French, *GR* = A. French, 'The Party of Peisistratos', *Greece and Rome* vi (1959) 46 ff.
French, *JHS* = A. French, 'Solon and the Megarian Question', *Journal of Hellenic Studies* lxxvii (1957) 238 ff.
Philippson = Philippson, *Die griechischen Landschaften* i. 3 (1952).
Wade-Gery = H. T. Wade-Gery, *Essays in Greek History* (1958).

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[1] The main substance of this article was given as a lecture by the author at the British School of Archaeology in Athens in 1959 as Visiting Fellow. The author wishes also to thank the University of Sheffield for financial assistance from the University Research Fund.

[2] Cf. most recently Andrewes 102 ff., which presents the problems briefly and well; N. G. L. Hammond, *A History of Greece* (1959) 164–5; A. French, *GR* 46 ff. For a conventional view, cf. Philippson, 981–2.

The article of R. Sealey, 'Regionalism in Archaic Athens' (*Historia* ix (1960) 155–80), came to my notice only when the present discussion was completed. There are some points of contact between my ideas and Mr. Sealey's wide-ranging observations, particularly in pp. 162–6, 170–2 of his article, which includes a discussion of the views of A. French on Solon in *JHS* lxxvii (1957) 238–36. With Sealey's 'local' view of the parties (163–4) I cannot agree. His distinction (168) between ἀστοί and δήμου ἡγέμονες in Solon, fr. 3. 5–7 seems extremely dubious. I would like to believe that Kylon can be connected with Eleusis (168), but I cannot see the force of his argument. I am in agreement with him on Solon as a party man (159), and on the personal nature of the supposed parties (163), but in general I find him too easily satisfied with his interpretation of sources (cf. 161 on Solon, fr. 24. 18–20) and too assured about 'facts' (cf. 171 on Solon and Salamis). In his discussion of the 'city families' (174–5) he seems to lose sight of the point that these city associations must date from the period of the Kleisthenic reforms, and that we are largely ignorant of the position earlier. It might be observed here that it is not beyond hope that archaeology will throw some light on local aristocracies through the discovery of more local burial grounds: on such as are known, see *Kerameikos* vi. 1. 95 ff. Unhappily a good deal has already been lost, and it is sad that what are obviously important families (as in the Kerameikos of Athens) did not see fit to use inscribed gravestones as they did later.

plain with all possible intermediate stages are everywhere closely associated. The coast and the sea are never far away. Hill areas often lie very near to the coast or on it. Even where these hills lie between plain and coast, there are generally ways of access inland from the coast.[3] Thus in matters of definition and location there is from the beginning a strong element of the arbitrary when any attempt is made to fit the geography of Attica to the terminology involved.

The difficulties seem least in the case of the 'Plain' (τὸ πεδίον). There are certainly 'plain' areas, i.e. areas of relatively level land, present in Attica: not to be compared with those of Thessaly, but not greatly inferior to those of Boeotia, Argos, and Elis. They are distributed west of Aigaleos and Parnes; between Parnes, Aigaleos, Pentelikon, and Hymettos; and east of Hymettos. In the Marathon region there is a modest coastal plain. There are, therefore, several areas not too ill-qualified for the description.[4] On the other hand, there is the term τὸ πεδίον, used by Thucydides in his description of the first Spartan invasion of Attica in the Great Peloponnesian War. It was applied by him without qualification to the region east of Aigaleos, approached in the Spartan advance between Aigaleos and Parnes from the Eleusinian and Thriasian plains to the area about Acharnai.[5] The route the Spartans followed must be that of the present-day railway from Eleusis to Athens through the gap closed at some date by the Δέμα Wall.[6] Here and elsewhere Thucydides carefully distinguishes the Eleusinian and Thriasian plains by name from *the* Plain (τὸ πεδίον) *par excellence*. In the second invasion of the Spartans[7] *the* Plain was devastated again, and from it by a route or routes which Thucydides does not make clear they passed ἐς τὴν Πάραλον γῆν.[8] It seems, therefore, that there was a plain which required no further designation: the area bounded by Aigaleos, Parnes, Pentelikon (Brilessos), and Hymettos,[9] the plain of Athens and the Kephissos: *the* plain from the standpoint of Athens itself. In general character and fertility it cannot have differed much, if at all, from the Eleusinian–Thriasian area on the west (at present a stony and infertile hill area divides the two),[10] or from the area bounded by Hymettos, the outliers of Pentelikon, the eastern coastal hills and the hills of south-east Attica, that is, from the modern Mesogia on the east.[11] Its traditional name (preserved not only in Thucydides but also elsewhere in the fifth and fourth centuries)[12] may go back to the period before the complete union of Attica and the acquisition of Eleusis.[13] Its sea-coast, likewise, was probably *the* shore (Akte) *par excellence*, and was associated, like the Plain, with the inheritance of Aigeus, the master of Athens.[14]

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[3] As, for example, to the Mesogia, from Varkiza-Vari (Bay of Varkiza), from Anavyssos (Bay of Anavyssos; cf. Philippson 832 (Bay of H. Nikolaos)); from Porto Rafti and from the Bay of Vraona; farther north, from Rafina by the Megalo Rhevma inland.

[4] It should here be commented that while the plural 'Plains' is not excluded by the Greek 'party' terminology, it cannot be admitted without a careful examination of the evidence.

[5] Thucydides ii. 20. 1; cf. ii. 20. 4 and, on the occasion of the establishment of a fort at Dekeleia, Thucydides' use of τὸ πεδίον in vii. 19. 1–2.

[6] For this wall, see *BSA* lii (1957) 152 ff.

[7] Thucydides ii. 47 and 55.

[8] In ii. 56 called ἡ παραλία.

[9] Cf. Philippson 873, 1001.

[10] Cf. *BSA* lii (1957) 136. That it was less infertile in antiquity may be indicated by the large house near the Δέμα Wall, ibid. 171 f.

[11] Cf. Philippson 815.

[12] Cf. the fragmentary inscriptions *IG* i^2. 840 A 12, 842 C 7; Isaeus v. 22 (property ἐν τῷ Πεδίω); Lysias vii. 24 (property and sacred olives ἐν τῷ Πεδίῳ); Dem. xlix. 11 (ὁ μὲν ἐν Πεδίῳ ἀγρός, owned by Timotheos, son of Konon). On the other hand, in *IG* ii^2. 1635, 144 πεδίον does not appear to have this particular reference. Note in Plutarch, *Them.* 14: Ἀμεινίας ὁ Δεκελεὺς καὶ Σωκλῆς ὁ Πεδιεύς: here Πεδιεύς of some MSS. looks like a deme-name, and has been variously emended. It can hardly be connected with Πεδιεῖς as the possible Inland trittys of Oineis. See n. 53 below; Wade-Gery, *Mélanges Glotz* 883 ff., *Hesperia* ix. 55.

[13] Which, on grounds of fertility and general character, was equally or more important. For the survival of a separatist idea, cf. Thucydides ii. 18 on Oinoe, and the invasion of 'Attica' from that region (ii. 19).

[14] Strabo ix. 392 = Sophocles, fr. 19 (Nauck) = fr. 24 (Pearson). See Jacoby, *FGrH* 328 F 107, *Notes*, nn. 6 and 15, and Harpocration, s.v. Ἀκτή· ἐπιθαλαττίδιός τις μοῖρα τῆς Ἀττικῆς; this seems to indicate a specific region, and so distinct from the use of the term in relation to the whole of Attica, which the lexicon goes on to mention ibid. The common description Ἀκτίτης λίθος must also refer to a particular region. This area Andrewes (103) would make the Paralia of the parties.

The problem of the second area associated with a party is more difficult. The term παραλία (γῆ) was frequently used of sea-coasts.[15] A related form ἡ Πάραλος γῆ is used by Thucydides[16] as a description of the area into which the Peloponnesian army passed from τὸ πεδίον in its second invasion of Attica. This name he characterizes as καλουμένη, as if to suggest a traditional name not wholly self-evident. Gomme would infer[17] that ἡ Πάραλος γῆ here means the sea-coasts of Attica from Aixone[18] to Sounion, and from Sounion to Rhamnous,[19] so that πάραλος would have the ordinary meaning of παράλιος, and indeed Thucydides later uses[20] the term ἡ παραλία. Thucydides' description is vague, and only the direction of the advance in general is made clear, μέχρι Λαυρείου, a general term for the mining area, and less precise than μέχρι Σουνίου would have been. The area invaded, and therefore the meaning of ἡ Πάραλος γῆ, can be determined only by the route the Spartans would take μέχρι Λαυρείου. Basically there are two possibilities: from the plain of Athens south-east and around the south end of Hymettos,[21] following more or less the two (modern) roads: to Glyfada (? Aixone), Vari-Varkiza (Anagyrous), and on to Anavyssos and the southern Laurion area, or turning into the Mesogia via Vari to arrive in the area of modern Koropi and Markopoulo, and so on to the Laurion area via the Plaka Pass. This route had the disadvantage of taking the Spartan forces dangerously near Athens itself from the standpoint of harassing action. The other route, which would seem to be the better, passed between Pentelikon and Hymettos and via Pallene, and would take the Spartans through the Mesogia,[22] more worth laying waste than the coastal areas of south-east Attica from Aixone to Anavyssos and Sounion.[23] Whatever terminology Thucydides uses, the route is pretty clear, and also the Spartan purpose: to damage country habitations and cultivation rather than the mines.[24] ἡ Πάραλος γῆ must therefore include the Mesogia in contemporary parlance, despite the facts that elsewhere παραλία and μεσόγεια are distinguished,[25] and that Thucydides[26] in mentioning the two obvious general aspects of the region east and south-east of Hymettos appears to stress the coasts.

This last-mentioned passage of Thucydides, with its references first to the direction of the

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[15] Cf. Herodotus vii. 185, of Thrace; Aristotle, *Rh.* $1411^{a}11$, of Epidauros; Diodorus xii. 42. 5: ἡ παράλιος τῆς Ἀσίας; Polybius iii. 39. 3. For Attica, cf. Herodotus v. 81 and the usage in connexion with the Kleisthenic demes. In *IG* ii². 2854, 2856, 2857 παραλία certainly means 'sea-coast'. For the term in general, and in particular reference to Attica, see *RE* xviii. 3. 1205 ff.

[16] ii. 55. See also n. 59 below. The same form also appears as qualifying a deme-name, Λαμπτρῆς πάραλοι in a prytany list of Erechtheis, of 367/6 B.C., *Hesperia* xi. 233.

[17] *Commentary* ii. 162, ad loc. Indeed Attica was especially characterized by its coasts, cf. Harpocration, s.v. Ἀκτή . . . . ἐκάλουν δὲ οὕτω (i.e. ?Ἀκτὴ) καὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν . . . οἱ δὲ διὰ τὸ τὴν πλείω τῆς χώρας ἐπιθαλάττιον εἶναι.

[18] On the likely location of Aixone, and on the ancient road through it, see J. Bradford, *Ancient Landscapes* (1957) 31.

[19] Part of this seems to have been called ἡ χώρα ἡ παραλία in the inscription (of the Imperial Roman period?), quoted by Leake, *Topography of Athens* ii. 50, found 'at Kalo-Livadhi . . . about midway between Rhamnous and Oropus'. Cf. *IG* ii². 1260 (of 307–304 B.C.), a reference to Sounion and Rhamnous [καὶ τῆς ἄλ]λης παραλίας πάσης.

[20] ii. 56.

[21] It is very unlikely that any of their forces would use the route dividing Hymettos proper from the 'waterless' Hymettos, from modern Sourmena to Aghios Dhimitrios near Koropi, Philippson 804, 817 n. 3.

[22] Gomme, loc. cit., accepts this route, but then suggests that the Spartans went down to the coast near Aixone or Anagyrous. Some may have done, but it is difficult to see why, for the reasons given in the following note.

[23] There is in modern times something of a coastal strip south-eastwards to Sounion, with cultivated patches at intervals. There might have been more cultivation in antiquity (? lower shore-line); see Philippson 833 for neglect here, in modern times, and lack of water. The same is true north from Sounion. This area may have been more highly cultivated in ancient times than at present; cf. J. H. Young, *Hesperia* xxv (1956) 122 ff. But these coastal areas could not be compared with the plain of Athens or that of the Mesogia about Koropi, Markopoulo, and Keratea, on which see Philippson 815, 821, 830.

[24] A permanent occupation, as later of Dekeleia, could impede the working of the mines; a short incursion could do little in this way, since the means of destruction available to ancient military forces were strictly limited.

[25] Cf. Strabo viii. 1. 21 and 22; 2. 12 and 15.

[26] ii. 55: καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἔτεμον ταύτην ᾗ πρὸς Πελοπόννησον ὁρᾷ, ἔπειτα δὲ τὴν πρὸς Εὔβοιάν τε καὶ Ἄνδρον τετραμμένην . . . . . . This description seems to be the grounds for Gomme's suggestion of a descent to the coast near Aixone or Anagyrous. But it can hardly mean the literal coast for the reasons given above in n. 23.

Peloponnese and then to that of Euboea and Andros, introduces the problem of the northern limits of the Πάραλος γῆ, again part of the question of its identification as an area not wholly coast and distinct from other areas of Attica. Gomme[27] would extend it up to Rhamnous, rejecting the opinion of Diodorus,[28] who expressly excluded the Marathonian tetrapolis. It seems doubtful whether Diodorus' 'silly and sentimental' story (Gomme) justifies the total rejection of his statement and the inclusion of north-east Attica in ἡ Πάραλος γῆ. The difficulty arises in . . . τὴν πρὸς Εὔβοιάν τε καὶ Ἄνδρον τετραμμένην, which can literally be taken as meaning north-east Attica, including the Marathon region and areas still farther north. It seems, however, from the description of this area by Strabo[29] that Euboea could be conceived as lying opposite the whole of the east coast of Attica, and that Thucydides is thinking in vague and general terms (ᾗ πρὸς Πελοπόννησον ὁρᾷ is equally vague for the south-western aspect of eastern Attica). In any case Thucydides' use of ἡ Πάραλος γῆ qualified by καλουμένη, taken with what appears to be a traditional use of the term τὸ πεδίον, makes it not unreasonable to think that he and his contemporaries knew of and referred to a division of Attica[30] which was the background of the story of the inheritance of the sons of Pandion,[31] giving to Pallas τῆς δὲ γῆς τὸ πρὸς νότον, as distinct from τὸν ἀντίπλευρον κῆπον Εὐβοίας, which went to Lykos and can be placed only in north-east Attica: a tradition which was certainly current in the fifth century and probably a good deal earlier.[32] Elsewhere[33] Pallas' share is called the Παραλία as distinct from the Διακρία of Lykos. Παραλία *can* be taken as 'coast', but hardly fits thus into the general scheme of the legendary division. It is to be noted that in the fairly early tradition of the war of Pallas and his sons against Theseus[34] their army marches on the Sphettian Way[35] or starts from Sphettos,[36] and thus Pallas and the Paralia are firmly connected with the Mesogia,[37] and Paralia must mean a region not exclusively coast.[38] There are obscurities in some uses of the words Πάραλος, Παραλία,[39] but the main point here arising seems clear enough, if we confine ourselves to fixing the *region* on other evidence than that which involves the parties.

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[27] *Commentary* ii. 162.

[28] xii. 45. 1. Cf. the sparing of Dekeleia in Herodotus ix. 73.

[29] ix. 1. 1: ἡ Εὔβοια . . . . ἑκατέρωθεν . . . .; cf. ibid. 1. 2: Γεραιστὸς δὲ . . . . . Βοιωτίᾳ; also ix. 1. 7 (on Geraistos) and viii. 1. 22: πρόκειται δὲ . . . . παραλίας. All naturally vague if Strabo never visited Attica; on this point see *AJA* lxiii (1959) 253. On the ancient concept of the sea-coasts of south Attica, see *Hesperia* x (1941) 176 f. and notes.

[30] Traditional even if odd; cf. Plato, *Critias* 111a, on the shape of Attica as a promontory: πᾶσα ἀπὸ τῆς ἄλλης ἠπείρου μακρὰ προτείνουσα εἰς τὸ πέλαγος οἷον ἄκρα κεῖται, and Harpocration, s.v. 'Ακτή mentioned in n. 17 above.

[31] Strabo ix. 392 = Sophocles, fr. 19 (Nauck) = frag. 24 (Pearson). In *RE* xviii. 3. 1205 ff. (s.v. Paralia) Lenschau puts the share of Lykos, 'das Bergland', opposite Euboea and as far south as Brauron on the ground of Peisistratos's connexion with that place, and the Paralia in south-east Attica mainly on the basis of Thucydides. For the whole subject of the legend of the sons of Pandion, see Jacoby, *FGrH*, on 328 F 107 (Philochoros), *Commentary* 427–31, *Notes* nn. 2, 6–15, with reference also to Aristophanes, *Lys.* 58 and Scholia.

[32] Cf. Jacoby, ibid., *Commentary* 430–1, who would carry the claim to the Megarid and Salamis back at any rate to the second half of the seventh century, and with it, therefore, the fourfold division in the legend. He goes on to say: 'Further, though the "parties" of the παράλιοι, πεδιακοί and διάκριοι are mentioned only once in the sixties of the sixth century, nobody will doubt that the antagonism had developed and asserted itself for two or three generations.' Whose antagonism and why on a local basis?

[33] Schol. Aristoph. *Lys.* 58: Πάλλαντι τὴν Παραλίαν. See Jacoby, *FGrH* 328 F 107, *Commentary* 427. Repeated in Schol. Aristoph. *Vesp.* 1223, on which see Jacoby, *FGrH* 328 F 107, *Notes* 329 n. 1.

[34] Philochoros in Schol. Eurip. *Hipp.* 35; Plutarch, *Thes.* 13 (from Kleidemos?). See Jacoby, op. cit., *Commentary* 431, *Notes* 337 n. 10, and *passim*, *Commentary* and *Notes* on 328 F 108, especially *Notes* 338 n. 14: 'I am inclined to believe that the story of the Pallas War is half a century or more earlier than the return of Peisistratos.'

[35] Its location is obscure: east of Hymettos or between Hymettos and Pentelikon? Discussed by Leake, *Topography of Athens* (1841) ii. 25 ff., and by Jacoby, op. cit., *Commentary* 433. Both are agreed that the Sphettian Way is a route from or through the Mesogia.

[36] The position of the deme is also uncertain, but somewhere in the Mesogia: Leake places it at Spata, Philippson in the region of Koropi; Jacoby is not willing to locate it exactly in this area.

[37] The march of Pallas and his sons through the Mesogia would not exclude the suggestion of French (*GR* 52) that the Paralia was the *extreme* south-east of Attica and that the Mesogia was part of the Diakria. See below.

[38] Leake, op. cit. ii. 12–13, on the basis of Hesychius, s.v. Διακρεῖς, makes a distinction between Παραλιεῖς or Παράλιοι, 'the borderers of the southern and eastern coasts', and the Μεσογαιεῖς or Μεσόγειοι, 'the inhabitants of the country included within Hymettus, Pentelicum and the Paralia'. Cf. *RE* v. 1. 318, s.v. Diakria. Andrewes (102–3) takes the view

The same tradition ascribed the Διακρία to Lykos.[40] The use of the term elsewhere[41] makes clear its meaning, a hill region. It is true that in our oldest authority, Herodotus, the party is given the name ὑπεράκριοι. It would be possible to justify a term ὑπερακρία[42] to denote a region, but in the strong tradition concerning Lykos the form Διακρία always appears; cf. the description of the Athenian jurymen as Diakrians through the association of Lykos (or his shrine) with the courts.[43] Though it is true that there are other hill regions in Attica, as, for instance, in the south-east, the hill region *par excellence* is that north of the πεδίον and the Πάραλος γῆ,[44] and just as the Πάραλος γῆ was not all coast, so the Διακρία was not all hill or mountain (cf. the plain of Marathon). On the other hand, if the name means anything at all, it is going too far to include on politico-economic grounds the Mesogia in this region.[45] The southern boundaries of the Diakria would be Parnes, Pentelikon, and the distinctly hilly region one sees when looking south-east from Raphina (unless the Megalo Rhevma were actually the boundary).[46] Vraona (connected with ancient Brauron) lies not too far away,[47] but the exact division is difficult to establish between Diakria and Paralia. The idea of a lexicographer[48] that Brauron was the limit

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that Paralos/Paralia can mean several things (as indeed the Kleisthenic term shows), and suggests that 'Lycurgus' Plain must be the main plain immediately north of Athens, and Megacles' Coast is the stretch immediately south.'

[39] As (i) Euripides, *Suppl*. 659, on the allies of Theseus, if we read παράλων ἐστολισμένων δορί with Wilamowitz (*Hermes* xxvi. 235) rather than αὐτόν τε Πάραλον ἐστολισμένον δορί. (ii) Aristophanes, *Lys*. 58: ἀλλ' οὐδὲ Παράλων οὐδεμία γυνὴ πάρα | οὐδ' ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος.... Salamis is mentioned for the sake of the inevitable joke (59–60); Πάραλοι Van Leeuven, ad loc., would interpret as the inhabitants in general of the sea-coasts. In both (i) and (ii) some *one* region would make better sense. (iii) The origins of the hero Paralos (cf. Euripides, *Suppl*. 659) are very obscure, with his shrine τὸ Παράλιον (in the Piraeus?), to which (Dem.) xlix. 25 must refer, and a college of Πάραλοι, of which *IG* ii^2. 1254 is a decree of the later fourth century. Were they a parallel to the Salaminioi of Sounion? (iv) Equally obscure are the origins of the name of one of the state galleys (ἡ Πάραλος, Thuc. viii. 74, Dem. xxi. 173, Aristophanes, *Av*. 1204, Aristotle, *AthPol* 61. 7, *IG* ii^2. 1623, 225). It might be suggested that it got its name from sailing to Delos from Prasiai, if this could be demonstrated; Schol. Aristoph. *Av*. 147, allots the Paralos to *theorika*, but Schol. Dem. xxi. 216, Dindorf 570. 3 seems to name the Salaminia as going to Delos, so there appears to be nothing significant in the name in this connexion. (v) Paralos was also the name of a son of Perikles (Plut. *Per*. 24), brother of Xanthippos and half-brother of Kallias the son of Hipponikos. A Hipponikos was one of Solon's friends and might as a conjecture be connected with the Paralioi. There is in all these uses of the name plenty of scope for the uninhibited imagination.

[40] See p. 192 n. 31 for the main references; add Aristophanes, *Vesp*. 1223; Leake, op. cit. ii. 13; *RE* v. 1. 318, s.v. Diakria. For τὸν ἀντίπλευρον κῆπον Εὐβοίας, see above, p. 191 n. 26.

[41] Cf., for Euboea and Rhodes, *ATL* i (1939) 480 (under Διάκριοι ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ); note that in these cases the adjective describing the inhabitants is used, as in local associations of Attica, rather than the name of the region. The Διάκριοι or Διακρῆς in Euboea (both forms occur in List 26 and A 9 of *ATL*) are 'probably to be sought in the mountainous region of Central Euboea'. For Πεδιεῖς in Phokis, see Hdt. viii. 33 and *Hell. Ox*. xiii. 5. In Rhodes Πεδιε͂ς ἐλ Λίνδω appear in a fragment of a quota-list, *Hesperia* viii. 51. For Παράλιοι as a μέρος of the Malians, see Thuc. iii. 92. 1–2.

[42] Cf. Herodotus vi. 20, τὰ ὑπεράκρια, 'the highlands', and i. 59, which would then mean 'men of the highlands', rather than 'men beyond the heights', which is the meaning suggested by Andrewes (102), taken by him to apply to all those dwelling beyond the mountains encircling the Plain of Athens and therefore including the Diakria connected through Brauron with Peisistratos. Something of a parallel would then be provided by Xenophon, *Hell*. ii. 4. 4 where the Phyle region or thereabouts is called αἱ ἐσχατιαί 'the border region', which it is from the standpoint of Athens, if not in strict truth. An interesting suggestion is that of Myres (in How and Wells, *A Commentary on Herodotus* i. 59): that ὑπεράκρια means the regions above the corn-line. Hyperakrioi might then mean displaced cultivators who sought a livelihood anywhere in Attica above the cultivation line *at that time*. Note that Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom*. i. 13 rather dimly understood Hyperakrioi as mountain dwellers.

[43] Aristophanes, *Vesp*. 1222 ff.: Βδ. Τούτοις ξυνὼν τὰ σκόλι' ὅπως δέξει. | Φι. καλῶς. Βδ' Αληθες; Φι. Ὡς οὐδείς γε Διακρίων ἐγώ. Lykos was patron of the dicasteries, cf. *Vesp*. 329, 389; hence jurymen are called Diakrians, his votaries. For the position of Lykos in Athens, see Wycherley, *The Athenian Agora* iii, *Testimonia* 148. The references show that the idea of the region and its legend survived in the later fifth century, as in the case of the Paralia and Pedion even later. See *CQ* liv (1960) 247.

[44] See n. 42 above.

[45] As French does, op. cit., p. 192 n. 37 above.

[46] See Philippson 818 (on Rafina): south of the Megalo Rhevma and Rafina, 'ein breites Hügelland'.

[47] On Brauron, see Philippson 818, 820. Pausanias i. 33. 1–2 seems to take Brauron as the dividing area.

[48] Cf. Hesychius, s.v. Διακρεῖς· χώρα ἡ ἀπὸ Πάρνηθος εἰς Βραυρῶνα, in which an 'inhabitant' name is used for the region. Unfortunately the text is corrupt.

of the Diakria is probably nothing more than one begotten of the association of Peisistratos with Brauron and with the Diakrioi. This traditional location of the Diakria has been confused ever since Ure,[49] in sustaining his thesis on the connexion of tyrants with industry, sought to connect the Diakrian supporters of Peisistratos with the supposed free miners of the Laurion region, and thus the problem became associated with the development of the mines there and Peisistratos' control of them. As is shown in the Appendix to this article, the evidence adduced to place the Diakria in south-east Attica is quite unsatisfactory and cannot affect the ancient tradition.

It would seem, then, that in the classical period, and probably earlier, three regions were recognized: Pedion, Paralia, and Diakria, quite apart from the question of the parties.

(ii)

In dealing with the question next in order, that is, the terms for the parties which seem to be connected with the regions, it is important to get clear the details of what we are told, including the descriptions of the parties given by our authorities. We are informed, in Aristotle's *AthPol*,[50] that there was a regional connexion of parties and party names: that, in fact, the parties got their names from the regions in which the party leaders possessed and cultivated their lands. This seems to be re-echoed vaguely by Plutarch,[51] unless in his statement 'differences' means differences of interests, or the existence of enmities, in the countryside of Attica. Elsewhere, however, the regional divisions *qua* divisions are not particularly stressed as producing the divided factions. (i) The party which seems to derive its name from τὸ πεδίον is directly and expressly connected with it only by Herodotus.[52] The party is given the name expressly connected with it only by Herodotus.[52] The party is given the name Πεδιεῖς[53] by Plutarch,[54] and described by its political characteristics in one passage and by its leader in the other. In the latter passage Plutarch makes Athens the forum of political rivalry, and a possible misunderstanding of this seems in Diogenes Laertius[55] to have given rise to the idea of a city party distinct from the Πεδιεῖς, unless this is a survival of some idea of rivalry within the party. The alternative term Πεδιακοί appears in Aristotle's *Politics*,[56] where the position of the party of Peisistratos is simplified into an opposition of ὁ δῆμος to οἱ πλούσιοι, and in *AthPol*,[57] where the Πεδιακοί are the supporters of ὀλιγαρχία (cf. ὀλιγαρχικώτατον of Plutarch).[58] The stress is on politics rather than on locality. (ii) The same is true of the second party. It is given the name οἱ πάραλοι by Herodotus,[59] who uses what may be the earlier and traditional form employed by Thucydides in ἡ πάραλος γῆ,[60] and may infer a regional significance in his parallel of τῶν παράλων καὶ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου Ἀθηναίων. The same form is used twice by Plutarch.[61] The variant form παράλιοι appears in *AthPol*[62] and in one passage of Plutarch.[63] Apart from Herodotus and Plutarch (in *Solon* 13, if διαφοραί are taken to refer to regional divisions), the sources do not connect the party with the region, and even Herodotus and Plutarch (in the passage last mentioned) do not do so very clearly. In *AthPol*,[64] as in the case of the Πεδιακοί (οἳ τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν ἔζητουν), the definition is a political one: οἵπερ ἐδόκουν μάλιστα διώκειν τὴν μέσην πολιτείαν . . .; cf. Plutarch:[65] τρίτοι δ' οἱ πάραλοι μέσον τινὰ καὶ μεμιγμένον αἱρούμενοι πολιτείας τρόπον ἐμποδὼν ἦσαν καὶ διεκώλυον τοὺς ἑτέρους κρατῆσαι. That this, like the political description of Solon himself,[66] recalls the Aristotelian theory of the μέση πολιτεία does not, of course, exclude differences of another sort in the earlier period. The vagueness even of Herodotus seems to show that already in his time the sixth-century situation was not clearly understood. (iii) The third party presents a similar problem. The term given by Herodotus[67] is ὑπεράκριοι, taken on the one hand by Wilamowitz as 'ungenau',[68] on the other preferred by Andrewes[69] as the more ancient and correct form. It may be noted that Herodotus, our earliest authority, departs more clearly here, than in the case of the other parties, from the idea of locality, for the ὑπεράκριοι are not defined by him except in so far as a distinction seems to be made between the στασιῶται of Peisistratos and his ostensible championship of the ὑπεράκριοι.[70] The alternative term Διάκριοι appears in *AthPol*[71] and in Plutarch.[72] In *AthPol* they are again left undefined, but Peisistratos is their leader, and with them (whoever they may have been) are organized (προσεκεκόσμηντο) two categories certainly not localized: groups who felt themselves to have been wronged or likely to be: (*a*) οἱ ἀφῃρημένοι τὰ χρέα, who, whatever the uncertainties in the language or the knowledge of *AthPol*, were surely[73] those freed from debt, *not* wealthy men who through Solon's *seisachtheia* lost money through the freeing of the serfs and the land; (*b*) οἱ τῷ γένει μὴ καθαροὶ διὰ τὸν φόβον who, if they existed at all and are not a category imagined in the light of later events,[74] would be those brought in by Solon[75] as craftsmen, or their children, who now (but why now?) felt their citizen status to be in jeopardy. They can hardly be, as it has recently been suggested,[76] offspring of mixed marriages who for this reason could not possess land. If the passage means anything, it means that they rallied to Peisistratos not because of their present condition (it is the other class which suffers from ἀπορία) but because of apprehensions for the future. This is the point which confirms the view that this is a carry-back from later events at the time of the fall of the tyranny. Finally, if one category looks bogus, can we trust the description of the other? As noticed above, it is here stated in *AthPol* of all three factions: εἶχον δὲ ἕκαστοι τὰς ἐπωνυμίας ἀπὸ τῶν τόπων ἐν οἷς ἐγεώργουν, which in the case of the diverse categories of Peisistratos' faction can refer only to him and his leading associates. Plutarch[77] speaks of τὸ μὲν τῶν Διακρίων γένος, where γένος is carelessly or curiously used, and would naturally be taken to mean a 'clan'. The description δημοτικώτατος, applied in *AthPol* to Peisistratos (= 'friend of the people', cf. Isocrates, *Areop.* 59), is here applied to the group. Again in another passage[78] a politico-economic definition is given by Plutarch: ἐν οἷς ἦν ὁ θητικὸς ὄχλος καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς πλουσίοις ἀχθόμενος (which reminds us how much later political events and developments influenced these definitions), and the local connexion is only inferred or indirectly expressed.

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[49] Ure, *Origins of Tyranny* 37 ff.; *CR* xxxix (1925) 155–6, in answer to S. Casson, ibid. 5–7; G. Thomson, *Aeschylus and Athens* 90. Rejected by Seltman, *Athens, Its History and Coinage* 38 n. 4. See Appendix below.

[50] 13. 5.

[51] *Solon* 13. Πόλις would here most naturally mean the whole state. It might mean Athens in the narrower sense; cf. *Solon* 29: οἱ δὲ ἐν ἄστει πάλιν ἐστασίαζον.

[52] i. 59. 3: οἱ ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου Ἀθηναῖοι.

[53] Note that Herodotus does not give a name to the faction ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου. The term πεδιακοί is used by Aristotle (see below, n. 56), πεδιεῖς by other sources. Πεδιεῖς may also be the name of a Kleisthenic trittys, cf. *SEG* x. 373 (*c*. 450, of the Oeneis tribe), *Hesperia* ix. 55 n. 3, but heavily restored ([Πε]|δι[έον]). See Philippson 1001. In Plutarch, *Them*. 14 (Σωκλῆς ὁ) Πεδιεύς looks like a deme-name. The form given in the Suda, s.v. Πάραλοι, viz. Πεδιάσιοι, is certainly a corruption.

[54] *Solon* 13: ἦν γὰρ . . . . . . ὀλιγαρχικώτατον δὲ τὸ τῶν Πεδιέων (here placed, like the other parties, before Solon's reforms (cf. *Moralia* 763D, 805D), a dating rejected by Sandys, note to *AthPol* 13. 5) and ibid. 29: οἱ δὲ ἐν ἄστει πάλιν ἐστασίαζον ἀποδημοῦντος τοῦ Σόλωνος, καὶ προειστήκει τῶν μὲν Πεδιέων Λυκοῦργος (κτλ·).

[55] i. 2. 58.

[56] $1305^{\mathrm{a}}24$.

[57] 13. 4.

[58] *Solon* 13.

[59] i. 59. The adjective generally means 'by' or 'near' the sea, Sophocles, *Ajax* 413, Euripides, *Ion* 1584, or 'concerned with the sea', 'naval', Herodotus vii. 161.

[60] ii. 55.

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[61] *Solon* 13: τρίτοι δ' οἱ πάραλοι . . . . . . Also in Diogenes Laertius i. 58, Plutarch, *Moralia* 763D, Suda, s.v. Πάραλοι. See also p. 193 n. 39 above.

[62] 13. 4.

[63] *Moralia* 805D. As in the other two passages of Plutarch (n. 61), the existence of the faction is here inferred before Solon's reforms (διεστώσης ἐς τρία μέρη τῆς πόλεως), but order is not Plutarch's strong point.

[64] 13. 4.

[65] *Solon* 13.

[66] *AthPol* 5. 3: ἦν δ' ὁ Σόλων . . . . τῇ μὲν . . . . τῶν μέσων.

[67] i. 59. Cf. Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* i. 13, and Schol. Dem. 623. 2 (Dindorf). See p. 193 n. 42 above.

[68] *Aristoteles und Athen* i. 31.

[69] *The Greek Tyrants* 13. See p. 193 n. 42 above.

[70] συλλέξας δὲ στασιώτας καὶ τῷ λόγῳ τῶν ὑπερακρίων πρόστας.

[71] 13. 4.

[72] *Solon* 13 and 29, *Moralia* 805D, but Ἐπάκριοι in *Moralia* 763D. On Ἐπακρία, Ἐπακρεῖς, see the Appendix below. *Etym. Magn.* mentions Ζεύς Ἐπακριος worshipped on Hymettos and Parnes.

[73] There are two relevant passages, 13. 3 and 13. 4, of which (3) gives two main divisions (apart from the φιλονικία which must be in reference to the archonship mentioned in (2)): (*a*) those who had as basis and theme of their discontent the χρεῶν ἀποκοπή because they had become poor; (*b*) those displeased with the constitution, because of its modification (μεταβολή, technical term). Then follow the three στάσεις, two of which are clearly intended to balance (*a*) and (*b*) above, with the παράλιοι between. The Πεδιακοί are characterized by a political aim, ὀλιγαρχία, and must correspond to (*b*) above: the rich and noble, who were the former oppressors economically as well as politically before the *seisachtheia* and the Solonian constitution. Part of the Diakrioi are characterized as οἱ ἀφῃρημένοι τὰ χρέα, cf. the χρεῶν ἀποκοπή of (*a*), and their ἀπορία corresponds to the πένησιν of (*a*). They appear to be separate from (*b*). Whatever the ambiguities of language (χρέα can apply to both debtor and creditor, and so can ἀφῃρημένοι), poverty is the characteristic of this category. It is impossible to believe that any part of the pre-Solonian creditor class was so deeply committed to loans to the debtor class that when the *seisachtheia* took place and the land was freed (whatever that might mean) any of the former rich were so reduced as to be in a state of ἀπορία (so Aly, *RE* series 2, iii. 957). It introduces less illogic politically and economically to say that οἱ ἀφῃρημένοι τὰ χρέα were those freed from debt, and that they found themselves πένητες in the sense that they no no longer had any claim to any sort of income, e.g. as Hektemors, or even to maintenance as slaves.

[74] Mentioned in 13. 5; see Sandys's note ad loc.

[75] Plutarch, *Solon* 24.

[76] French, *GR* 46.

(iii)

Equally interesting and problematic is the question of the connexion of individuals to the regions and the parties. The surviving tradition provided one leader for each party (a point very much to be noted): (i) of the Πεδιακοί or Πεδιεῖς Lykourgos, son of Aristolaides.[79] If he was the ancestor of the later fourth-century statesman of the deme of Boutadai (city trittys of Oeneis) and of the clan of the Eteoboutadai, it *might* be suggested that the earlier Lykourgos was also of this clan and possessed of a local connexion with the πεδίον; but it is by no means quite certain.[79a] (ii) Of the Πάραλοι or Παράλιοι Megakles II, the son of Alkmeon II.[80] The possibility of localizing Alkmeonid connexions is a small one. The association with them of Paionia and Leipsydrion,[81] and the legend of the Alkmeonidai and Paionidai as immigrants from Pylos to Attica,[82] serve in no way to connect the Alkmeonidai with the deme of Paionidai (on the borders of the πεδίον, if Menidi near Acharnai represents the ancient deme of Paionidai). In fact the Alkmeonidai cannot with certainty be connected with any region of Attica, least of all the Paralia. Members of the Alkmeonid *oikia* after the reform of Kleisthenes belonged to the deme of Alopeke[83] in the *asty*, but this is obviously to be explained as the natural place of settlement for political ends on their return from exile. We know nothing of Alkmeonid regional connexions in the seventh century: those who were archons were Eupatrids[84] who would certainly have town establishments, but it has not been shown that Eupatrid country estates were localized in any one part of Attica. In any case it is to be supposed that the earlier expulsion of the Alkmeonidai severed for the time being any local connexion which they had, though local loyalty might remain. It cannot be deduced from the use of Leipsydrion as a base for their abortive attempt to return in the reign of Hippias that this area of Parnes had any special connexion with them, since (i) other groups were also associated in the Leipsydrion episode,[85] and (ii) the Parnes region was a natural one for them to attempt to occupy.[86] There is a possibility that earlier, on his return from exile, Alkmeon II used the wealth he somehow obtained abroad[87] to purchase land in, say, south-east Attica[88] if this return took place after the freeing of the land by Solon: for, though it may be admitted that wealth not represented by real estate was politically important in this period, there must have been for long a firm tradition that political leaders should be land-holders.[89] This is only conjecture, however, and in fact we cannot localize the Alkmeonidai either as a family or as individuals before the time of Kleisthenes, and it cannot be shown that Megakles, as leader of the Paralioi, was locally connected with the Paralia. (iii) The position is just a little more satisfactory in the case of Peisistratos, leader of the Diakrioi. We hear of his father Hippokrates[90] in a form of anti-tyrant cautionary tale related by Herodotus, who says nothing there of Hippokrates' descent. In another passage[90a] the same historian mentions the claim to Neleid descent, but again nothing of local origins. The claim to Neleid descent (if Herodotus' argument of the significance of the name Peisistratos is accepted) went back farther than Hippokrates, for a Peisistratos appears in the archon-list under the year 669/8 B.C.,[91] the first appearance of this rare name with its Pylian associations,[92] unless it is a retrospective entry. If the entry is genuine, and assuming the same family is involved in each case, we may regard the family as Eupatrid on the arguments of Wade-Gery[93] and carry back the tradition of the immigration at least to the seventh century, but that is all. Plutarch, on the other hand,[94] states that Peisistratos had a connexion with Philaidai (Brauron)[95] in east Attica, which received its name as a deme from the *genos* of the Philaidai: καὶ δῆμον ἐπώνυμον Φιλαίου τῶν Φιλαιδῶν ἔχουσι, ὅθεν ἦν Πεισίστρατος. The words of Plutarch are just a little ambiguous, but it is natural to take ὅθεν as referring to the deme-area rather than to Philaios or the *genos*. If this is correct, Plutarch does not necessarily infer that Peisistratos had a connexion with the *genos* of the Philaidai, and indeed this seems to be excluded by the claim to Neleid descent, which was not made for the *genos*.[96] Apart from this connexion with Brauron, which *might* be placed in the Diakria, it is not easy to prove an association of Peisistratos with north-east Attica, the suggested location of the Diakria. His landing on his second return at Marathon[97] no more indicates any close association with this region than the landing of Hippias there[98] with the Persians in 490 B.C., when considerations were military. On an earlier occasion, for one who sought allies in Boeotia and Euboea and turned his eyes to north Greece, it was a natural point of departure[99] and arrival (though not for all his allies on his return[100]). It is, however, worth pointing out that the return of Peisistratos via Marathon is recorded as not arousing alarm at first when he halted there, or even when supporters rallied to him,[101] and action was taken only when he began to move towards Athens.[102] There might therefore be some reason to conclude a particular connexion of Peisistratos with the Marathon region, which made his return there less alarming than it might otherwise have been. If, on the other hand, the connexion with Brauron is admitted, it is still possible to associate Peisistratos with the Diakria, if we accept the statement of Hesychius as to its limits. As observed above,[103] the

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[77] *Solon* 13.

[78] Ibid. 29.

[79] Herodotus i. 59; Aristotle, *AthPol* 13. 4 and 14. 3; Plutarch, *Solon* 29.

[79a] To the clan of the Eteoboutadai belonged the hereditary priesthoods of Apollo Erechtheus and Athena Polias, which seems to argue a close connexion with Athens itself. But need *all* members of the clan have this association, even supposing we could be sure that the earlier Lykourgos belonged to it?

[80] On the Alkmeonids in general see *RE* i. 1555 ff.; *Hesperia* xv. 275 for a *stemma*; *Hesperia* xix. 376 ff.; for those of the name of Megakles, see *RE* xv. 125 ff.; chronology, N. G. L. Hammond, *CQ* vi (1956) 47; archon list, T. J. Cadoux, *JHS* lxviii (1949) 70 ff. On the Alkmeonid οἰκία rather than γένος, see Wade-Gery 106 ff.; a different view is held by W. S. Ferguson, *Hesperia* vii (1938) 43 n. 3.

[81] Wilamowitz, *Aristoteles und Athen* ii. 75. The argument is the attempted seizure of Λειψύδριον . . . . . τὸ ὑπὲρ Παιονίης by the Alkmeonids and others, in one of the attempts to expel Hippias, Herodotus v. 62, *AthPol* 19. 3, and Sandys's note ad loc. on Λειψύδριον τὸ ὑπὲρ Πάρνηθος; it is suggested that this site on Parnes might have been their native place, on the fringe of the Pedion.

[82] Pausanias ii. 18. 9. Cf. Toepffer, *Att. Geneal.* 225 ff. They may have been 'new nobility' and so claimed Pylian blood when given access to the Areopagus by Solon's arrangements (Wade-Gery 108), but this says nothing of their local connexions. In desperation one might try to connect Megakles with the Mesogia (and so with the Paralia) in that he and Peisistratos enlisted Phye from Paiania (if she didn't come from the later city deme of Kollytos, the deme of some later Peisistratids), but Athena might be expected in any case to come from this direction at the restoration. Myron of Phlya, one of those responsible for the expulsion of the Alkmeonids, probably came from the district of the Pedion associated with the Lykomidai (see Paus. i. 22. 7, iv. 1. 4; Plutarch, *Them.* 1; *IG* ii^{2}. 2670), but there is no reason to suppose a local enmity.

[83] Kirchner, *PA* no. 9689, &c. (*stemma*, 53); for other demes, cf. Kallixenos, son of Aristonymos, of *Xypete* (*Hesperia* xix (1950) 376 ff.), and Leobotes of *Agryle* (*PA* 9071), '. . . both probably connected with the Alkmeonidai through the female line' (*Hesperia* xix. 378). See also Wade-Gery 107 n. 1.

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[84] Wade-Gery 101.

[85] Herodotus v. 62: ἅμα τοῖσι ἄλλοισι Ἀθηναίων φυγάσι πειρωμένοισι........; *AthPol* 19. 3: οἱ φυγάδες, ὧν οἱ Ἀλκμεωνίδαι προειστήκεσαν ...... From Isocrates xvi. 26 it appears that Alkibiades I was one of these, cf. Hatzfeld, *Alcibiade* 11. So, too, may have been the great-grandfather of Andocides on the best interpretation of *De Myst.* 106 and *De reditu* 26, and the grandfather of Antiphon of Rhamnous (Antiphon, fr. 1, cf. Wilamowitz, *A.u.A.* ii. 76 n. 6). See also *RE* xix. 175 for the suggestion that among those in exile after Peisistratos' final return was Kallias the son of Phainippos, Herodotus vi. 121, *PA* 7833. The coin evidence for the Eteoboutadai (Jacoby, *FGrH* 328 F 115, *Notes* 359 n. 8) is much more doubtful. Such as these may have determined the choice of Leipsydrion.

[86] Convenient of access from Central Greece. We cannot attach too much importance to its name as a 'waterless spot'; see Sandys, note to *AthPol* 19. 3.

[87] Alkmeon II: though there is some uncertainty about individuals of this name (see *PA* 651) who appear in various connexions (Toepffer, in *RE* i. 1555 ff.), this member of the οἰκία of the Alkmeonids is generally accepted as the one who was enriched by a Lydian king, whatever lies behind the story; cf. Herodotus vi. 125. Though there may be uncertainty about the date of his chariot victory at Olympia (Herodotus, loc. cit., ? 592 B.C.) which presupposes wealth, the dates of Kroisos (560–547 B.C.) as the ruler who enriched him will not fit, and the story must be transferred to Alyattes (*c.* 607–560 B.C.; see H. Kaletsch, *Historia* vii (1958) 1 ff.). The interest of the story (as Toepffer, loc. cit., infers in calling it 'offenbar erfunden') is that it illustrates the interest in the sources of Alkmeonid wealth, and the puzzlement as to how the much-exiled house possessed lands (it is to be presumed) and wealth as well as prestige and influence. In reality, perhaps, its wealth need not have been very great, and no doubt Megakles II owed something to his father-in-law, as Wade-Gery infers, op. cit. 106.

The date of his return is bound up with the question of the Solonian amnesty-law (see Ledl, *Studien zur älteren athenischen Verfassungsgeschichte* 100 ff.; its historicity is doubted by Hignett, *A History of the Athenian Constitution* 311–14, and therefore its application to Alkmeon); if it applied to him he may have returned (enriched by Alyattes) in or immediately after 594/3 B.C. while Solon was still in Athens, or after the latter's departure (cf. *RE* i. 1560), whenever that was (593 or 591 (Hammond)). His chariot victory at Olympia (? 592 B.C.) is no help; if he commanded the forces of Athens in the Sacred War 591/90 B.C. his position must have been official, and his return or recognition secured before the *anarchia* of 590/89 B.C.

[88] Though his rivals and the old enemies of the family were not likely to be less influential there than in the Pedion.

[89] Cf. Wade-Gery 104.

[90] Herodotus i. 59.

[90a] Herodotus v. 65.

[91] Pausanias ii. 24. 7. For the restoration of the date, see T. J. Cadoux, *JHS* lxviii (1949) 90.

[92] For Herodotus v. 65 (the Peisistratids) and Pausanias ii. 18. 9 (Paionidai and Alkmeonidai) and the question of sources, see Jacoby *FGrH* 323a F 23, *Notes* 49 n. 1. See also Thucydides i. 2. 6 and Strabo ix. 392 for the idea of this

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immigration. A natural deduction was that the Peisistratids and the Alkmeonids were συγγενεῖς, cf. Isocrates, xvi 25. It might be suggested that, if the tradition recorded by Pausanias was current in the early sixth century in the detail πλὴν Πεισιστράτου, the idea of Hippokrates in naming his son Peisistratos was to deny the idea of kinship with the Alkmeonids if they made claims of Neleid descent at that time. The idea of such descent was extended also to Solon: Plutarch, *Solon* 1. 2, Diogenes Laertius iii. 1. On this see Jacoby, *FGrH* 323a F 23, *Notes* 63 n. 70; this seems likely to be due to the relationship believed to exist between Peisistratos and Solon (Plutarch, *Solon* 1 from Herakleides Pontikos), and belongs first to Peisistratos. The Neleid connexion must have been claimed to establish a bond with Ionia in the case of certain families; significant in this connexion is Solon's 'oldest Ionian land', and Athens' reward of one of the Ionian seats on the Amphiktyonic Council as a result of the Sacred War. The date to which it might go back is obscure; see Jacoby 323a F 11, *Commentary* 32 (rather late); it depends in part on the earlier Peisistratos of the archon-list. Is it too fanciful to suggest that this Ionian stress argues also a pro-Dorian element in Athens?

[93] Wade-Gery 101.

[94] Plutarch, *Solon* 10, in relating the legend of the gift of Salamis by the sons of Ajax, who settled in Brauron and Melite. Note that a divergent legend on Salamis made Eurysakes only (Sophocles, *Ajax* 530 ff.) or Philaios only (Herodotus vi. 35; Pherekydes, Jacoby, *FGrH* 3 F 2) son of Ajax and giver of Salamis to Athens.

[95] The site of the temple of Artemis Brauronia (which Schol. Aristoph. *Av.* 873 connects with Philaidai) seems now to be well established by recent excavations; in modern times there are two villages of Vraona inland. Leake, *Topography of Attica* ii. 75, suggested Velanidheza as in the area of Philaidai, using, it would seem, the stele of Aristion as evidence because of Peisistratos' supporter (*AthPol* 14. 4) of that name. The evidence of the stele appears to be of doubtful value. See also Philippson 819; Jacoby 325 F 14 on Brauron, Iphigeneia, and Artemis; connexion of Brauron, Miltiades II, and Lemnos, ibid., *Notes* 311 n. 22.

[96] For the genealogy of the *genos* (a Miltiades appears as archon in the seventh century, T. J. Cadoux, *JHS* lxviii (1949) 90), see Jacoby 3 F 2 (Pherekydes) and *Commentary* 388 on 328 F 92; N. G. L. Hammond, *CQ* xlix (1956) 113 ff.

[97] Herodotus i. 62.

[98] Herodotus vi. 103.

[99] Cf. Herodotus i. 61: aid from the Thebans (why does Herodotus say (ibid.) that states were under an obligation to Peisistratos?); *AthPol* 15: from the ἱππεῖς of Eretria, politically odd and therefore suggesting some personal connexion (but not with Chalcis). See Strabo ix. 1. 1 and 6 for the connexion of the Marathonian tetrapolis and Steiria with Eretria and south Euboea.

[100] Cf. Herodotus i. 61–62 for Argives and Naxians. For its tactical advantages (good for cavalry and very near Eretria), cf. Herodotus vi. 103.

[101] Herodotus i. 62. For the στασιῶται ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεος, cf. those who joined the anti-Hippias forces at Leipsydrion.

[102] Ibid.: καὶ μεταῦτις ὡς ἔσχε Μαραθῶνα, λόγον οὐδένα εἶχον, ἐπείτε δὲ ἐπύθοντο ἐκ τοῦ Μαραθῶνος αὐτὸν πορεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὸ ἄστυ, οὕτω δὴ βοηθέουσι ἐπ' αὐτόν.

[103] See above, p. 193, n. 48, and on its location, p. 193 n. 47 and n. 95.

eastern limit of the Diakria is placed by the lexicographer at Brauron, which in fact lies at the edge of the hilly region and in close proximity to the plain of the Mesogia: thus the original domicile or place of origin of Peisistratos would be on the boundaries of Diakria and Paralia, a position consistent with the tradition of his party relations. The uneasy thought remains, indeed, that this boundary is so placed as to take in Brauron because of Peisistratos' known connexion with this place and with the Diakrioi, but against this can be set the need to distinguish between Peisistratos' personal origins and that of possible supporters.[104]

Certain other names must be considered in relation to the parties. First and foremost there is the question of Solon, especially if it should be felt that the party divisions can be carried well back in the sixth century and even into the seventh. Of a regional connexion for Solon there is little or no evidence. If he was a Eupatrid (and he would, under pre-reform conditions, need to be one to become archon),[104a] this would not certainly associate him with the πεδίον, nor would the suggestion (if true) that the mothers of Solon and Peisistratos were cousins connect him with the district of Peisistratos. Again, the supposed Neleid origins ascribed to him (Κοδρίδης ἀνέκαθεν) would not help, since Peisistratids, Paionids, and Alkmeonids maintained a tradition, from uncertain and possibly different dates, of such descent.[105] His economic status[106] sounds as if it were based on his own concept of himself and on fourth-century ideas, and it could not be used to connect him with the Παράλιοι, even if such a 'middle' position were correctly ascribed to this group,[107] still less with the Paralia.

There is next the problem of the supposed 'friends' of Solon, whom a certain tradition represented as benefiting from his reforms, by either duplicity or collusion, since they either outmanœuvred him or were in collusion with him in receiving advance information on the χρεῶν ἀποκοπή. *AthPol* accepts the story, but rejects the suggestion of collusion, and inclines to the explanation of οἱ δημοτικοί, i.e. that Solon was outmanœuvred (παραστρατηγηθῆναι) by his friends.[108] The story is given thus in *AthPol*: συνέβη γὰρ τῷ Σόλωνι μέλλοντι ποιεῖν τὴν σεισάχθειαν προειπεῖν τισι τῶν γνωρίμων . . . . δανεισάμενοι γὰρ οὗτοι συνεπρίαντο πολλὴν χώραν καὶ μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺ τῆς τῶν χρεῶν ἀποκοπῆς γενομένης ἐπλούτουν· ὅθεν φασὶ γενέσθαι τοὺς ὕστερον δοκοῦντας εἶναι παλαιοπλούτους.[109] The same story is repeated by Plutarch,[110] in a much fuller account, which gives (i) the names of the friends: οἱ περὶ Κόνωνα καὶ Κλεινίαν καὶ Ἱππόνικον; (ii) the suggestion that Solon had lent money, and remitted the debt as an example: the sum being five talents or fifteen.[111] The account is more or less repeated elsewhere by Plutarch,[112] who states that the friends purchased fine houses and land. The story seems to be one of those which sought to account for the wealth of certain great families (note the γνώριμοι of *AthPol*), the source of whose wealth was perhaps not clear while its extent was striking: cf. the cases of Alkmeon II and Kallias ὁ λακκόπλουτος.[113] The term παλαιόπλουτος has its parallel in the ἀρχαιόπλουτος of Lysias,[114] where Hipponikos and Alkibiades (of the family also using the name Kleinias) are mentioned. Here again, if the Solonian story is to be taken seriously,[115] nothing much can be done by way of localizing these individuals or their families, if we are tempted to try to discover a regional connexion. It is true that the family of Konon was certainly later associated with Anaphlystos,[116] in what we have seen to be probably the traditional as well as the Kleisthenic Paralia in south-east Attica. The others have no such connexion as far as can be established. The famous Kleinias–Alkibiades family was of the deme of Skambonidai.[117] The name Hipponikos involves all the problems of distinguishing the Hipponikos–Kallias family from others in which the name Kallias appears, and of establishing its deme.[118] The mining connexion of later days is no evidence for the earlier period.[119] If the deme of the Hipponikos–Kallias family was Alopeke or Ankyle, Alopeke was a city deme of Antiochis, and Ankyle a city deme of Aegeis.[120] If, therefore, the 'friends' of Solon mentioned by Plutarch were ancestors of the famous persons bearing these same names in the classical period, one can say nothing of their possible local connexions on the basis of the demes of their descendants, who (with the exception of Konon) were members of city demes.[121] The membership of city demes, in the Kleisthenic reorganization, for these and other leading figures, is significant:[122]

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[104] Definite evidence is lacking. That afforded by the stele of Aristion is poor. The survival of memories of Peisistratos' association with the Diakria may account for the appearance of his rare name in the feminine form in *IG* ii–iii^2. 5696: Πεισιστράτη Κηφισοδώρο 'Αραφηνίο, if this deme is in fact represented by modern Rafina in the Diakria. Wilamowitz (*A.u.A.* ii. 76 n. 6) suggests as a supporter of Peisistratos the grandfather of Antiphon of Rhamnous, which seems to be a misunderstanding of Antiphon, fr. 1 (see p. 197 n. 85 above). It is easier to connect certain contemporaries of the Peisistratids (Hippias and Hipparchos) with the Diakria than to show them supporters of the tyrant house. Thus Wilamowitz (ibid.) suggests Isagoras 'the friend of the tyrants' (*AthPol* 20. 1, which might not mean very much to judge from ibid. 16. 9) as a Diakrian: 'da sein Familienkult der Zeus Karios war, der boeotisch ist, möchte man an diakrischer Heimat glauben: am liebsten möchte ich ihn den Tyrannenmördern verwandt glauben'. Certainly Zeus Karios was associated with Ikaria in the Diakria, cf. *IG* i^2. 186–7. His inference that Harmodios and Aristogeiton were Diakrians may also have something in it: the clan of the Gephyraioi to which they belonged (Herodotus v. 55: γένος . . . τὰ ανέκαθεν Γεφυραῖοι) claimed, indeed, Eretria as its place of origin rather than Tanagra (Herodotus, ibid. 57, cf. Eretria as Peisistratos' base and his connexion with Boeotia), but Hyperides ii (iii) 3 (against Philippides) mentions Demokrates of Aphidnai as descendant of the tyrant-slayers and recipient of the honours paid to their descendants: presumably on this basis rests the restoration of the very defective inscription *IG* ii–iii^2. 5765 (of the beginning of the fourth century B.C.): 'Πρό[ξενος]|'Αρμ[οδίου]|'Αφ[ιδναῖος]. On the other hand, a member of the Gephyraioi appears to belong to the deme of Paiania; see *Hesperia* viii (1939) 80; ix (1940) 86 ff. The evidence is very thin, but it is tempting to suggest a fatal enmity of close associates and local supporters of the Peisistratids; the enmity, if enmity it was, of Miltiades I towards Peisistratos was perhaps similar. We cannot localize the Kallias who was father of Myrrhine, wife of Hippias (Thucydides vi. 55. 1); *RE* xix. 154, s.v. Peisistratiden places the marriage in the second exile and concludes that Kallias was a supporter of Peisistratos who left Athens with him.

[104a] Cf. Plutarch, *Solon* 1: οἰκίας δὲ πρώτης κατὰ γένος and descended from an ancient house of Athens: ἦν γὰρ Κοδρίδης ἀνέκαθεν; but see pp. 197 f. n. 92 above, and Jacoby, *FGrH* 323a F 23 *Notes* 63 n. 70 on this.

[105] See p. 196 n. 82 and pp. 197 f. n. 92 above.

[106] Plutarch, *Solon* 1: ἀνδρὸς οὐσίᾳ μέν, ὥς φασι, καὶ δυνάμει μέσου τῶν πολιτῶν. In after time it was obviously felt to be wrong that Solon, of noble descent, should be concerned or interested in trade; hence the story of the reduced circumstances of his father (Plutarch, *Solon* 2).

[107] Cf. *AthPol* 5. 3: ἦν δ'ὁ Σόλων τῇ μὲν φύσει καὶ τῇ δόξῃ τῶν πρώτων, τῇ δ' οὐσίᾳ καὶ τοῖς πράγμασι τῶν μέσων.

[108] 6. 3: οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ πιθανώτερος ὁ τῶν δημοτικῶν λόγος.

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[109] 6. 2. Is it one of the later attacks on 'demagogues'? Even if the idea of the freeing of land for purchase is accepted, there is the difficulty that the story placed the transactions before the χρεῶν ἀποκοπή and therefore before the freeing of the land! The story also depends on the assumption of a *total* cancellation of debts, which can hardly be accepted; cf. M. Mühl, *RhM* xcvi (1953) 220 f.

[110] *Solon* 15.

[111] Ibid.

[112] *Moralia* 807D–E.

[113] On Alkmeon see p. 197 n. 87 above; for Kallias, Plutarch, *Arist.* 5.

[114] Lysias xix. 49. See Sandys, Aristotle, *Constitution of Athens*, ad loc. Another ἀρχαιόπλουτος was Hagnon; see the fragment of the Πλοῦτοι of Kratinos in Page's *Greek Literary Papyri* (Loeb) 200, line 32.

[115] For the suggestion that the form χρεοκοπίδαι (*Solon* 15) is modelled on Ἑρμοκοπίδαι and is a form of attack on Alkibiades III, cf. Wilamowitz, *A.u.A.* 62, 63, and *RE* iii. 2447, s.v., iii (ser. 2) 957, s.v. Solon. Rejected by Hatzfeld, *Alcibiade* 9: 'Si les oligarques avaient voulu, en créant cette légende, compromettre des familles favorables à la démocratie, on s'étonne de ne pas voir compter, au nombre des χρεοκοπίδαι, des Alcméonides ou des Bouzuges.'

[116] Kirchner, *PA* 8707

[117] See *PA* 8510–12; a relation, Kleinias son of Kleopompos, *PA* 8503. Skambonidai was a city deme of Leontis; its location in south-east Attica is rejected by Kirsten in Philippson 850 n. 2. There were others of Alopeke (*PA* 8507), and of Xypete (*PA* 8509), both of the late fourth century, and a very late one of Kothokidai (*PA* 8508); of some the demes are not known (*PA* 8502–6). See also, for ostraka, *Hesperia* xxi (1952) 1 ff.; note ibid. 8 n. 15 the use of patronymic and not demotic for some members of famous families. It is suggested by Vanderpool (ibid. 6) that Kleinias, 'friend' of Solon, might be the father of Alkibiades I who joined with Kleisthenes in the anti-tyrant action, which is what Dem. xxi. 144 refers to rather than relationship. There is also the interesting point that the later Kleinias and Alkibiades traced their descent from Eurysakes, son of the Telamonian Ajax, and were probably associated with the Salaminioi, see Wade-Gery 110; Hatzfeld, *Alcibiade* 3.

[118] See *RE* viii. 2. 1907 ff., s.v. Hipponikos: ibid. x. 2. 1615 ff., s.v. Kallias; Kirchner, *PA* 7825, &c., and possible *stemma* under 7833; D. M. Lewis, *BSA* l (1955) 13–14.

[119] See *BSA* xlviii. 245.

[120] Or if it was Melite (as in Schol. Lucian. 83 R from Aristophanes), this was also a city deme.

[121] See Gomme, *The Population of Athens in the Fifth and Fourth Centuries B.C.* 44.

[122] For movement into the city, cf. Pausanias ii. 18. 9.

in the case of certain of the Alkmeonids, Alopeke, city deme of Antiochis;[123] of Xanthippos, Cholargos, ? city deme of Akamantis,[124] of Charmos and Hipparchos, relations by marriage of Hippias, Kollytos, city deme of Aigeis.[125] Despite the association of the *genos* of the Philaidai with the deme Philaidai, men generally connected with the *genos* or with the related *oikia* of the Kimonids were members of the deme of Lakiadai, city deme of Oeneis.[126] It could be suggested that this represents either a moving into the city area at some time or other (and a time could plausibly be suggested for Peisistratids and Alkmeonids) or original inhabitation of the Pedion, from the southern portion of which the city demes were formed. In fact, whatever the original significance of the statement of *AthPol*[127] on the party names: εἶχον δὲ ἕκαστοι τὰς ἐπωνυμίας ἀπὸ τῶν τόπων ἐν οἷς ἐγεώργουν, Athens clearly became the centre of political life. There are in the sources, as already pointed out above, repeated recognitions or assumptions of this fact: cf. Plutarch:[128] οἱ δὲ ἐν ἄστει πάλιν ἐστασίαζον . . . . καὶ προειστήκει τῶν μὲν Πεδιέων Λυκοῦργος· Diogenes Laertius:[129] οὔτε μετὰ τῶν ἐξ ἄστεος, οὔτε μετὰ τῶν πεδιέων· Herodotus:[130] ὁ δὲ δῆμος ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐξαπατηθεὶς ἔδωκε οἱ τῶν ἀστῶν καταλέξας ἄνδρας τούτους· Plutarch again:[131] τὴν παλαιὰν αὖθις στάσιν ὑπὲρ τῆς πολιτείας ἐστασίαξον, ὅσας ἡ χώρα διαφορὰς εἶχεν, εἰς τοσαῦτα μέρη τῆς πόλεως διαστάσης. . . . . When Plutarch[132] places among the Diakrioi ὁ θητικὸς ὄχλος his meaning is obscure: he might mean simply the lowest of the Solonian *tele*; on the other hand, under the influence of the view of Peisistratos as δημοτικώτατος, he may mean the later equation of the θητικὸς ὄχλος with the ναυτικὸς ὄχλος of the city and the Piraeus, but again the emphasis is on the importance of the region of Athens.

We must, it seems, beware of thinking of the parties as operating mainly in the country,[133] and of attaching too much importance to the idea of a leader's personal local connexions.[134] Consequently we still have to discover some factor which brought about party divisions. Since class issues cannot be shown to have applied differently to different regions of Attica, for in all of them there must have been rich, middle class, and poor, this factor cannot have been the simple one which later writers conceived it to be[135] in producing the pattern of two extremes, with the Paralioi between them—perhaps based on the concept of Solon as the perfect man of the middle way, for which we have only his own word.[136]

There could, of course, be other economic differences and interests, and these have been much used to account for the party divisions, and with some ingenuity they have been fitted to the local divisions. Yet it is clear that if the geographical regions of Attica were really located and bounded in the manner described earlier in this article (and it is difficult to show that they were not), there could have been no substantial difference between two of them, the Pedion and the Paralia, at least. The Pedion (with which the Eleusinian and Thriasian areas might be associated, the sole justification for the translation of Πεδιεῖς or Πεδιακοί as men of the 'plains' in the plural) and the Paralia alike possessed good cultivable land, marginal land, and hill land (in part open to development). They also both possessed coasts, with the varying interests involved thereby, namely fishing, boat-building, the very necessary local transport by sea, and actual or potential foreign trade. It may be pointed out here that, without accepting the doctrine that Paralioi mean 'Men of the Coast', in the sense of fishermen, sailors, and merchants, it is right to admit the importance of the small ports of the regional Paralia as defined earlier: the inlet of Brauron itself, at the outflow of the Erasinos, and Prasiai, of which the hinterland opens into the Mesogia, as well as other harbours serving the farther south-east coast. There is also the open shore beyond modern Vouliagmeni (the Bay of Varkiza), if its character was similar in antiquity, which would provide beaching facilities with access inland via the region of Vari to the Mesogia. Indeed a not unimportant 'isthmus' route might be postulated from Brauron and Prasiae to the south-west coast of Attica.[137] It is important to stress that these would be harbours of permanent value for sea commerce serving the Mesogia[138] and not likely to decline as a result of the development of the port of Athens. They would give important employment to ship-builders and ship's chandlers; it is to be suspected that they would also be important for passengers who did not wish to round Sounion by ship.[139] Acceptance of a recent suggestion that the Mesogia formed part of the Diakria[140] would not invalidate such observations, except in that the Diakria would take the place of the Paralia in a comparison with the Pedion. In such a comparison, however; it must not be forgotten that the Pedion also had its shore, especially the Bay of Phaleron, and therefore maritime facilities and interests. If the third region, the Diakria, is accepted in the sense and with the boundaries suggested earlier in this article, it is true that to some degree the cultivable land of good quality would be less, but in other respects the position would not be greatly different. Marathon, in particular, has its fertile plain; the coast has its beach at Marathon and port at Raphina.[141] In the case of all the regions it may be said that, while in matters of 'industry' or small craft establishments Athens in the Pedion might be expected to be the chief centre, there must have been others scattered throughout Attica, coming into being first for local needs, but also capable of development.[142] In the case of natural resources, such as quarries, mines, and the related metal working, we should be slow to base on them differences between the regions, still slower to associate them with the parties. There is, for example, no very good reason for supposing that the silver mines of Laurion[143] or those that worked in them had any particular association with Peisistratos.[144] There is, in fact, little reason for regarding the regions as possessing differences in economic characteristics from which political divisions might arise.[145]

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[123] *PA* 9693 ff. Relations of the family (*Hesperia* xix (1950) 376 ff.): Kallixenos of Xypete (city deme of Kekropis), Leobotes of Agryle (*PA* 9071; city deme of Erechtheis).

[124] *PA* 11169.

[125] *PA* 7600, 15520.

[126] *PA* 8429, 10212; Milchhoefer, *Demenordnung* 27. On the relationship of the 'house of Miltiades', see Wade-Gery 164, and the *stemma* in How and Wells, *A Commentary on Herodotus* ii. 77.

[127] 13. 5.

[128] *Solon* 29.

[129] i. 2. 58.

[130] i. 59. 5.

[131] *Solon* 13. Cf. Herodotus i. 60 and *AthPol* 14. 4 on οἱ ἐν τῷ ἄστει and Phye as Athena.

[132] Ibid. 29.

[133] In the case of Peisistratos' faction, or part of it, it is indeed true that there is no certainty that those who had been released from debt, but had not been given land, inhabited the city or its environs. They might hang about the villages or squat on undeveloped land, but it is at least as likely that they went to Athens in some numbers. In this connexion note Peisistratos' procedure (as it is represented in *AthPol* 16. 3, unless this is a piece of Aristotelian theory, cf. *Pol.* 1292^{b}25, 1319^{a}30) in dealing with the lower class, to help them as cultivators, to keep them from διατριβή in the city, and to scatter them in the country; cf. the δικασταὶ κατὰ δήμους and Herodotus i. 59: τὸ μὲν Ἀττικὸν κατεχόμενόν τε καὶ διεσπαρμένον ἐπυνθάνετο ὁ Κροῖσος ὑπὸ Πεισιστράτου.

[134] As *AthPol* 13. 5 would suggest. See Andrewes 104.

[135] As Andrewes aptly points out, 103–4.

[136] The conception of the Paralioi as a political force may come from the interpretation of Solon as seen in his poems; cf. *AthPol* 13. 4, in general very confused and obscure as to the origins of the parties; see p. 195 n. 73 above.

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[137] Representing an inseparable connexion between coast and inland. For Brauron, see *RE* iii. 822 ff.; Philippson 819. It is to some extent cut off from the south by Mt. Perati, but access from it and from the interior to Porto Rafti is not difficult (despite Philippson 820). Prasiai on the south shore of the Gulf of Porto Rafti had a traditional importance in connexion with Delos, as a station on the Hyperborean route: see Jacoby, *FGrH* 325 F 2, *Commentary* 176 and 177 on the Hyperborean Maidens; 328 F 14–16, *Notes* 206 n. 84, on Prasiai (and Phaleron) as ports. The regular Attic *theoria* went from Athens via Phaleron (*CR* xli (1927) 113 f.). For the practical importance of Prasiai at an early period, see Seltman, *Athens, Its History and Coinage* 11–12. On the north shore of the Gulf is located the deme of Steiria (Mycenaean tombs; *RE* iii, ser. 2), 2305–6, s.v., Philippson 821 and note), to which the Στειριακὴ ὁδός led from Athens. It appears from *Hell. Ox.* i. 1 and iii. 1–2 (on Demainetos who sails off to join Conon) that even those who set sail from Piraeus to the south-east might put in at an east-coast port, in this case Thorikos.

[138] On modern harbours and conditions (and bearing in mind that it has been suggested that the sea-level has risen, or rather the land has sunk, since antiquity (see *AJA* lxiii (1959) 255–6), possibly by 3·5 metres, the effects of which are difficult to estimate), see *Mediterranean Pilot* iv (1918) ed. 5: Sounion to Piraeus (124–33): Port Colonna (124), Legrana Bay (124), Port Aghios Nikolaos (125) = the Bay of Anavyssos; Vari Bay and Vouliagmeni Bay suffer from certain disadvantages; Cape Zostir is said to be dangerous (125, but see Xen. *Hell.* v. 1. 9), and the stretch from Phleva Island to Phaleron is not good. To some degree this depends on wind and weather. Sounion to Marathon Bay (143–51): one is struck by the way names indicate harbours: Pasa Limani, Frangolimani, Tourcolimani; there are also Ergasteri Bay (Laurion), Porto Mandri (on these see Philippson 845–6, 849), Porto Rafti (exposed from the eastward), Marathon Bay. There is also Rafina (Philippson 818), now a port for Euboea.

[139] On rounding Sounion, see Philippson 843. For one route across Attica, see Thucydides vii. 28. 1. Does the διαφορουμένης of vi. 91. 7 mean this also? Some of the other routes from east-coast harbours would seem to the present writer even more useful.

[140] A. French, *GR* 53.

[141] The stream at Rafina (ancient deme of Araphen?) might there mark the boundary of the Diakria.

The same appears to be true if the problem is considered from the angle of the political effects which might be produced by economic developments. Whatever the causes of the economic crisis with which Solon dealt,[146] the crisis must have been experienced in all parts of Attica, and the effects of his reforms would be felt everywhere.[147] Everywhere there were those who suffered or thought they suffered harm and loss, and also those who, receiving certain benefits, felt they should have received more. If there was a third force of those who gained politically, it is difficult to see that they were confined to any one region. This has been in part recognized by those who have sought to get away from the regional explanation of the parties by adducing the sources to show that the Pediakoi stood for the previous economic and political order, and the Diakrioi for those who gained little except the most obvious benefits of the *Seisachtheia*.[148] The case of the Paralioi shows most clearly the weakness of the regional idea in this connexion. It is instinctively felt that there can have been little difference in reality between the Pediakoi and the Paralioi, if they got their names from a regional connexion, unless a diversity of interests can be shown. So we have the equation Pediakoi: landowners of importance; Paralioi: fishermen and traders.[149] In this equation there are two difficulties: (i) the 'Men of the Shore', as the Paralioi are inferred to be (on the assumption that Paralia means 'shore' or 'coast'), must therefore be the men of all the coasts of Attica, but it has been seen that the regional division cannot be taken in this (the Kleisthenic) sense. As already pointed out, the Pedion also had a coast,[150] and so had the Diakria, a coast quite important for relations with Euboea.[151] Important landowners must have interested themselves in sea transport for the coastwise disposal of the products of their estates, and for the overseas export of corn, which seems to have been part of the cause of the crisis met by Solon.[152] Fishermen were generally a depressed class, and so more at home among the 'economic Diakrioi'. Traders would vary their views according to their status and their success. It is generally assumed that they gained from the reforms of Solon.[153] In the pre-Solonian period a trader, however much enriched by trade and the possession of coin, could not aspire to political power unless he was of Eupatrid origins.[154] The interpretation of Solon's reforms is a thorny subject, and no detail more so than the working of the *tele*. If Solon freed the land and made it available for purchase, such traders were certainly in a better position; they could purchase land and take their place in the commodity income-groups. If, in addition, Solon established a system of money equivalents, it would make things even easier.[155] As landowners, or even as landless moneyed men, they would tend, in matters of the relations of rich and poor, to assimilate the ideas of the hereditary landowners and be merged with them. They would emerge again as a separate party only if there was a move to deprive them of their gains under the Solonian reforms, or if the policy of the old Eupatrids ran counter to their own ideas on trade policy and relations. It is not quite clear, however, that all this is very relevant. How numerous would these merchants be as a separate class?[156] Can it not be argued that the commodities of export trade, the use or disposal of imports, and the interest in ships were most likely to be controlled by the great landowners who either sent their agents to sea or dealt with visiting foreigners? In this connexion it is interesting to recall that Solon, possibly of noble birth though of modest fortune, was interested in trade and travelled abroad.[157] There were opportunities for the younger sons of the aristocracy, where the elder brother held the land, and it is difficult to see from what other source a trader obtained his initial capital. In fact it is doubtful whether one should believe in a class of trader at this time quite separate and distinct from the land-owning class.

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[142] As they must have developed in the fifth century, to give employment to a large proportion of the slaves who later fled to Dekeleia (Thucydides vii. 27. 5). In vi. 91. 7 οἷς τε γὰρ ἡ χώρα κατεσκεύασται . . . . . . τὰ δ' αὐτόματα ἥξει probably also refers to slaves. They cannot all or predominantly have been miners.

[143] Not clearly important at an early date. The argument is *e silentio* on both sides. The earlier coinage of Athens does not argue an extensive production of silver (even if the so-called Wappenmünzen are accepted as entirely Attic). The earlier tetradrachms are certainly to be placed somewhat later than in Seltman's arrangement. In any case the supposed antiquity of the mines rests on a conjecture of Xenophon (π. πορ. iv. 2), and the first evidence we have of what might be extensive development is the mention of the discovery of the vein which provided the resources for Themistokles' navy in the late eighties (Herodotus vii. 144; *AthPol* 22. 7).

[144] See p. 194 n. 49 above and the Appendix.

[145] As French, *GR*, whose theory is highly ingenious but unconvincing.

[146] For recent observations on this, see French *JHS* lxxvii (1959) 238 ff. See also N. G. L. Hammond, *A History of Greece* (1959) 157 ff. for some interesting suggestions on clansmen and guildsmen in this connexion.

[147] Even in the Pedion there would be marginal and less profitable land. In this connexion note the term ἐσχατιά, Harpocration s.v. The meaning 'border land' can mean land on the border between cultivated and uncultivated areas, as seems clear from Aesch. *C. Tim.* 98: ἐσχατιὰ Σφηττοῖ.

[148] *CAH* iv 38. Cf. French's comment on this view and the reverse of it, *CQ* vi (1956) 23–24. It seems implied in *RE* xix. 161, s.v. Peisistratos. *RE* series 2, iii. 957, s.v. Solon, does not appear prepared to hazard an expression of opinion on this point. Woodhouse, *Solon the Liberator* 190–4, is quite certain of a distribution of land; on the other hand, K. Freeman, *The Work and Life of Solon* 85–89, does not appear to consider the question in her account of the *Seisachtheia*; the attitude of Linforth, *Solon the Athenian* 65, is not very clear.

[149] *CAH* iv. 60.

[150] See Andrewes 102–3, and pp. 192 f. n. 38 above.

[151] Strabo ix. 1. 1 and 1. 6.

[152] See below, p. 214.

Similar problems arise in the case of those who gained from the *Seisachtheia* at any rate freedom from slavery or from the worst effects of serfdom. It is generally and probably rightly assumed that they remained as landless men. Since Solon imposed no limit to rates of interest or to loans on land, it may also be assumed that they were joined by others who contracted debt-obligations which they could not meet in the period after Solon's reforms. This element has been identified with the disgruntled seekers after betterment who gave their support to Peisistratos, and so formed part of the Diakrioi. There is no likelihood that such men would be concentrated in one of the regions. There is no essential reason why they should be scattered in the 'uplands' (however defined), if Diakria is taken to mean 'uplands'; and if they were, such uplands are in or adjacent to all the three regions. In any case such scattered elements would always be politically negligible, and only if concentrated would they be of use as a source of force or votes to one or other of the parties. The concentrating point would be Athens, the centre of political institutions and of most, if not all, political life (the local activity of *gene* and tribes, if such existed, would have to be followed up in Athens).[158] This idea of the Diakrioi exerting their influence in Athens was expounded long ago, unjustly rejected, and recently revived.[159] The difficulty, of course, is that if the Diakrians are seriously accepted as a politico-economic party, and if at the same time their connexion *in toto* is accepted with a district called the Diakria, they have somehow to be got to Athens. Hence the recent suggestion[160] that the Diakrians were the inhabitants of a Diakria composed of east Attica excluding the extreme south-east: they were thus a mixed body, some cultivators of poor land, some (by implication from the boundaries of the area) of good land; some were traders and workers in the thriving east-coast ports. They over-populated an area of limited natural resources, but were sustained, in the prosperous days before the capture of Salamis and the development of the port of Athens, by imported corn. This overlarge population, it is argued, fell on evil days as a result of the increased use of the harbour of Phaleron, and followed their leader Peisistratos to Athens to support him in his quest for power.

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[153] Wade-Gery 104.

[154] Ibid. 98–99.

[155] Cf. Wade-Gery's inference, ibid. 104. On this question see the rather obscure discussion of Aly in *RE* series 2, iii. 972. It is hard to see how the Solonian system could function without some sort of money evaluation, possibly of an arbitrary sort, not unlike the evaluations of sacrificial animals said to have been laid down by Solon; see Jacoby, *FGrH* on 328 F 200, *Notes* 459 n. 27.

[156] Circumstances can hardly have been the same as in Athens of the classical period. There may have been, of course, a separate interest represented by those concerned with manufactured goods, such as pottery, but these would be middle-men rather than sea-going merchants. It may also be said (i) that the strong influence of merchants as a class would not be exerted until the full development of Athenian interest in trade, which comes later than the 'parties'; (ii) merchants who traded to and from Athens and Attica were not exclusively or even as a majority Athenian citizens. This seems clear in the fourth century and there is no reason to believe that conditions were different at any time in the sixth.

[157] Plutarch, *Solon* 2: ὁ δ' οὖν Σόλων . . . . . . ὥρμησε νέος ὢν ἔτι πρὸς ἐμπορίαν (note the following less 'banausic' explanation). Cf. ibid. 3. On this 'noble' birth of Solon, see above, p. 199 n. 104a. It is reasonable to suppose that he would need to be a Eupatrid to become archon, but Aly (op. cit. 949) suggests that he represented a break with tradition, and was therefore not necessarily 'noble', and that he was a Pentakosiomedimnos, which is contrary to the tradition, and surely an anachronism. Jacoby would regard Solon's 'Neleid nobility' as 'derived from that of Peisistratos', *FGrH* 323a F 23, *Notes* 63 n. 70.

[158] See above, p. 201 and n. 133.

This is an involved and elaborate explanation, and indeed any effort to explain the parties is fated to be such, especially if the idea of regional connexions is retained. Even if this connexion is rejected, it is still not easy to make sense of the mixture of obscure details and vague generalities amid which a few personalities emerge. The sources clearly found it difficult to show the party leaders pursuing any policy which might sensibly be related to the party names and explain and justify them. They were also unable to relate other known personalities to the parties. We hear a certain amount about Peisistratos because of his success in founding a tyranny, but little that is relevant about Megakles in terms of contemporary conditions, despite the previous notoriety and subsequent distinction of the Alkmeonidai. We know nothing of Lykourgos, his ideas, his predecessors, his associates, or his successors. The same is true of Damasias,[161] his relationship to the parties if they existed in his time, and his means of maintaining himself in power as long as he did. Nothing is known of the parties and the way in which they functioned in Athens during Peisistratos' ten-year exile.[162] How, for instance, did Megakles fare then? Most oddly of all, little or nothing is heard in this connexion of the Philaidai and the related Miltiades I (*dynastes* as he was) in the internal affairs of Athens[163] until Peisistratos was established in the tyranny. It is in fact to be wondered whether there really were three parties as they are generally understood, that is, three substantial bodies of citizens influenced by more or less the same principles, interests, and considerations, and marked out with a reasonable degree of distinctness from each other. It seems more likely that at the back of the story of the parties we have the manœuvrings of a number of individuals (not even of clans or families), anxious to reproduce in their own persons the tyranny which existed or had existed elsewhere. Three such men were credited with parties based on the existing terms for three local divisions of Attica, by a process of thought which will be outlined below. Meanwhile it must be pointed out again that the sources make a poor job of producing evidence for local connexions or for local interests and activity. This is true even of the 'party' of the successful tyrant Peisistratos. It is admitted to be a later manifestation than the other two, and by Herodotus[164] it is made to sound an artificial creation. Its leader is given the usual characteristics of the would-be tyrant: demagogic tricks,[165] and assistance to the poor,[166] coupled with a pretended conservatism.[167] A local connexion for Peisistratos himself can only be maintained if Brauron (very ambiguously placed geographically) is given to the Diakria. There is, indeed, some tenuous evidence for Diakrian supporters (see above, p. 199 n. 104). On the other hand, it is made quite clear that he conducted his intrigues in Athens and that, at first at any rate, his effective support came from there, since he secured his bodyguard of *korynephoroi* from 'the *demos* of the Athenians'. Herodotus[168] stresses that they were τῶν ἀστῶν.[169] In two other passages also Herodotus suggests support from the city as well as from the country: (*a*) on his return with Phye[170] and (*b*) on his second return, on which occasion Herodotus distinguishes Peisistratos' supporters coming from the city from the support he received in the country ('the demes', which are not specified as to region) and places the city support first.[171] The lack of what might be called local party detail is equally apparent when the events subsequent to Peisistratos' final accession to power are examined. The immediate alinement of individuals for or against the tyrant remains obscure to a degree which is surprising, even if we bear in mind the possibility that later statesmen would be willing to forget their forebears' support of a tyrant house. We have no information on the extent to which the Philaidai or their connexions supported or opposed him initially or subsequently, or how they were related to the parties. We are informed by Herodotus[172] that Miltiades I disliked the accession to power of Peisistratos, but we do not hear that he or his relations had done anything to oppose the final return of the tyrant, or went into exile at the beginning or gave hostages.[173] Nothing more is said of Lykourgos and his successors in the leadership of the party of the Plain. We are left uncertain whether all the Alkmeonidai fled or suffered confiscation of their lands. Some did, as Herodotus indicates, others may have given hostages.[174] Even if Megakles fled, Kleisthenes was certainly present in Athens later as archon,[175] however unexpected this might be in the light of his latest career.[176] Then there is the interesting case of Isagoras 'the friend of the tyrants':[177] later a would-be tyrant himself

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[159] Cornelius, *Die Tyrannis in Athen* 15 ff.; Jacoby, *FGrH* 328 F 205–6, *Notes* 468 n. 4. There is an element of truth in Cornelius's suggestion wrongly rejected by Jacoby. On the other hand, though it is certainly true that Peisistratos was not hostile to the peasants, he would want to scatter them in the country once he attained power (see p. 201 n. 133). The idea of concentration is revived by French.

[160] A. French, *GR* 46 ff.

[161] On Damasias and the sequel to his 'tyranny', see Wade-Gery 102–4.

[162] Wade-Gery 104, suggests: 'Even the Pedieis are soon glad to coalesce with Megakles', i.e. after the merging of 'old' and 'new' rich, and the disappearance of 'the Eupatrid claim to monopolise government'.

[163] But note Hippokleides, son of Teisandros (this name appears again as that of the father of Isagoras (Herodotus v. 66), of whom Herodotus makes his very odd statement: οἰκίης μὲν ἐὼν δοκίμου, ἀτὰρ τὰ ἀνέκαθεν οὐκ ἔχω φράσαι; was he a connexion of the Philaidai disowned for his conduct?), suitor of Agariste (Herodotus vi. 128. 2; see How and Wells, ad loc., for the suggestion that he may have been brother of the Philaid Kypselos). Pherekydes (*FGrH* 3 F 2) states: ἐφ' οὗ ἄρχοντος ⟨ἐν 'Αθήναις⟩ Παναθήναια ἐτέθη. For the date 566/5 B.C. of the establishment of the festival, and therefore of his archonship, see T. J. Cadoux, *JHS* lxviii (1949) 104. Jacoby, in an important note, *FGrH* 334 F 4, *Notes* 508 n. 2, suggests a possibility of rivalry with Peisistratos.

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[164] i. 59, after the statement καταφρονήσας τὴν τυραννίδα.... Herodotus adds: ἤγειρε τρίτην στάσιν, συλλέξας δὲ στασιώτας καὶ τῷ λόγῳ τῶν ὑπερακρίων προστὰς μηχανᾶται τοιάδε. Here ἤγειρε, συλλέξας, τῷ λόγῳ are significant.

[165] Plutarch, *Solon* 29: καὶ γὰρ αἱμύλιόν τι καὶ προσφιλὲς εἶχεν ἐν τῷ διαλέγεσθαι.

[166] Ibid., καὶ βοηθητικὸς ἦν τοῖς πένησι.

[167] Ibid., ἃ δὲ φύσει μὴ προσῆν αὐτῷ καὶ ταῦτα μιμούμενος ἐπιστεύετο μᾶλλον τῶν ἐχόντων, ὡς εὐλαβὴς καὶ κόσμιος ἀνὴρ καὶ μάλιστα δὴ τὸ ἴσον ἀγαπῶν καὶ δυσχεραίνων, εἴ τις τὰ παρόντα κινοίη καὶ νεωτέρων ὀρέγοιτο· τούτοις γὰρ ἐξηπάτα τοὺς πόλλους.

[168] i. 59.

[169] Cf. ibid., the reason for his successful appeal: ἐδέετό τε τοῦ δήμου φυλακῆς τινος πρὸς αὐτοῦ κυρῆσαι, πρότερον εὐδοκιμήσας ἐν τῇ πρὸς Μεγαρέας γενομένῃ στρατηγίῃ, Νίσαιάν τε ἑλὼν καὶ ἄλλα ἀποδεξάμενος μεγάλα ἔργα. Some support from the hoplite class?

[170] i. 60.

[171] i. 62.

[172] vi. 35.

[173] We do not know when Miltiades I went off to the Thracian Chersonese, i.e. whether before the battle of Pallene or after. His dislike of Peisistratos' ἀρχή does not necessarily argue basic enmity, and it is unlikely that Peisistratos would have let him go if he had reason to fear his hostility; cf. *RE* xix. 175, s.v. Peisistratos. Kimon Koalemos was later in exile for reasons we cannot guess (Plutarch, *Cimon* 4; Herodotus vi. 103); they may have been personal. He was recalled after his second chariot victory (528–527 B.C.) and murdered after his third (Herodotus ibid.), but this happened in the reign of Hippias. On the Kimonids in the Thracian Chersonese, and for arguments for the departure of Miltiades I from Attica, see N. G. L. Hammond, *CQ* 1956, 113 ff.

[174] Cf. Herodotus i. 64. For the problem of what happened, see Jacoby, *FGrH* 328 F 115, *Notes* 358 n. 7. Plut., *Sol.* 30, represents Megakles as fleeing with the rest of the Alkmeonids immediately on Peisistratos' seizure of the Acropolis.

[175] T. J. Cadoux, *JHS* lxviii (1949) 77 and 109–10, on the fragment of an archon-list published in *Hesperia* viii (1939) 59–65.

[176] But note the comment of *AthPol* 16. 9 from (?)Androtion: ἐβούλοντο γὰρ καὶ τῶν γνωρίμων καὶ τῶν δημοτικῶν οἱ πολλοί. Cf. Wade-Gery 157, 164, for his 'union of hearts' and suggestions on the position in the first years of Hippias's rule.

[177] *AthPol* 20. 1. On his possible local connexion with the Diakria, see above, p. 199 n. 104 (Plato, *Gorgias* 487c, quoted by Wilamowitz, *A.u.A.* ii. 76 n. 6, does not appear very relevant). On Herodotus' odd statement in v. 66, see above, p. 205 n. 163. For Kleomenes' intention to establish him as tyrant, see Herodotus v. 74.

(rather than the founder of an oligarchy) with the support of Sparta. It is difficult to believe that politics in the period of the tyrants was anything else but an affair of individuals, mustering such alliances as they could find, often temporary and weak. The same must have been true earlier, as is clear from the initially weak position of Peisistratos and the apparent ease of his first expulsion and indeed of his first restoration.[178] The same point seems to be demonstrated by his eventual withdrawal completely from Attica (Herodotus seems to suggest that he even doubted the value of an attempt at a return),[179] and his ultimate reliance to a large degree on foreign help. The temporary success of Peisistratos on his first return was due to a combination with Megakles. The combination was delicately balanced, and as necessary to Megakles as to Peisistratos, since the party of Megakles seems also to have been none too strong, and Megakles came to terms with Peisistratos because[180] he was περιελαυνόμενος τῇ στάσει in the period of internal strife between Peisistratos' first expulsion and his restoration. It may be argued that the validity of all this depends to some extent on the chronological problems of the length of the first two tyrannies: but in fact this is not so. If Peisistratos' first tyranny was of some length, it argues the weakness of his opponents as much as his own supposed strength; the same is true of the second tyranny if this is lengthened; on the other hand, a short period of tyranny and a quick expulsion argues his own weakness and in the case of his opponents need prove no more than a temporary alliance of diverse elements united by nothing more than an objection to another man as tyrant. It therefore seems best to credit both Peisistratos and Megakles with small factions, and thus we have no reason to be surprised at Megakles' control over his, or the personal reasons for his disagreement with Peisistratos.[181]

To sum up. Serious regional connexions and party alignments seem dubious, as becomes apparent when an attempt is made to discover a logical basis for a division between the so-called Pediakoi and the Paralioi. From what has been said already it is clear that Pedion and Pediakoi, Paralia and Paralioi cannot be easily connected if the regional definitions argued above and the nature of the parties as given in the sources are accepted. It seems clear that a following was created by Peisistratos for his own ends. The idea of a connexion with Brauron was current for Peisistratos himself, and he may have had supporters in the region called the Diakria. Thus the concept of a local party arose. Some elements adhering to the following of Peisistratos represented the absolute antithesis to oligarchy, so Peisistratos' party was placed at one extreme, and another party postulated to balance it at the other extreme. This was the ill-defined and vague assemblage of the Pediakoi with their shadowy leader Lykourgos. The concept of this party was, indeed, strengthened by the recollection of an issue (to be examined in (iv) below) which long divided Athens, on which the inhabitants of the *territorial* Pedion had ideas different from those of the inhabitants of other areas of Attica. Given two radically different 'parties', political theory easily arrived at the idea of another between them, which would naturally be the follower of a middle way. There was a third figure, namely Megakles, who was known to be active in the political life of Athens as a contemporary of Peisistratos and possessed of a following. He and his 'party' were therefore connected with the third of the local divisions of Attica, the Paralia or πάραλος γῆ, and thus a third party was produced which is the least convincing of the three. None the less it was possible to embroider this idea of a third party. On the one hand a need was felt for such a party of the middle way, since Solon obviously needed some solid party backing to come to power and carry out his reforms; he was a Eupatrid in origins, at first a sympathizer with the oppressed as is apparent in his poems,[182] but not disposed to favour either extreme.[182a] It was suggested that he had a mercantile connexion, and it was possible to point to enactments which might be his, and which might be intended to benefit trade and crafts. Merchants may be regarded as 'middlemen' politically as well as economically, and so this middle party, standing between 'reactionaries' and 'revolutionaries', can take on a mercantile aspect, and thus be connected by modern historians with the Paralia in the sense of 'coast'. Given this threefold political division (to which the economic is secondary, and never in the sources substantiated by clear evidence), it was not difficult to relate the supposed parties to the Solonian crisis and reforms. Thus the Pediakoi were taken to be the die-hard oppressors of the small cultivators: some had suffered losses in Solon's cancellation of debts,[183] and some disliked his political reforms.[184] The Diakrioi were a disgruntled peasant element, which had not secured the land-division they had expected, and so, while they at first admired Solon as the man who had spoken out against their oppressors, the inadequacy of his reforms from their standpoint led them to follow the cause of a new champion, Peisistratos. This is no doubt true, in so far as there were such discontented people, but it must be observed that it took them a long time to find out that his reforms would not meet their needs. This chronological difficulty[186] must be met by assuming that there were other would-be champions of the unsatisfied, or other would-be tyrants before Peisistratos, and indeed of this danger of tyranny, apart from Damasias, there is some evidence in the poems of Solon.[187] Following this pattern, the Paralioi are then the moderates: moderate because they had gained in political power through Solon's reforms. It is then easy to suggest that these were the merchants and traders who, before the reforms, were excluded from the circle of those who held political power. Thus there is presented a picture of right, left, and centre, to use modern terms, which is too formal to be real, and impossible to connect with the three regions of Attica.

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[178] Cf. Herodotus i. 60: the στασιῶται of Megakles and Lykourgos unite to expel him: οὕτω μὲν Πεισίστρατος ἔσχε τὸ πρῶτον Ἀθήνας καὶ τὴν τυραννίδα οὐ κω κάρτα ἐρριζωμένην ἔχων.

[179] i. 61.

[180] Herodotus i. 60 and *AthPol* 14. 4.

[181] Herodotus i. 61: (Megakles) ὀργῇ δὲ ὡς εἶχε καταλλάσσετο τὴν ἔχθρην τοσι στασιώτῃσι.

(iv)

The suggestion that the three-party division in Attica did not exist does not exclude the possibility of the existence of a serious division among leading Athenians on an important issue, much wider in import than anything which could be fitted to the supposed parties of Plain, Shore, and Hill, and one in which local dynasts and would-be tyrants were likely to be deeply interested. It was an issue which came to the fore in Athenian affairs not only after Solon's reforms but also before them; it was closely connected with Solon himself, and went back to the seventh century. This was the issue involving Megara and Salamis, and all the problems of Athens's relations to her immediate neighbours and to the wider Greek world. It is to be suspected that it included Aigina as well as Megara.[188] It concerned the great families of Athens, some of which had foreign connexions. It was a question in which Peisistratos was much involved. It also touched certain local interests. Thus it may be suggested that a recollection of this issue helped to give rise to the idea of the party divisions.

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[182] See Diehl, *Anth. Lyr. Graec.* i^4 (1953) fr. 3 *passim*, fr. 4. 5–12; cf. Plutarch's comment (*Solon* 3. 2) on this quotation (lines 9–12): ὅτι δ' ἑαυτὸν ἐν τῇ τῶν πενήτων μερίδι μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ τῶν πλουσίων ἔταττε, δῆλόν ἐστιν ἐκ τούτων. Cf. *AthPol* 5. 3 (comment on lines 5–8): καὶ ὅλως ἀεὶ τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς στάσεως ἀνάπτει τοῖς πλουσίοις. In lines 7–8 the partisanship is clear enough; cf. fr. 23. 13 ff., where Solon makes it clear that he was expected to act in a partisan manner. He is called φιλόδημος τὴν φύσιν in Aristophanes, *Nubes* 1187.

[182a] Cf. Plut., *Solon* 14, and the φρονιμώτατοι. The alternative to the suggestion of a party is the idea, which Plutarch, ibid., quotes from Phanias of Eresos, that Solon deceived both sides. The former is the easier suggestion to accept. The trouble is that Solon's position and actions, and his relations to Peisistratos, were the subject of philosophical interest (cf. *RhM* xcix. 319 ff.) which did not help the tradition.

[183] Cf. the normal interpretation of οἱ ἀφῃρημένοι τὰ χρέα of *AthPol* 13. 5; but see p. 195 n. 73 above. These are represented as joining Peisistratos.

[184] *AthPol* 13. 3.

[185] See Wade-Gery 104 for their subsequent assimilation.

[186] Something like thirty years, on the usual chronology, or more. This is in part the reason why Hignett, *A History of the Athenian Constitution* 321, would put Solon's legislation 'late in the third decade of the sixth century'. The problem of Philokypros (ibid. 320) is less important.

[187] Again, if the normal chronology is accepted, it is difficult to believe that Solon is referring to Peisistratos in Diehl i^4. 8. 9 and 10, despite the opinions of later writers who connect these comments of Solon with the bodyguard obtained by Peisistratos, and elaborated the story of Solon the lone protestor (variously treated by Peisistratos according to the picture intended to be given of the latter's character), on which see E. von Stern, *Hermes* xlviii. 426 ff., and Semenov, *BphW* 1908, 604 f.

Our knowledge of the early history of Athens is anything but satisfactory. After the decline of the Mycenaean civilization Athens gradually took the position of chief non-Dorian state, the recipient of refugees and one of the channels of emigration to Asia Minor.[189] Athens was, perhaps, less affected than some other states by the turmoil of the so-called Dark Age, though involved in the process of unification, with the city of Athens as centre, of an Attica which had been divided in the Late Bronze Age.[190] It is surprising to learn of the apparent importance of Athens in the obscure period marked by the production of Protogeometric pottery, when the Attic fabric was widely distributed in the Aegean,[191] and exerted influence on other centres. There is implied in this a renewed contact by sea of Athens and Attica with other regions of Greece. This and the succeeding 'Geometric Period' were also the time of the Attic kingship and its replacement by an aristocracy, whose activities (including sea-going and sea-battles) may be pictured for us on the great Geometric vases, if indeed these are not epic scenes. The importance of Athens as an artistic centre and the apparent wealth of its upper class make it the more odd that we hear so little of Athens as active in the spheres in which other Greek states were active. In Attica, with its relatively light and shallow soil,[192] it might be expected that there would be land and population problems. There is no reason to believe that in Athens the aristocracy was much more liberal, if at all, than those elsewhere. It is to be assumed that the hoplite soldier, and the changes he stood for, appeared in Athens as elsewhere; though, to be sure, he does not appear on vases as he does in Corinth. There was no participation of Athens officially in colonization, though her nearest neighbour, over whom Athens had claimed overlordship for a son of Pandion, namely Megara,[193] played an important part in it. Athens also seems to have participated but little in the concert of Greek states; at any rate we know curiously little of the military and civil relations of Athens with Argos, Corinth, Aegina, and Boeotia, despite some clever and convincing efforts to fill in some of the blank spaces.[194] For the most part conjecture is baffled when attempting to discover natural cause or policy to account for this. This happy state, with little or no history (or so it seems), though we must admit hostilities with the Dorians of the north-eastern Peloponnese to account for the Dorizing of Megara,[195] seemed also in a fair way to escape the stresses which elsewhere produced tyranny. At last, however, a would-be tyrant is heard of in the person of Kylon.[196] In his attempt we are introduced to a number of problems of seventh-century Athenian history, and through his father-in-law Theagenes[197] to the question of Athens's relations to her nearest neighbour Megara and to the problem of her own seaboard, which involved Salamis. This was a local problem with wider implications. It vexed Athens for many a year,[198] and involved matters of honour and pride, as well as more practical considerations. It is not difficult to show that it became a profound and far-reaching party issue.

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[188] Aigina was the other important maritime state of the Saronic Gulf, but of her earlier history surprisingly little is known. It is, however, certain that with any growth of Athenian interest in maritime affairs Aigina was likely to be a greater rival ultimately than Megara, as the later events of the sixth and early fifth centuries show. It is not unreasonable to suggest that just as Megara was an issue earlier, so too Aigina became one later: an issue not unconnected with that of the character of Athens' military effort: land-forces (hoplites) or fleet, the hostility of Themistokles and Aristeides side by side with that between Athens and Aigina. It is not without significance that Aristeides went into exile to Aigina (Dem. xxvi. 6). If Raubitschek's interpretation of an interesting ostrakon is correct ('Das Datislied' in K. Schauenburg, *Charities* 234–42), the involvement of Aristeides in pro-Persian charges there indicated may stem from this issue: pro-hoplite, pro-Aigina, and anti-fleet, therefore pro-Persian. Note that M. Guarducci suggests (*RFC* lxxvi (1948) 226) that the cult of Aiakos (mentioned by Hdt. v. 89 as given a *temenos* by the Athenians on the advice of Delphi) might express something like a claim to Aigina, as did that of Eurysakes to Salamis.

[189] Thucydides i. 5–6, a firmly held tradition, out of which the legend of the Pylos connexion must have developed. See Gomme, *Commentary*, ad loc. For the many problems of this obscure period, see V. Desborough, *Protogeometric Pottery* 297 ff.

[190] For the synoecism in relation to the Eupatridai, see Wade-Gery 92 ff. Earlier and more recent archaeological finds demonstrate the importance of the countryside of Attica, and the lexicographers the earlier divisions traceable in cult organizations. On Mycenaean Attica and the local centres, see F. Stubbings, *BSA* xlii (1947) 2–9 (up to 1938); the material finds have considerably increased since.

[191] Desborough, op. cit.; note particularly (299) the spread of Protogeometric and (299–301) the possibility of trade from Athens. A good deal is still obscure, and this is true also of the following Geometric period from 900 to 875 B.C. on, and of the interrelations of Geometric styles: cf. Desborough 302 for the close connexion of Attic, Corinthian, and Argive Geometric (? in the early stages).

[192] Cf. Thucydides i. 2. 5: τὸ λεπτόγεων, whence, in Thucydides' opinion, its freedom from conquest and disturbance, and the need to expedite refugees to colonies. Plutarch, *Solon* 23: Ἀθηναίοις . . . . . βελτίονα νέμειν ἢ γεωργεῖν χώραν ἔχουσι; so too ibid. 22: most of the country ἀγεννῆ καὶ φαῦλα, hence Solon's development of crafts to provide means of exchange for overseas trade.

[193] See Strabo ix. 392 and p. 192 n. 31 above. On early Megara, see Hammond, *BSA* xlix (1954) 93 ff.

Athenian tradition claimed that Megara had once been within the bounds of Athenian regal government,[199] and asserted also a close connexion between Athens and Salamis.[200] It is not clear what the early position really was. Salamis may once have been independent, but it lies so close to Attica and Megara that both would be certain to lay claim to it. It is also uncertain at what date there came into being the legend of the giving of the island to Athens by Philaios and Eurysakes, the sons of Ajax, or by one of them.[201] Nor can we say with any certainty when the organization of the Salaminioi came into being, intended somehow to strengthen the idea of an Athenian Salamis.[202] When the *coup d'état* of Cylon took place with the assistance of Theagenes, Salamis was obviously an issue. It could be argued, in view of the Megarian tyrant's energy and in view, too, of the colonizing activity of Megara over a longer period in the seventh century, that the island was probably the possession of Megara at the time of Kylon's attempt, though in the conditions of the times and considering the position of the island it might not be easy to say what 'possession' meant.[203] It is probably correct to say that with the incorporation of Eleusis in the territory of Attica[204] the possession of Salamis became much more desirable, if not a necessity. The war between Megara and Athens which followed Kylon's attempt at tyranny, in which Salamis certainly became an area of contention, is obscure in the extreme, and the evidence for it is late and meagre:[205] so meagre, in fact, that there is a strong temptation for the student of the period to arrange his conjectures according to the overall pattern of events which he adopts, and it may be said that the consistency of this pattern will prove the details rather than the details the pattern. The following may be suggested as the order of events. The Kylonian conspiracy, as well as being an attempt at tyranny, was an attempt to associate Athens closely with Megara, and, if it is not possible to go so far as to say that the aid of Theagenes' troops was intended to subordinate Athens to Megara,[206] it must still be admitted that Theagenes had his price and his plans: his least possible aim was to secure the immediate interests of Megara: the most ambitious would be to dominate Athens through Kylon, and neither Kylon nor Theagenes would be sanguine enough to expect to do this without an Attic following of some sort, though it can be argued that the following cannot have been a strong one if foreign troops were needed.[207] Whatever the aim of Kylon in concert with some of his contemporaries and with Theagenes, the attempt encountered opposition from the archon Megakles and those who supported him,[208] and was a failure. War followed with Megara, and the anti-Kylonian forces, it may be suggested, captured or recaptured Salamis. The division in Attica was a deep one, and was not closed by the flight of Kylon and the murder of his supporters.[209] It appears to have been perpetuated in the form of pro-Kylonian and anti-Kylonian strife.[210] This phenomenon seems to confirm, for the present writer, the view that more was at issue originally than just an attempt at tyranny. In this strife Salamis was lost, or there is a faint suggestion that it may have revolted from Athens.[211] The issue of the blood-guilt of the Alkmeonidai came to the fore, clearly as a political issue, and we are told that Solon persuaded them to stand their trial. Everything seems to indicate that he would have been on their side in terms of foreign politics, but it is far from clear that he could have been a statesman of such influence at this time;[212] this suggestion is better regarded as a looking-forward to his later role as a reconciler and an attempt to explain his choice as such.[213] The house of Megakles was expelled, the people were reassured by the purification effected by Epimenides (a suggestion of 'guilt', its atonement and indeed exploitation to cover other difficulties in the body politic?),[214] and for the time being were either reconciled to the possession of Salamis by Megara, or cowed into silence.[215] Solon, however, was not silenced, and upbraided the Athenians, or a section of them, as 'letters-go of Salamis'. It should be noted here that Solon's intervention in this issue is in the spirit of a man relatively youthful rather than elderly, and so it is put before his archonship. Solon's boldness gave the impetus to the recovery of Salamis,[216] which may have been the first effort to settle or alleviate the urgent economic problem of Athens, for the suggestion of Linforth is very attractive, namely that a settlement was made in Salamis with this end in view—an event which lies concealed beneath the story of the volunteers who captured the island.[217] The effort to acquire Sigeion, which belongs to the same period, whether it aimed at the establishment of an *apoikia* or a cleruchy, may well have had a similar purpose, though other aims are not excluded.[218] The capture of Salamis and the acquisition of a following carried Solon to the archonship,[219] and gave him the power to carry out his reforms or part of them. Somewhere here is to be placed the return of Alkmeon (but not the return of the descendants of Kylon)[220] and the participation of Athens in the First Sacred War, which gave her membership of the Amphictyonic Council and an enhanced status as an Ionian state.[221] Solon, who called Athens 'the oldest Ionian land',[222] must have been closely interested if not closely involved, as one tradition suggested.[223] If a recent interpretation of the reasons for the war is accepted,[224] its successful termination also meant a change from a pro-Kylonian to an anti-Kylonian and pro-Alkmeonid attitude at Delphi, which later stood the Alkmeonids in good stead. Those who put the capture of Salamis, or *a* capture of it, under Solon's leadership or influence and before his archonship, regard the later affair under the leadership of Peisistratos as a military undertaking directed against Nisaia, the port of Megara, alone.[225] It might just possibly be this, an effort to secure Salamis more thoroughly, and to profit from the turmoils of Megara *either* as a means of eventually recovering the heritage of Pandion *or* of spoiling Megara's trans-isthmus route. The stress, on the other hand, on Peisistratos' glorious and patriotic act

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[194] Something is done to this effect for the relations of Athens, Epidauros, Aigina, and Argos by T. J. Dunbabin in *BSA* xxxvii (1936/7) 83 ff., on Herodotus v. 88. 2, with an incidental demonstration of the weakness of archaeological evidence. On Athenian commercial 'backwardness' see 88–89; on the nature of finds of Attic Geometric and Protoattic abroad, ibid. 88 and J. M. Cook, *BSA* xxxv (1934/5) 204; T. J. Dunbabin, *The Western Greeks* 240 n. 3. New finds would indeed have to be spectacular to reverse or eliminate the contrast of Protocorinthian and Protoattic.

[195] See Hammond, *BSA* xlix (1954) 91, 96, 101: Dorian conquest dated 1050–1000 B.C.; synoecism of Megara *polis c.* 750 B.C.

[196] Fullest account in Thucydides i. 126; Herodotus v. 70; Plutarch, *Solon* 12. For the question of date, see Cadoux, *JHS* lxviii (1949) 91: Olympic victory of Kylon, 640/39 B.C.; conspiracy, and archonship of Megakles, 636/5 or 632/1 B.C. See also Gomme, *Commentary* on Thucydides i. 126; and Hignett, *A History of the Athenian Constitution* 86–87, for good general comment; note Hignett's point on blood-feuding subsequently, which would imply considerable support for Kylon. Another chronological problem is the length of the interval between the murder of the Kylonians and the condemnation of the Alkmeonids; Ledl (*Studien zur älteren athenischen Verfassungsgeschichte* 86–87) regarded it as very short; so too Lenschau (*Philologus* xci (1937) 286 f.), using the low Corinthian tyrant-chronology, puts a relatively short interval between Kylon and Solon. This is surely wrong.

[197] Thucydides i. 126. He is dated by Kylon. On Theagenes, see Highbarger, *History of Megara* 120 ff. His famous fountain (*BCH* lxxxii (1958) 688 ff.) appears to provide no chronological evidence.

[198] See Hignett, op. cit. 87. It is to be wondered how the traditional codification of the law by Draco, if it took place (in 624–620 B.C.; see Cadoux, op. cit. 92), fits into these troubles. As Hignett points out (op. cit. 84), harsh law would be more harshly administered by Eupatrid magistrates. Did the code start the serious oppression of the small farmers, i.e. in pursuit of the policy of corn export mentioned below? It does not appear as if at the time of the conspiracy conditions were ripe for a tyranny; cf. the anti-Kylonian side taken by οἱ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν. Kylon, however, may have been regarded as personally unsuitable, and there was the Megarian issue.

[199] See above, p. 192 n. 31 and p. 209 n. 193.

[200] Cf. Plutarch, *Solon* 10 and the archaeological argument.

[201] Plutarch, *Solon* 10, and p. 198 n. 94 above.

[202] The organization of the Salaminioi is discussed at length in *Hesperia* vii (1938) 1 ff., but there appears to be no evidence for the date of the institution of the cult organization. The origins, date, and purpose of the *genos*, with its ancient-seeming cult connexions, are debated variously in the interesting articles of W. S. Ferguson, *Hesperia*, loc. cit., M. P. Nilsson, *AJP* lix (1938) 387 ff., and M. Guarducci, *RFC* lxxvi (1948) 233 ff. They are agreed on the purpose; the question of the date and of the division of the *genos* between Athens and Phaleron and Sounion present serious difficulties of explanation.

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[203] Probably, in view of its position, it was inhabited by elements with affinities to both states. It seems unlikely that the Dorian conquest of Megara left Salamis untouched, even if no part of it was incorporated in the Dorian state.

[204] i.e. the late eighth or early seventh century B.C. The question of the acquisition of Eleusis and the relation of this event to matters concerning Megara present considerable difficulties; cf. Allen and Halliday, *The Homeric Hymns*^{2} 111 ff. For various reasons M. Guarducci, op. cit. 229 f., seems constrained to put it too early, and W. S. Ferguson, op. cit. 42, too late.

[205] Plutarch, *Solon* 8, for the 'long and tedious' war with the Megarians; note οἱ ἐν ἄστει . . . . ἐξέκαμον. See Sandys, note to *AthPol* 14. 1, on the problem of Solon's participation and the question of Peisistratos. Plutarch's account is clearly not to be taken chronologically (see p. 212 n. 211 below), as is abundantly evident from chapters 11 and 12; see Ledl, op. cit. 95 for the organization by Plutarch of events 'nach inhaltlichen Gesichtspunkten', whatever his ultimate sources (ibid. 95–97).

[206] Busolt, *Griech. Gesch.* (1885) 500: 'Wäre der Staatsstreich Kylons gelungen, so würde Athen von Megara auch politisch abhängig geworden sein, wie es wahrscheinlich bereits in wirtschaftlicher Abhängigkeit stand.'

[207] At first sight Thucydides seems to indicate an attempt of small dimensions, but note Hignett's suggestion of marriage connexions (op. cit. 87); what does *Solon* 12 mean: μόνοι δ' ἀφείθησαν οἱ τὰς γυναῖκας αὐτῶν ἱκετεύσαντες?

[208] See n. 196 above; also G. Forrest, *BCH* lxxx (1956) 39 ff. Thucydides mentions the opposition of the archons as a body (on the instruction of the Assembly?), which does not necessarily mean that they were all equally bitterly opposed to Kylon and his supporters. The support for the anti-Kylonian side was πανδημεὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν, which Gomme is probably correct in explaining on the ground that Athens itself was small, or, more correctly, that residence was predominantly in the country. The severe partisan trouble started at the murder of Kylon's supporters. See Gomme's note to Thucydides i 126. 11 (τὸ γένος τὸ ἀπ' ἐκείνων) for the responsibility of Megakles as chief archon. Plutarch, *Solon* 12, shares out the responsibility between all nine archons, but only the Alkmeonids (or the descendants of Megakles?) were later banished. The account of Herodotus (v. 70), which gives the responsibility to the πρυτάνιες τῶν ναυκράρων (οἵπερ ἔνεμον τότε τὰς 'Αθήνας), may well be a pro-Alkmeonid version, but also infers the political nature of the blood-guilt charge.

[209] The flight of Kylon and his brother, Thucydides i. 126. We are not informed where they sought refuge, but it is natural to suppose that they did so in Megara, possibly to continue hostilities from there.

[210] Cf. Plutarch, *Solon* 12: καὶ τῶν Κυλωνείων οἱ περιγενόμενοι πάλιν ἦσαν ἰσχυροὶ καὶ στασιάζοντες ἀεὶ διετέλουν πρὸς τοὺς ἀπὸ Μεγακλέους. ἐν δὲ τῷ τότε χρόνῳ τῆς στάσεως ἀκμὴν λαβούσης μάλιστα καὶ τοῦ δήμου διαστάντος . . . .

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[211] Plutarch, *Solon* 12: ταύταις δὲ ταῖς ταραχαῖς καὶ Μεγαρέων συνεπιθεμένων ἀπέβαλόν τε Νίσαιαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Σαλαμῖνος ἐξέπεσον αὖθις. The whole narrative of Plutarch is most confused in detail and order (see n. 205) and complicated by reference to Nisaia. Ledl, op. cit. 83, therefore casts doubt on Σαλαμῖνος ἐξέπεσον αὖθις. On the other hand, if we can trust the information of an orator, Demosthenes (xix. 252) mentions (*before* the enactment of the law imposing the death penalty, and the poem of Solon): ἀφεστηκυίας Σαλαμῖνος Ἀθηναίων.

[212] Plutarch, *Solon* 12: Solon ἤδη δόξαν ἔχων. His age would naturally depend on his birth date (see Aly, *RE* series 2, iii. 949. for discussion; he places it before 624 B.C.; K. Freeman, *The Work and Life of Solon* 153 f., suggests *c.* 639 B.C.) and the date when this *stasis* took place. If he were born *c.* 640 B.C., and if these events had any connexion with Draco (624 B.C.) he would be far too young. If they are put towards the end of the century they are too much compressed with the following events which have to be fitted in. The purification by Epimenides (closely?) connected with the expulsion was traditionally dated 597/6 or 596/5, and therefore just before Solon's archonship, but *AthPol* seems to infer a certain space of time between, into which has to be fitted the recapture of Salamis through the agency of Solon. The story of this earlier prominence of Solon is rejected by Ledl, op. cit. 84, who also (89 ff., 100) transfers Myron of Phlya to the later expulsion of the ἐναγεῖς in Thucydides i. 126, 12, with which the purification of Epimenides has also been associated (see Sandys, note to *AthPol*, ad loc.). Freeman, op cit. 163, dates the trial between 610 and 600 B.C. 'probably preceding the capture of Salamis', which means dating it in reality more or less at the end of the century to give Solon sufficient standing in age. She then has to place the purification after the capture of Salamis. This arrangement is just possible, but the placing of the purification is unsatisfactory.

[213] Note the expression of Plutarch, *Solon* 12: ἤδη δόξαν ἔχων ὁ Σόλων παρῆλθεν ἐς μέσον ἅμα τοῖς ἀρίστοις τῶν Ἀθηναίων, καὶ δεόμενος καὶ διδάσκων . . . .

[214] See Plutarch, *Solon* 12, for superstition (καὶ φόβοι τινὲς ἐκ δεισιδαιμονίας) and φάσματα explained by the priests. Parke, *The Delphic Oracle* i^{2}. 111 (on Epimenides and the Eupatrids), places the Alkmeonids already in exile at Delphi; but it is surely better to place the onset and exploitation of superstitious fears before the expulsion of the ἐναγεῖς, whose presence would be used as an explanation of Athens's troubles, including the loss of Salamis. Then would come the expulsion and the purification.

[215] This is what the supposed law sounds like, Plutarch, *Solon* 8, separated by him in odd fashion from the Kylonian and the following episodes. Very curious is the reference to Mounychia ascribed to Epimenides, and the suggestion by him that it would in the future do harm to Athens. It may be suggested that, if the story does not arise from the fortification of Mounychia by Hippias, it indicates a certain appreciation among those who fabricated it that the events which brought Epimenides to Athens involved not only Salamis and the Kylonian ἄγος but the whole question of Athens's trading interests and her future on the sea (seen from the point of view of those opposed to it.)

[216] Diehl, *Anth. Lyr. Graec.* i^{4} (1954) fr. 2, 7–8. This poem has been felt to be 'youthful in tone' and therefore not of Solon's old age (*RE* series 2, iii. 950, 952); cf. Plutarch, *Solon* 8, for Solon as champion of the young men: τῶν νέων . . . . . πόλλους δεομένους ἀρχῆς ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον. On the whole question see L. Weber, *Klio* xx (1926) 385 ff., for a number of acute observations.

[217] Plutarch, *Solon* 9 (note the Delphic oracle); Linforth, *Solon the Athenian* 44–45. It may be pointed out here that an important issue must have arisen. As clearly shown by Ste Croix (*CR* lxxi (1957) 58) in his review of Westermann, slavery (and we may add serfdom) is the only ancient means of the production of a surplus over and above bare consumption needs from land of poor fertility. Hence the policy on the one hand, as suggested below, of serf and slave production in agriculture preferred by some Attic land owners (cf. the suggestion of Ehrenberg, *Aspects of the Ancient World* 116, that there was no Athenian colonization because

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serfs were kept at home), and the policy, on the other, of Solon and his supporters, a policy of industry, trade, and foreign settlement.

[218] The best account of this puzzling event and the sources is in D. Page, *Sappho and Alcaeus* 152 ff. See also V. Ehrenberg, 'Zur älteren athenischen Kolonisation', *Eunomia* i (1939) 11 ff. = *Aspects of the Ancient World* 117, who regards it as an effort at colonization and dates it to the end of the seventh century. The death of Phrynon at the hand of Pittakos is generally placed in 607/6 B.C., therefore in the period of stress at Athens and before the traditional date of the purification by Epimenides; also before the recovery of Salamis as dated in this discussion. As Page points out (op. cit. 158), there are curious points about the story and Athens's use of resources at this time for a distant venture; it is not easy to see why Sigeion was chosen and not the Thracian Chersonese (in which, indeed, a late authority suggests Solon also took an interest, Diogenes Laertius i. 47). Busolt, *Griech. Gesch.* 513, dates the venture to 610 B.C. and calls it an effort of the 'Adelsregierung', which it would in any case be by pre-Solonian definition. It might even be explained as a 'Kylonian' effort in concert with Megara. It makes better sense, however, to put it later around about the time of the recapture of Megara. If the date of the celebrated Sigeion inscription (*SGDI* 5531), which has an Attic version, could be accurately established ('early in the sixth century' is not very satisfactory), it would provide a *terminus ante quem* for the capture of Sigeion and the presence of Athenians there. As it is, we are at sea amid the problems of one or two captures, and dates varying from the late seventh century to the period of Peisistratos, all bound up with the chronology of the Corinthian tyrants, Lesbos and Pittakos The latest discussion, of C. Talamo, *Ann. della Fac. di lettere e filos.* (Napoli), viii (1958–9) 5–17, certainly casts no new light on the matter: a first capture can hardly be put as late as Peisistratos, unless another later Phrynon is postulated. She also repeats the 'commercial' argument for the venture, which is not altogether satisfactory. Perhaps the Athenians were attracted by the purple-fisheries: Aristotle, *HA* 547^{a}5.

[219] See above, and Hignett, op. cit. 88. The capture of Salamis (and therefore the Salamis poem) is placed before the archonship of Solon by Aly, *RE* series 2, iii. 950, 952; cf. Freeman, op. cit. 169. Note that Aly, ibid. 949, seems to think that Solon's election was a break with tradition; if so, all the more in need of support?

[220] See n. 87 above.

[221] A useful summary of details concerning the war by Cadoux, *JHS* lxviii (1949) 100. Alkmeon appears as commander ('in the Delphic register'), Plutarch, *Solon* 11, but Solon is made to play a considerable part, i.e. in the initiation of the war, cf. Aeschines iii. 107 ff. For a restrained estimate of Athens's part see Parke, *The Delphic Oracle* i^2. 104–5, who infers that Athens must have been a member of the Amphiktyonic League to participate in the war. See also Wade-Gery, 22 ff.

[222] The war came more or less at a time when Ionian and Pylian connexions were in men's minds; cf. the name of Peisistratos, Solon's words: πρεσβυτάτην ἐσορῶν γαῖαν Ἰαονίας | κλινομένην, and Plutarch, *Solon* 10: τῷ μέντοι Σόλωνι καὶ Πυθικούς τινας βοηθῆσαι λέγουσι χρησμούς, ἐν οἷς ὁ θεὸς Ἰαονίαν τὴν Σαλαμῖνα προσηγόρευσε, though this latter comes in the context of the arbitration and therefore later despite the mention of Solon.

[223] See n. 221 above.

[224] See G. Forrest, *BCH* lxxx (1956) 33 ff., for a very attractive suggestion relating to the 'threat' in the *Hymn to Apollo* 540–4 (for a *post eventum* retrospect, see Parke, op. cit. i^2. 108, and Wade-Gery 24), of a sacred war *against* a Delphi which was pro-Kylonian and anti-Alkmeonid. It is to be wondered, of course, how the oracles are to be fitted in, i.e. Parke 12 (Kylon) and 13 (Epimenides' purification). What of the responses Parke 15 and 16? It might be suggested that they come too late (if from the reformed oracle), unless Solon's legislation is put later than the traditional date, as some would have it. Or are these responses incitements to tyranny, 15 addressed to Solon, and 16 general?

[225] Herodotus i. 59; Sandys's note to *AthPol* 14. 1. This seems to fit the story in Frontinus, *Strat.* ii. 9. 9, though his reference in iv. 1. 8 to 'Theagenes Atheniensis (*sic*), cum exercitum Megaram (*sic*) duceret' does not inspire confidence in his use of his sources.

suggests another loss of Salamis in the confused period after Solon's reforms (compare the loss of Sigeion later recovered by Peisistratos also), a confused period which was comparable to the earlier one. And once again some Athenians did not object, it may be suggested, but others did.

The alternating captures and losses of Salamis, and the acquiescence in its loss and the urge to recover it, may be suggested (as has already been done elsewhere) as a form of index of the attitude of Athens—or rather an index of the attitude of two sections of the Athenians—to the importance of relations with the outside world and especially with Megara. Kylon and his supporters were prepared to take a pro-Megarian line,[226] and accept the Megarian possession of Salamis. The opposition under Megakles was not only to a would-be tyrant, but from the beginning an anti-Megarian attitude and a conviction of 'Salamis for the Athenians'. Later, in the strife between Kylonians and anti-Kylonians, Salamis was lost, the Alkmeonids went into exile, and the loss of the island was accepted until Solon agitated for its recovery. For most patriots the fact that an island so near Attica and Athens was in foreign and enemy hands must have been an affront. Yet it appears that one section of the Athenians was prepared to acquiesce in this and to be at peace with Megara: not, it may be suggested, because of a craven spirit, but because of certain advantages that were thereby gained, namely the disposal to Megara (and probably to Aigina) of a surplus of Attic cereals—a surplus that was not a natural surplus but an artificial one, obtained by depressing the standard of life of the small Attic cultivator, and wringing from him as much of his produce as possible for sale abroad in return for the new or relatively new coin. A recent writer has argued that possession or non-possession of Salamis, and enmity or friendship with Megara were bound up with questions of *importation* and internal supply of cereals,[227] but in so far as the question is economic at all, it must surely have been a matter of cereal exportation, which was subsequently forbidden by Solon. It should be remembered that Megara was not very fertile,[228] and the same was true of Aigina.[229] Each at a later date, and probably now, had a population larger than it could support from its own production of primary necessities. Both states were a ready market, and friendly relations with them could be profitable to some. The policy of the export of cereals to neighbouring states would benefit cultivators of the Pedion, and those who controlled arable land elsewhere (whether it was their absolute property or the mortgaged land of others). In so far as it would most benefit cultivators of the Pedion and of the Eleusinian and Thriasian plains, something of a local interest is present, but it should not be overstressed. Distant trade and an expansion of Athens's influence in Greece, and of her interests in the east, north-east, and west were not their concern,[230] not because there would be trespass on Megara's overseas interests—for Athens and Megara, like Corinth and Athens later, could be complementary in trade (as Athens and Aigina could not be)—but because of narrowness of outlook and satisfaction with present profits. In so far as these limited interests suffered by Solon's cancellation of debts and the embargo on the export of corn, they were affected by Solon's legislation. In fact Solon represented the opposition to this narrow and local interest, as is apparent in elements of his reforms[231] and in his concern for the recovery of Salamis. Other events, spread over a period, seem to indicate the same thing: the capture of Sigeion,[232] not too far removed from the capture of Salamis, and the possible settlement there of a colony; the return of Alkmeon from exile and Athens's participation in the First Sacred War under the leadership of the returned exile. Other indications may be the appearance of two Athenians at the wooing of Agariste, daughter of Kleisthenes of Sikyon,[233] the anti-Dorian tyrant, and the friendship of the Philaidai with Corinth.[234] It is tempting to see the Philaidai on this side of wider relations for Athens, for Hippokleides[235] of that clan was a suitor of Agariste, just as Megakles was.[236] Even if they were rivals, and Philaidai stood for Corinth, and Alkmeonidai or some of them for Sikyon, neither would take a favourable view of Megara and Aigina. If it seems far-fetched to bring in this marriage, it should be remembered that Kylon too, had been the successful suitor for a tyrant's daughter. It would not be too hard to find even a regional interest in this division of possible or actual policy. The Paralia and Diakria possessed ports looking east and north-east, to the Aegean islands, to Euboea and beyond. Whatever importance the east-coast ports possessed they did not lose after the captures of Salamis, and the hope may well have been for greater development.[237] In this matter we must not emphasize too much the western and Corinthian connexion of Solon's currency reforms, though pottery shows, in the Italian and Sicilian finds, how great a connexion eventually grew up.[238] If, as has been

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[226] Note Milne's observation, *Hesperia* xiv (1945) 236: 'The country was split up between agriculturists and traders and there was a severe clash between them when Cylon . . . attempted to establish himself as tyrant.' The Alkmeonids he represents as later 'continually identified with business interests'. There is something in the general idea, but it is much overdone by Milne.

[227] A. French, *JHS* 238. Cf. Busolt, *Griech. Gesch.* 500: '. . . denn Megara verfügte über die pontische Ausfuhr und scheint damals hauptsächlich den Mehrbedarf Attikas an Getreide gedeckt zu haben'.

[228] Cf. *RE* xv. 171–2; the poverty of the soil, however, is not to be exaggerated (172); but note 173: 'neben diesem gartenmässigen Anbau spielte das Getreide eine geringere Rolle, Megara war hierfür auf Einfuhr vor allem dem athenischen Markte angewiesen'. See also Philippson, 946–7, and Isoc., *De Pace* 117: Μεγαρεῖς, . . . πέτρας δὲ γειωργοῦντες, μεγίστους οἴκους τῶν Ελλήνων κέκτηνται.

[229] Cf. on modern Aigina Philippson iii. 52–53: vines in the 'Gebirgsland'; an area around the city is cultivated, some 10 kilometres square, but it is short of water. Even if there was more cultivation in antiquity, it would not be very much more. Aigina is a conspicuously stony island. For the ancient import of corn from the Euxine, cf. Herodotus vii. 147, 2. Note the difficult point that for all this Aigina did not (as a state) colonize to solve population problems. It is no doubt with this in mind that Milne (*Hesperia* xiv (1945) 233) suggests that the Aiginetans imported corn from Egypt, as more dependable than 'the uncertain Attic harvests', and that they used their control of silver (from Siphnos?) with its great purchasing power in Egypt, to obtain it. There may be something in this, but he seems to go too far when he speaks of the Aiginetans as 'flooding the Greek markets with cheap corn'.

[230] Cf. Milne, ibid. 232: '. . . these three cities, Chalcis, Corinth and Aegina were in the 7th century certainly the

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most considerable manufacturing and shipping communities in European Greece till almost the end of the century. Athens, with these examples of prosperity on her borders and with what would seem to be equal material advantages, showed no signs of a desire to share in their fortunes.' Contrast the Salaminioi of Athens, if the origin and purpose of this organization are understood aright.

[231] Especially in his attempt to remove the opportunities for rack-renting.

[232] But see above, n. 218; it is not altogether easy to explain the interest in and choice of Sigeion.

[233] Herodotus vi. 127–9. For Kleisthenes as the anti-Dorian tyrant, see P. de la Coste-Messelière, *Au Musée de Delphes*, on the Sikyonian monopteros. On the chronological problem see Lenschau, *Philologus* xci (1937) 391; he places Leokedes at the wooing, which he dates between 580 and 575 B.C., among the older suitors as aged about fifty and so born *c.* 630 B.C. Thus Pheidon has to be placed in the second half of the seventh century. A more recent discussion by G. Huxley, in *BCH* lxxxii (1958) 588 ff., returns to an eighth-century date or another Pheidon can be discovered: cf. M. F. McGregor, *TAPA* lxxii (1941) 266 ff.

[234] See How and Wells, *Commentary*, note to vi. 128, 2. In respect to Megara, Corinth would be likely to be on Athens's side, cf. Busolt, *Griech. Gesch.* 461 n. 1, and 460. Note that despite this friendship, the presence of a Philaid at the wooing of Agariste seems to indicate that pro-Dorian and anti-Dorian considerations did not influence at least one Philaid. It could, of course, always be argued that Corinth was at that time in decline as far as the tyranny was concerned, and therefore Philaids might look elsewhere. On all this see McGregor, loc. cit. He places the marriage of Agariste in 575 B.C., after the fall of the tyranny at Corinth in 582 B.C. at the latest.

[235] Herodotus vi. 127–9. On the Philaidai and Corinth, Eetion the father of Kypselos and Eetioneia, Philaios son of the Lapith Koronos, and much else, see Jacoby, *FGrH* 328 F 72, *Commentary* 351.

[236] Herodotus, ibid.

[237] The present picture of exports from Attica (as indicated by the presence of pottery on Mediterranean sites) shows a vast preponderance in the west, but it is clear that as excavation progresses in the eastern Mediterranean, including Asia Minor, the evidence of exports to these regions will also increase. More work is also needed on the Athenian plain 'SOS' amphorae in which oil must have been exported: cf. B. Bailey, *JHS* lx (1940) 60 ff.; L. H. Jeffery, *BSA* l (1955) 67 ff.; *Hesperia* ii (1933) 570–1; and the British excavations at Smyrna. The same will apply to Protocorinthian and Corinthian exports eastwards, and to the part played by the East Greek cities in this trade (see n. 238 and C. Roebuck, *Ionian Trade and Colonisation* (1959) 77 f.)

[238] In the case of the vase evidence, the gradual increase can be worked out from Beazley, *Attic Black-Figure* (1956). B. Bailey's observations are now somewhat out of date (*JHS* lx (1940) 60 ff.) and overstress the role of Corinth as carrier. For a possible Phocaian and Samian part in the carrying trade (especially in relation to Massilia) cf. F. Villard, *La Céramique grecque de Marseille* (1960) 35 f., 55 f., which includes the question of 'luxury' and 'colonial' vase imports.

recently asserted,[239] Athens was short of silver in Solon's time, and Aigina controlled the supplies from Siphnos (which, of course, cannot be proved), would not Solon turn to the northern Aegean? Was he not himself interested in the east?[240] The ports of eastern Attica could already be used to export from Attica to the eastern and north-eastern directions (significantly enough to regions where corn was not in short supply), and imports from these directions could, as they did later, cross Attica by land to Athens.[241] The great issue, however, would be the development of an active and wide-ranging commerce with its centre on the coast as near Athens as possible; a centre not only for imports and exports but for transit-trade as well. For such a development there must be no blocking island of Salamis in alien hands, even if there was a local and profitable trade with Megara. This, it is postulated, was an issue which appeared again after the reforms of Solon as it had before them. If it be asked how the poor could again be exploited after Solon to produce cereals for export, the answer is reasonable: that there were still landless men, who learnt the bitter lesson that freedom meant freedom to starve or to work in return for a pittance for a harsh master. Nor should we be surprised if in a period of constitutional lawlessness the reforms of Solon broke down, to the satisfaction of some.[242] This issue of Salamis and Megara was finally settled by Peisistratos, so that even in his long exile Salamis was not lost again. Indeed Megara declined through internal strife, and for the future Aigina was Athens's rival.[243] These wider interests of Athens were promoted by Peisistratos once he was firmly established in power. The recapture of Sigeion,[244] and the control of the Thracian Chersonese by a Miltiades not unfriendly at a distance,[245] made both places available as safe resorts for those who sought the Euxine or traded from the Euxine, and who might be encouraged to visit the harbour of Athens on their journeys farther west.[246] It is, however, unnecessary to assume that this question of Salamis was purely economic and a matter only of wider trade connexions. It was also an issue of Athenian pride and independence, and a forward-looking concept of the city's role in Greece, as contrasted with the other narrow and restricted view. This forward-looking policy had to be struggled for: around 480 B.C. in connexion with the Athenian navy, in the period of conversion of the Delian League into an empire, and again in 411 B.C. and in 404 B.C. This was the real party issue, in which local interest takes only a secondary place.

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[239] French, *JHS* 244. On Aigina and the silver supply, see above, n. 229.

[240] Solon and Egypt, Plutarch, *Solon* 26 (and the quotations there = Diehl i⁴, frs. 6 and 7); Cyprus, Plutarch, ibid. He is unlikely to have been the only one to undertake such travels, and he and others must have become aware of the importance of the eastern Mediterranean, and of the north–south Aegean trade route, from Macedonia and Thasos (cf. *Études thasiennes* iii (1954) 34 ff.), perhaps via Paros (and Naxos?) to Syria and Egypt. It is not easy to say who participated in this important trade, except, in general terms the states which were closely associated with Naukratis, among which appeared Aigina (Herodotus ii. 178). Corinth had no special connexion with Naukratis, but the city was clearly a centre concerned with oriental products and influences. It also had its connexion with the north Aegean (Potidaia). For the important Egyptian hoard-evidence, which is later and sometimes difficult to interpret, but which gives some indications on this north–south Aegean and east Mediterranean trade, see Pouilloux, *Études thasiennes* iii. 52–53, and the references there. On the other hand it must not be forgotten that the connexion of Athens with Corinth (see n. 234 above, especially the connexion of Teisandros the Philaid and the Kypselids (Beloch, *Griech. Gesch.* i. 362); cf. later the fact that Timonassa, the Argive wife of Peisistratos, was previously married to the Kypselid Archinos of Ambracia (*AthPol* 17, 3)) would serve to make Athens aware of the West. Note in this connexion the importance of the *diolkos*, *BCH* lxxxi (1957) 526–9; lxxxii (1958) 693 ff.; *AM* lxxi (1956) 51 ff. An early date is suggested in the latter account (last quarter of the seventh century), but doubted in *BCH* lxxxii (1958) 693 n. 1.

[241] Cf. Thucydides vii. 28, 1; see also n. 139 above. The Euripos could be something of an artery of trade, hence the importance of friendship with the Chalcidian states. Chalcis might be expected to be of chief importance, but Peisistratos's connexion seems to have been with Eretria. There is an indication that Eretria sought to control the channel, cf. *IG* xii. 9. 1273, 1274 (cf. Ziebarth, *Seeraub und Seehandel* 123), unfortunately of uncertain sixth-century date. A good deal of importance on trade routes is certainly concealed from us: so, e.g., a possible connexion of trade routes from Atalante (in Malis) to the Corinthian Gulf (see Gomme, *Essays in Greek History and Literature* 31 ff., 41) with the Sacred War; but Athenian participation in this war is not likely to have been influenced by such considerations. It is not clear whether Attic trade with Boeotia was mainly by land or sea, but it could be important in the Solonian system: Boeotia had good cornland (Gomme, op. cit. 39–40) but was not well suited to olives; therefore no market for Athenian corn, but a good one for oil. There certainly appears to have been a connexion; cf. Thebes' contribution of aid to Peisistratos's return, Herodotus i. 62, *AthPol* 15. 2; later the dedication of Hipparchos in the Ptoion, and also of Alkmeonids (? before 519 B.C.), *BCH* xliv (1920) 237 ff., *Hermes* lvii (1922) 476 ff.

[242] As did the archon-system temporarily in the periods of *anarchia* 590–589 B.C., 586–585 B.C., and in the tyranny of Damasias 582–579 B.C., followed by a brief replacement of the archonship by a commission of Eupatridai, Agroikoi, and Demiourgoi.

[243] See nn. 188 and 229 above. The colonization of Herakleia Pontika at about this time need not indicate prosperity.

[244] Herodotus v. 94 and n. 218 above. We do not know the circumstances of its loss.

[245] See n. 173 above.

Appendix: The Position of the Diakria

Essential to the problem is the question of the identification of the Diakria with the Epakria. If the latter, through the location of the deme of Semachidai (which is stated to be part of the Epakria), can be placed in south-east Attica, and it can be shown that Epakria is another name for the Diakria, then the Diakria was in south-east Attica and a connexion might be suggested with mines and miners (though other problems on the activity of the mines at the period in question must arise). This appears to have been Ure's argument (*Origins of Tyranny* 37 ff.), to which Jacoby, *FGrH* 328 F 205–6, *Notes* 468 n. 4, seems to give qualified approval.

I. 'Επακρία appears in Strabo ix. 397 from Philochoros, in a list of communities belonging to what are described in *RE* s.v. 'Attika' as the oldest *Gaustaaten* or *Gauverbände* of Attica. Jacoby (op. cit. 328 F 94, *Commentary* i. 392–6) regards the list as a selection of twelve from a greater number of well-known Attic places, certainly not pre-Kleisthenic trittyes, though five of the later trittyes appear in this list, and the Epakria is one of them (so Jacoby: but is it 'Επακρία or 'Επακρεῖς?). In the list given by Strabo 'Επακρία appears between Τετράπολις ⟨Τετράκωμοι⟩ and Δεκέλεια, but the order seems to have no significance and cannot be used to locate the Epakria. The name appears in the lexica (see Jacoby, loc. cit.), cf. *Etym. Mag.* 352. 53 and Steph. Byz. s.v. Σημαχίδαι (see below), but this is no help. Note, however, *Lex. Phot.* 259. 9 for the comment ὄνομα χώρας πλησίον Τετραπόλεως κειμένης, but here the form is 'Επακτρία which appears also in the Suda, s.v. 'Επακτρία χώρα. There is also the term 'Επακρεῖς: the name of a Kleisthenic trittys (*IG* ii^{2}. 2490), and also of an association of some sort to which the deme Plotheia belonged: cf. the deme-decree *IG* ii^{2}. 1172 on revenue and expenditure, which refers (line 30) to contributions for sacrifices ἢ ἐς Πλωθέας ἢ ἐς 'Επακρέα[ς ἢ ἐς Ἀθηναίους.

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[246] Cf. the imports to Massilia of increasing amounts of Attic pottery, especially after *c.* 550 B.C. F. Villard (see n. 238 above) stresses the activity of Phokaia and Samos westward between 580 and 540 B.C. Merchants from these states may have called at the port of Athens, but the apparent decline of East Greek imports to Massilia after 540 B.C. (which Villard would connect with events in Gaul, though the Persian conquest of East Greece could be an alternative reason—which would need to be checked against the state of imports to Italy and Sicily), which goes side by side with an increase of Attic imports, shows that others were also involved. Mediterranean commerce at this time was no doubt in the hands of as diverse a body of merchants as in the fourth century. The fact that contact between Athens and the West is so strongly demonstrated from mid-century by the presence of Attic pots in this region need not prove any close connexion or friendship of Athens and Corinth, but shows that those who travelled west frequented the port of Athens or had contact with those who did. This seems to show that the absence of any clear evidence of a particular association of Peisistratos with Corinth, and his lack of any connexion with Olympia (contrast the Philaidai: Herodotus vi. 36 and 103, Plutarch, *Cimon* 4, Pausanias vi. 10. 8 and 19. 6) cannot be related to questions of trade. The conspicuous connexions of the tyrant with North Greece and the Aegean (Delos, Lygdamis of Naxos, possibly Samos, if Samos had a tyranny under Polykrates' father, cf. M. White, *JHS* lxxiv (1954) 43) are political in significance. It should also be noted here that the period of the parties in Athens was one in which there was a good deal of activity in the eastern Mediterranean which could not fail to attract Athenian attention, and make some forward-looking Athenians ponder the place and potentialities of Athens: among these events may be numbered the peace of Alyattes with Media (585 B.C.) and the expansion of Lydian power, Apries' attack on Cyrene *c.* 570 B.C., his fall and replacement by Amasis, and the latter's policy to the Greeks.

See Milchhoefer, *Demenordnung* 46. Plotheia is generally assumed to be a deme of north Attica (between Marathon and Kephissia according to Ure; near Stamata, north-west of Ikaria according to Milchhoefer, op. cit. 14; near Halai Araphenides according to others), and since it belonged to the Inland trittys of Aigeis (Milchhoefer, RE v. 2673.49) like Ikaria, it is assumed that Ἐπακρεῖς/Ἐπακρία is the name of this trittys (so Judeich, in *RE* s.v. 'Attika' 2227. Milchhoefer, *Demenordnung* 16, 46–47, seems undecided). There is the difficulty of the form of the name: is Ἐπακρία or Ἐπακρεῖς the trittys-name, or both forms: and if Ἐπακρεῖς is accepted as a trittys-name and not that of another type of organization, is it not odd that contributions for sacrifice are made to a trittys, since the trittys had no religious organization of the sort possessed by deme and tribe? Ἐπακρεῖς here is more likely to have been a purely religious organization including portions of diverse Kleisthenic tribes (Wilamowitz, *A.u.A.* ii. 154, 23), cf. *RE* s.v. 'Attika' 2187, 2215 on the Mesogeioi as a 'Kultgenossenschaft' in the Pedion north of Athens, and distinct from the modern Mesogia;[247] the Salaminioi might also be taken as a parallel.

All of this might not matter very much, if it were not for the questions of:

II. The deme of Semachidai and its location. Steph. Byz. s.v. Σημαχίδαι. δῆμος Ἀττικῆς ἀπὸ Σημάχου, ᾧ καὶ ταῖς θυγατράσιν ἐπεξενώθη Διόνυσος, ἀφ᾽ ὧν αἱ ἱέρειαι αὐτοῦ. ἔστι δὲ τῆς Ἀντιοχίδος φυλῆς. Φιλόχορος δὲ τῆς Ἐπακρίας φησὶ τὸν δῆμον (= Jacoby, *FGrH* 328 F 206). Here the deme is associated with the tribe Antiochis, and by Philochoros with the Ἐπακρία. In *IG* ii^2. 1750 (of 334/3 B.C.) Semachidai appears in a list of demes of Antiochis which provides a full list of fifty members of the Boule. The demes in the list seem to be arranged in trittyes (lines 4–41 Coast; 65–75 Inland; 54–64 Asty), as is also the practice in *IG* ii^2. 1740, 1742, 1743, 1751 (see comment on 1750). In 1750 Semachidai (line 74) appears to belong to the Inland trittys of the tribe. The location of this is not certainly known; nor do we know how the name Ἐπακρία, to which Philochoros ascribes the deme, is to be related to it. In a note to *IG* ii^2. 1172. 30 an attempt is made to connect Plotheia and Ἐπακρεῖς of 1172 and Semachidai and Ἐπακρία of Philochoros and conclude: 'Σημαχίδαι Antiochidis tribus vicini sunt Plothensibus Aegeidis tribus', and that, on the somewhat unsatisfactory evidence for Plotheia, Semachidai is in north Attica (cf. Milchhoefer, *Demenordnung* 37, who would place it at Kalentsi). This conclusion is to some extent helped by the similarity of the Dionysiac legend of Semachidai to that of Ikaria; it is also to be suspected that the similarity of Epakria and Diakria has influenced it. This location of Semachidai has not been found satisfactory by Ure (cf. also Jacoby, *Commentary* i. 572 on 328 F 205–6), who was anxious to move the Diakrians of Peisistratos to south-east Attica to associate them with the Laurion mines. While it was not possible on general grounds to shift the Diakria thus in a convincing manner, it was possible to do something about the Epakria (identified, presumably, with the Diakria through the rather poor evidence of the use of Epakrioi by Plutarch, *Mor.* 763D) by means of Philochoros' connexion of it with Semachidai: for in the mining inscription *IG* ii^2. 1582. 53 f. (*AM* xxxv (1910) 274 ff., *Hesperia* v (1936) 393 ff.) τὸ Σημάχειον, a shrine of Semachos, the hero of a Dionysiac legend who gave his name to Semachidai, is undoubtedly located in south-east Attica: ἡ ὁδὸς ἡ ἔξω τοῦ Ραγῶνος ἐπὶ Λαύρεον φέρουσα καὶ τὸ Σημάχειον. Apart from this, as far as the present writer knows, there is no evidence for the location of Semachidai in this region: evidence from grave-inscriptions is always unsatisfactory unless it occurs in some quantity. The fact that to the coastal trittys of Antiochis belong the Ἀναφλύστιοι, Ἀμφιτροπαιῆς and Βησαιῆς, well known for their association with the mines, says nothing for the location of demes of the Inland trittys such as Semachidai. Nor does the possible association of Semachidai with the Salaminioi of Sounion help in any way, if in fact the appearance of a *diaitetes* from Semachidai in the dispute between the two divisions of that organization denotes such an association. It is natural to suppose that if Semachidai was originally an Attic clan the major shrine of the hero would be in the deme named from it; but note that Philaios and the Salaminioi are not associated with Philaidai (though it might be argued that the Salaminioi do not provide a good analogy). It is difficult, however, to reject with Jacoby (loc. cit. note 3) the obvious suggestion of Wilamowitz (in *IG* ii^2. 1582, ad loc.) that Semachos was worshipped in several places, in the Epakria (or by the Epakrians) and in the region of the mines. The Laurion region seems an odd place for the original growth of a legend associated with Dionysos (though it was probably less infertile than is commonly supposed). The explanation of Wilamowitz seems to involve less in the way of mental gymnastics than that of Jacoby. Clans and clan-heroes might appear in several regions of Attica (the definite article in τὸ Σημάχειον is surely local in significance): cf. the Medontidai, *IG* i^2. 871 (from the region of the Acropolis): *h*όρο[ς χό]ρας Μεδ[ον]τ[ι]δο̃ν, and *IG* i^2. 872 (found at Keratea): [*h*]ιερὸν Μεδοντιδο̃ν,[248] and even if it is felt that on the evidence Semachidai must be placed in south-east Attica, the probability seems to be that Epakria/Epakreis represented some widespread religious organization other than a district, as Milchhoefer, *Demenordnung* 46–47, seems to suggest. Jacoby's placing of the Epakria in south-east Attica is anything but happy (*Commentary* on 328 F 205–6) since he is forced to admit: 'If this is correct Ἐπακρία can, of course, not mean the Cleisthenic trittys, which is the Inland trittys of the Aegeis; it is more likely to be an untechnical designation of a district because of its natural quality'; and again (on 328 F 205–6, *Notes* 468 n. 4) he is forced to say, by reason of the location of Plotheia and the 'trittys' of the Epakreis elsewhere: 'Such a name may easily occur in several places of mountainous Attica.' If this is true, the problem of the location of Epakria/Epakreis and of Semachidai is of little relevance to the question of the Diakria, even if the latter were shown to be the equivalent of Epakria. It might be in any one of several places.

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[247] For a discussion of the nature of the Mesogioi as a cult association centred 'just outside the walls of Athens', possibly an artificial *genos* like the Salaminioi, see R. Schlaifer, *CP* xxxix (1944) 22 ff.

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[248] Or for that matter *IG* ii. 1233, a decree of the Medontidai found at Kypsele in the northern environs of Athens, though this and indeed the others may have been moved from their original positions. On these, and the more recently found inscription Agora I 5509, as possibly relating to a phratry of the Medontidai, see Jacoby, *FGrH* 323a F 23, *Notes* 63 n. 70.

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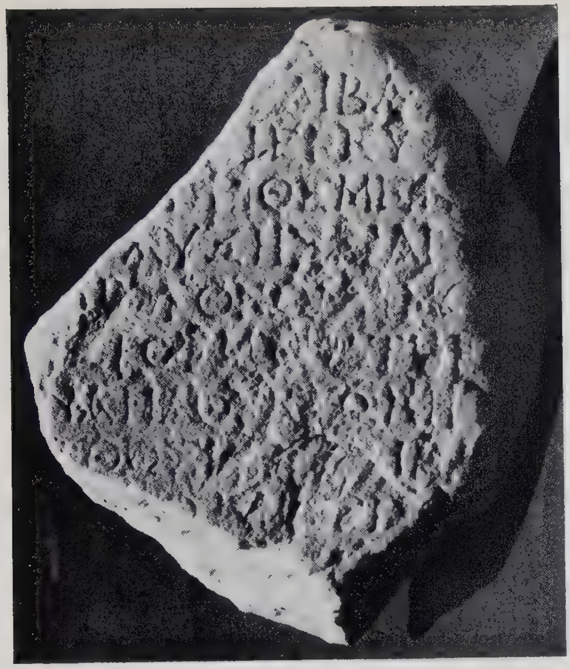

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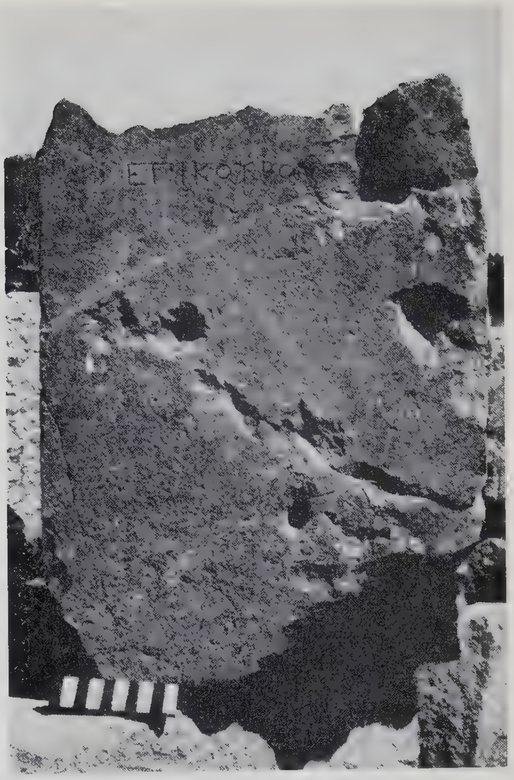

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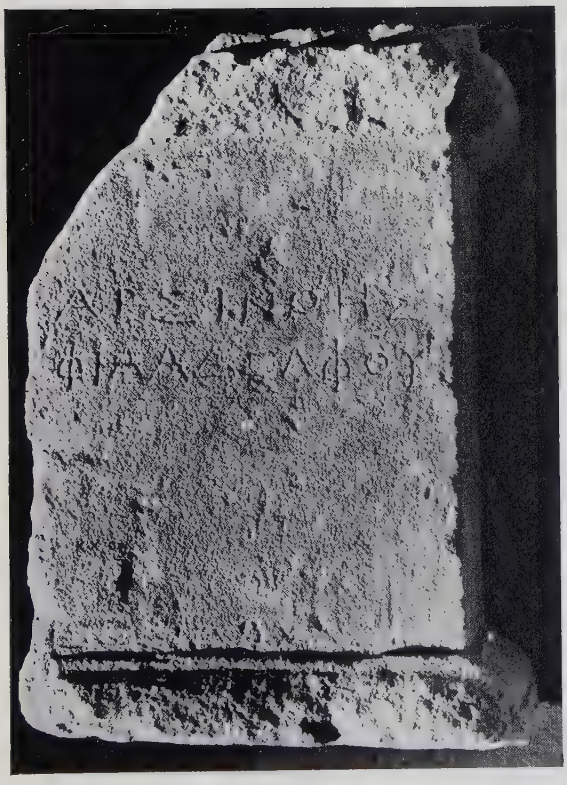

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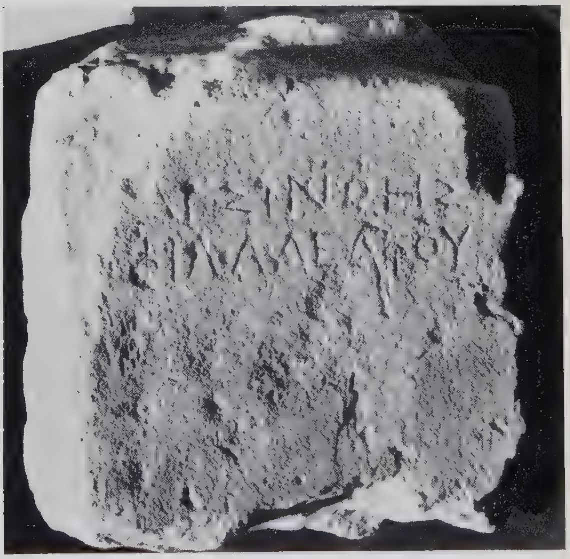

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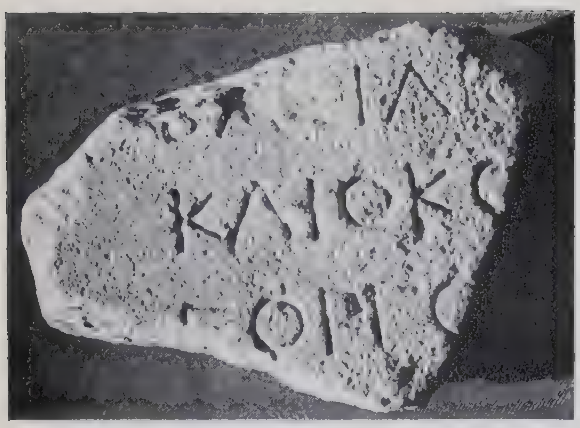

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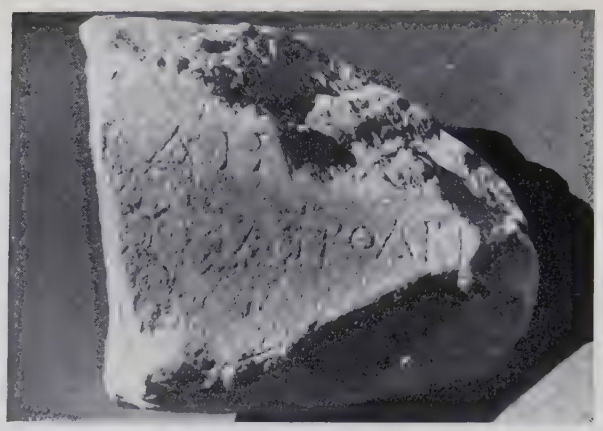

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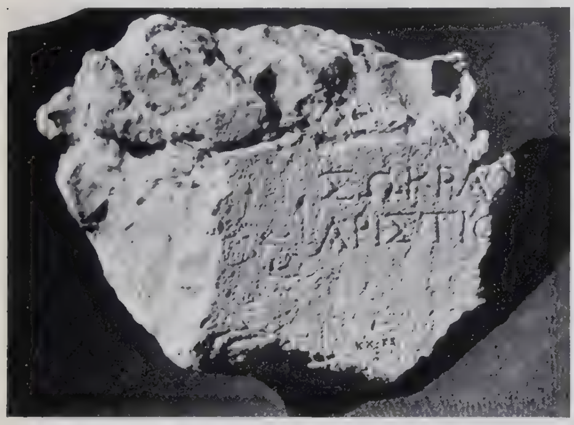

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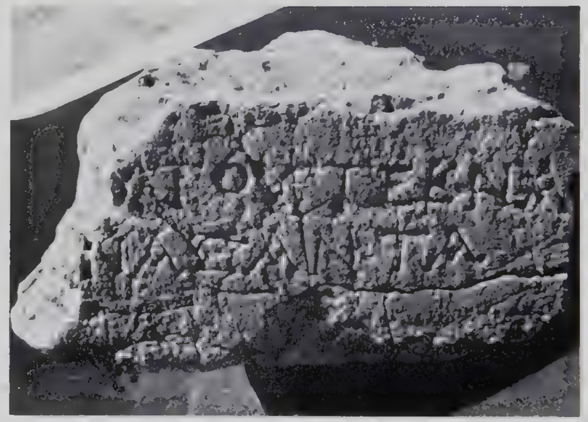

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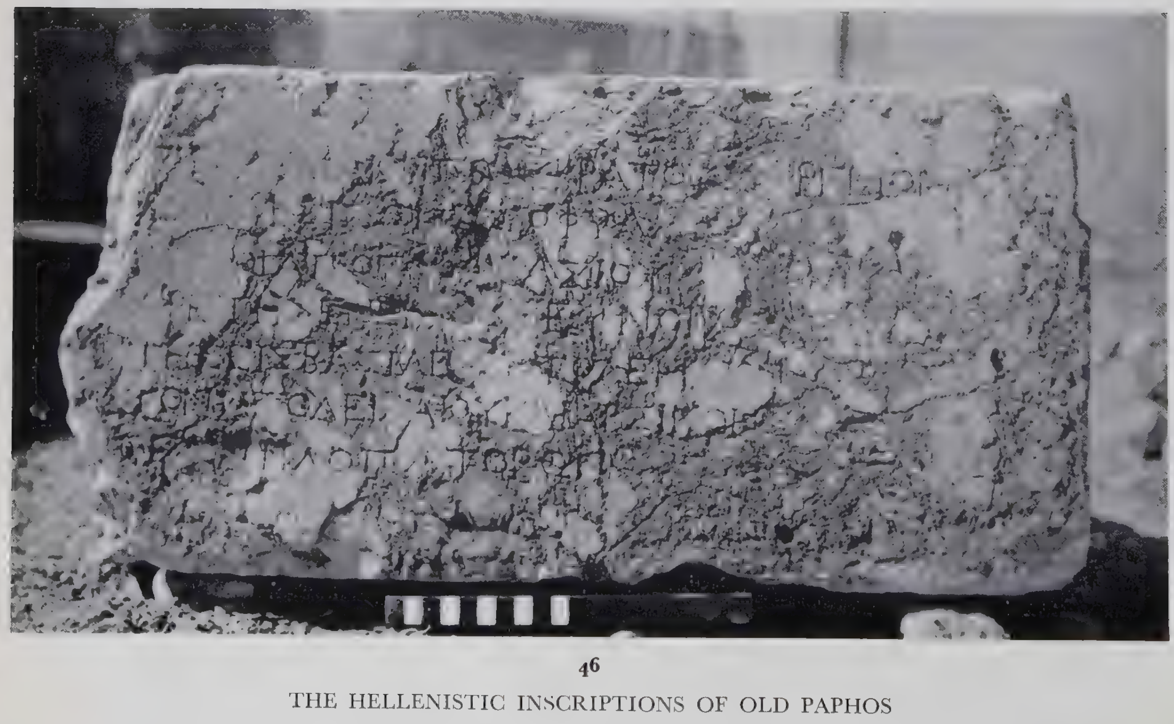
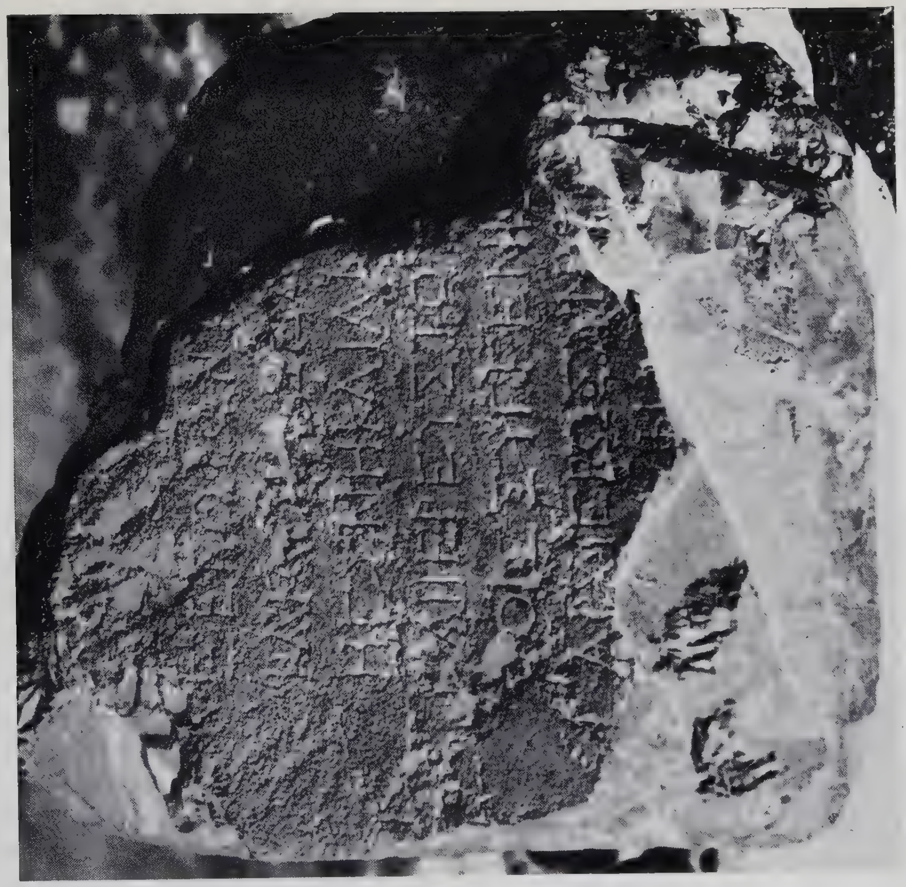


46

THE HELLENISTIC INSCRIPTIONS OF OLD PAPHOS



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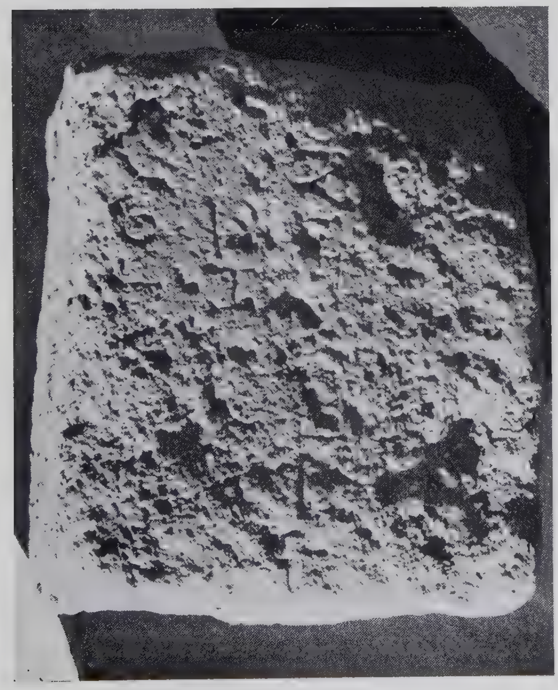

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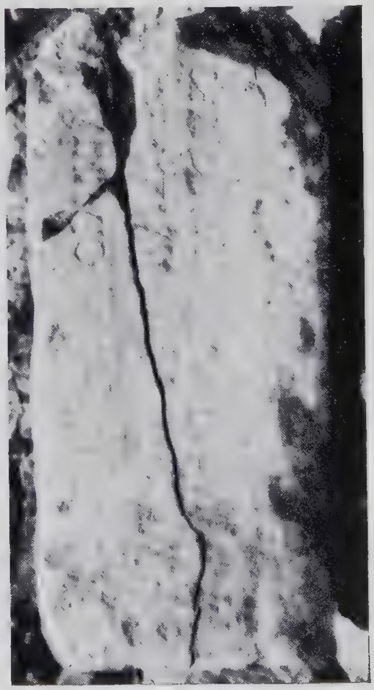
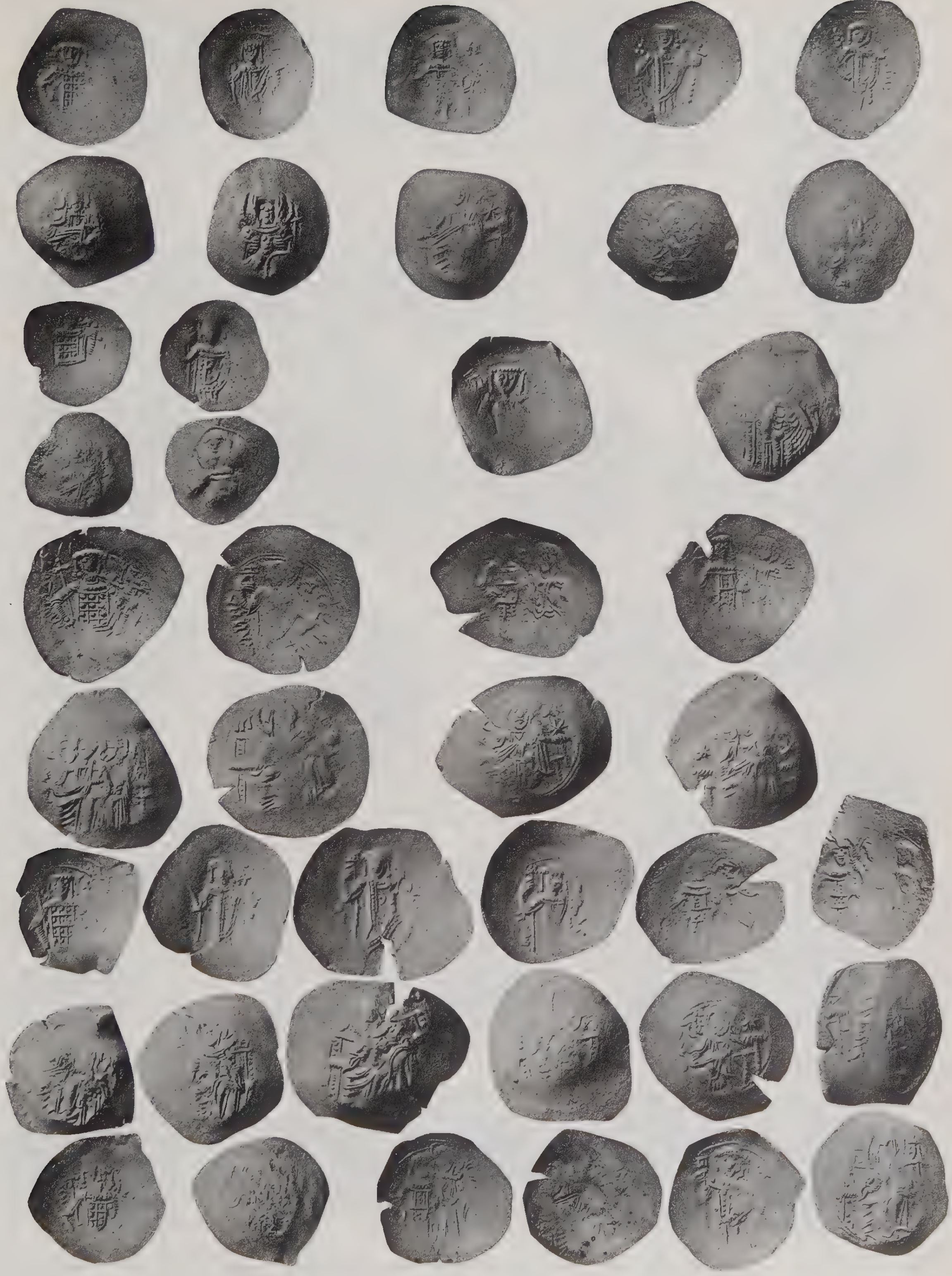


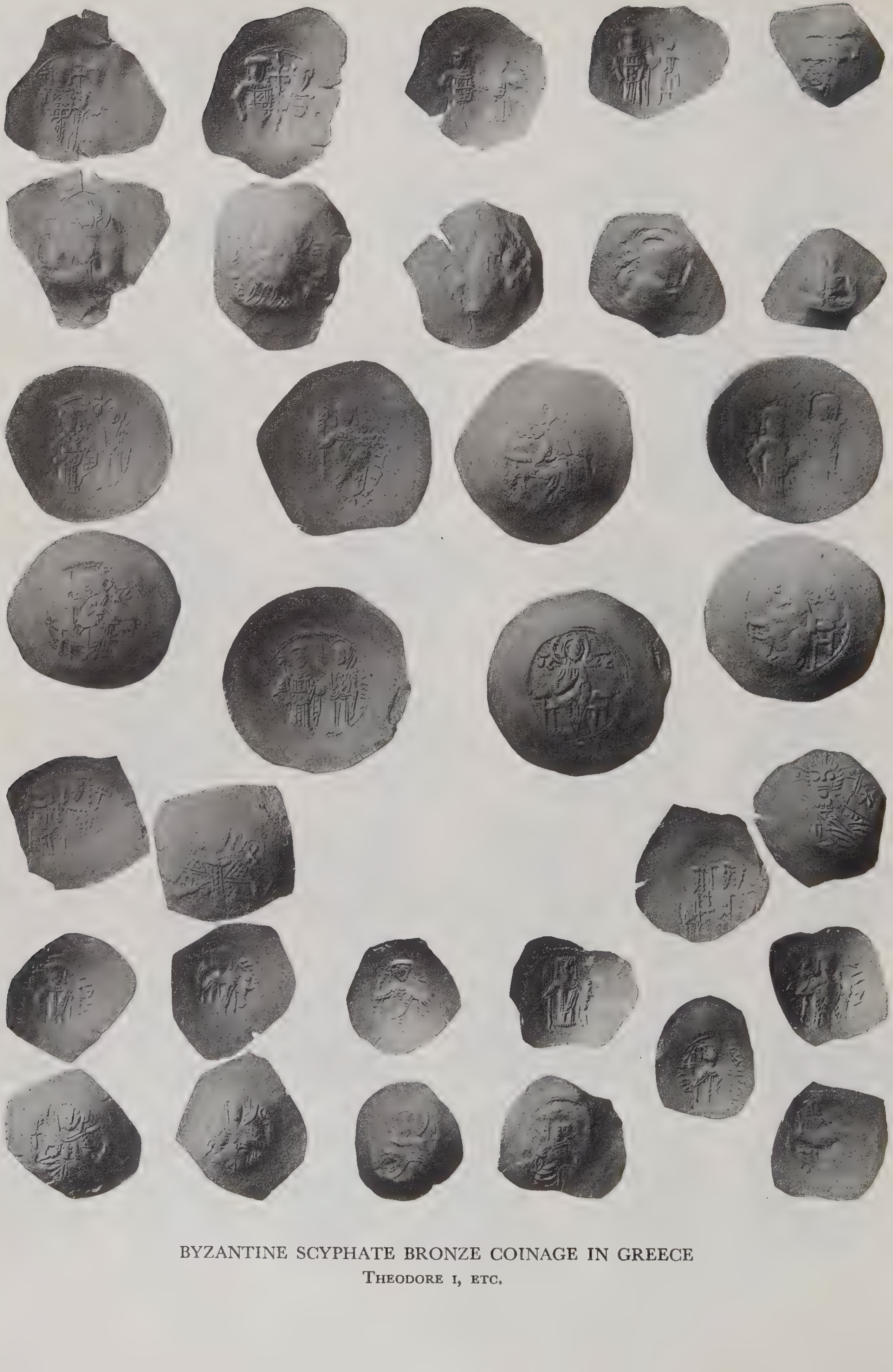
101

THE HELLENISTIC INSCRIPTIONS OF OLD PAPHOS

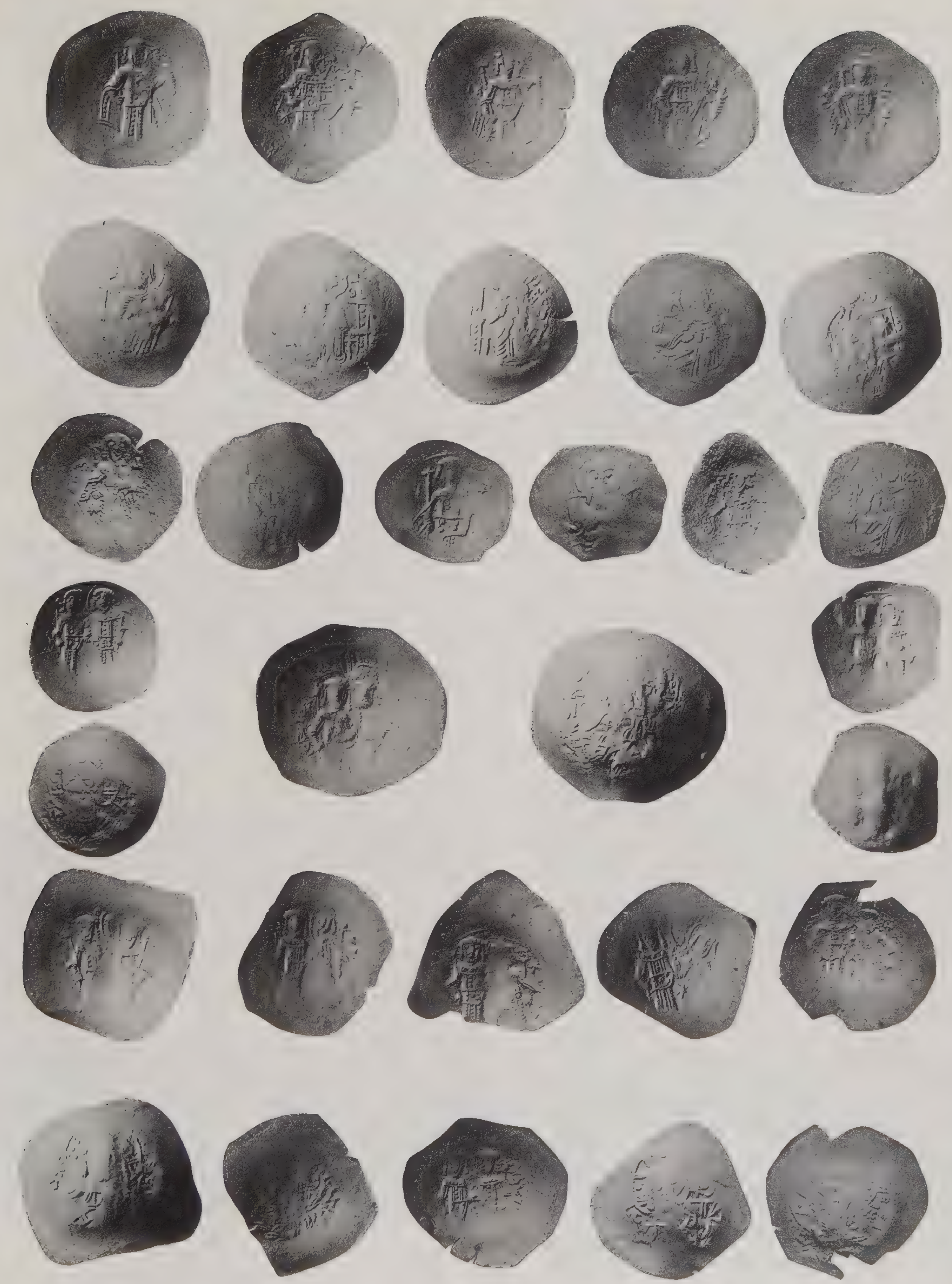


BYZANTINE SCYPHATE BRONZE COINAGE IN GREECE

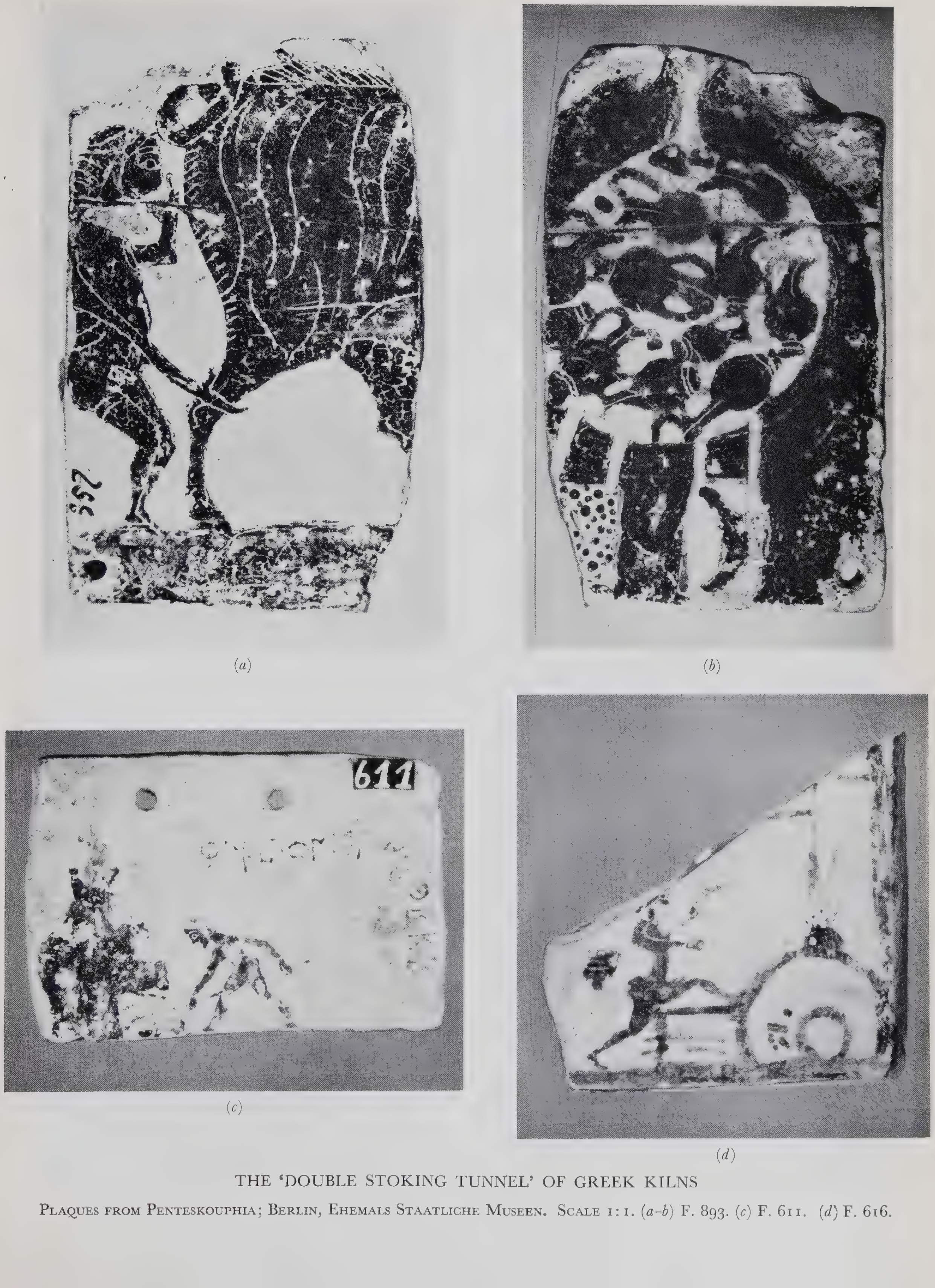
JOHN II AND MANUEL I



BYZANTINE SCYPHATE BRONZE COINAGE IN GREECE
THEODORE I, ETC.



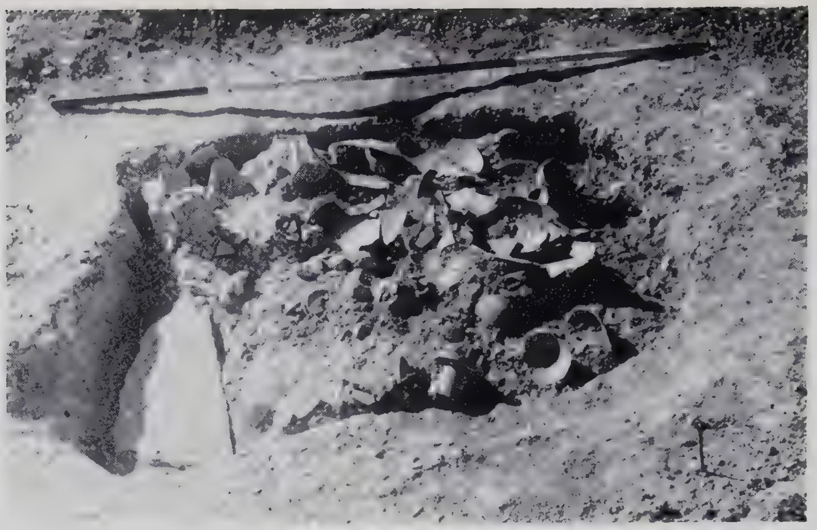
BYZANTINE SCYPHATE BRONZE COINAGE IN GREECE
Isaac II and Alexius III

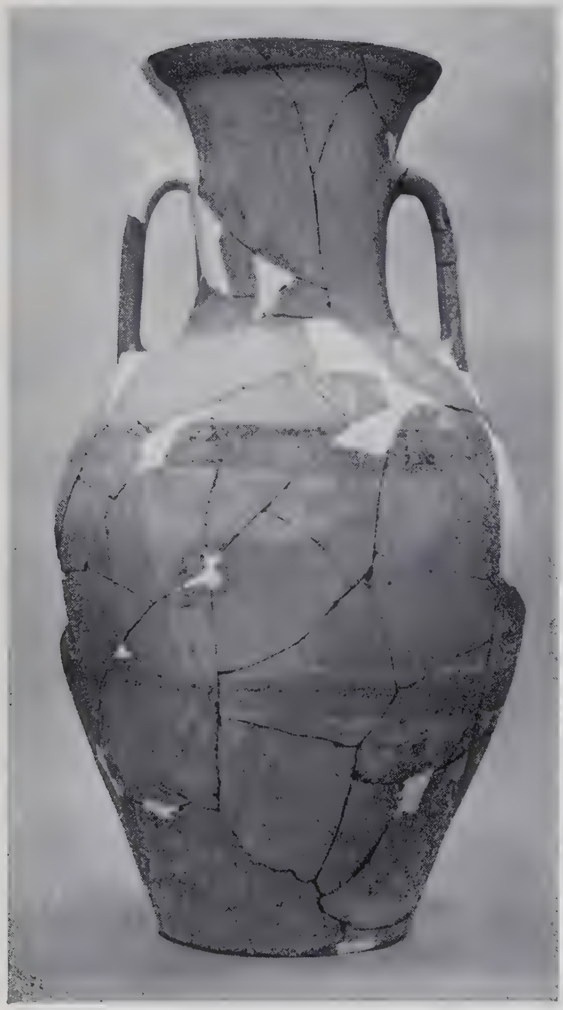


(a) (b) (c) (d)

THE ‘DOUBLE STOKING TUNNEL’ OF GREEK KILNS

PLAQUES FROM PENTESKOUPHIA; BERLIN, EHEMALS STAATLICHE MUSEEN. SCALE 1:1. (*a–b*) F. 893. (*c*) F. 611. (*d*) F. 616.





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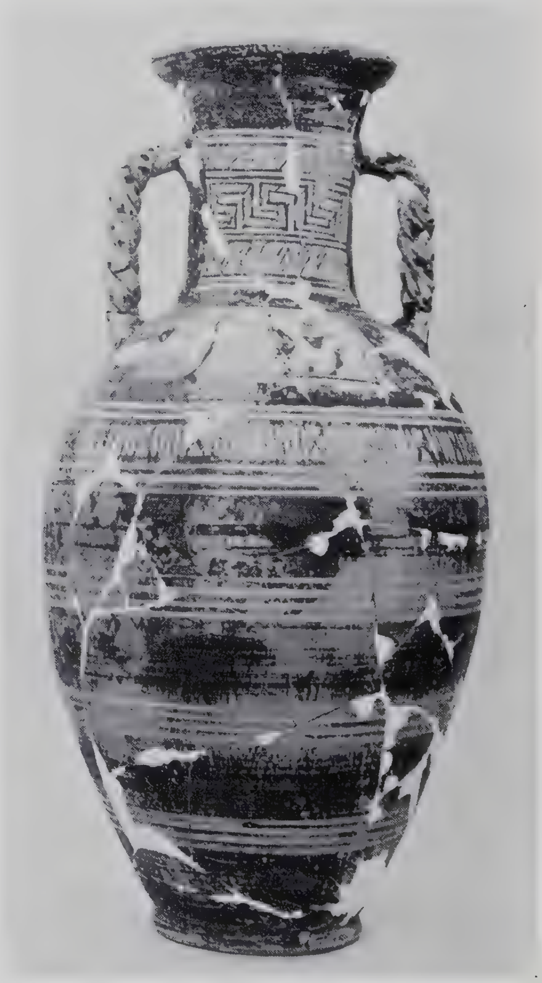
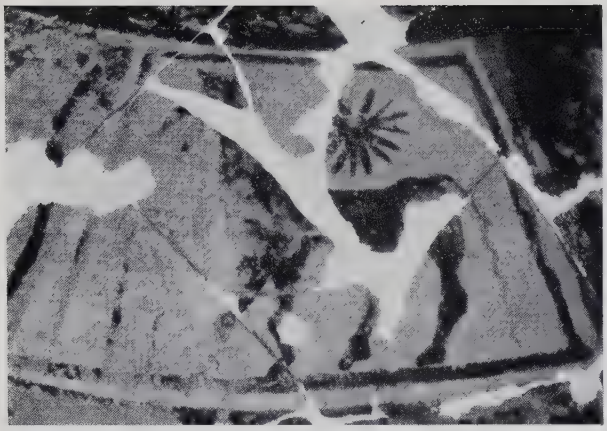


2

EARLY IRON AGE TOMBS AT KNOSSOS

TOP: TOMB A



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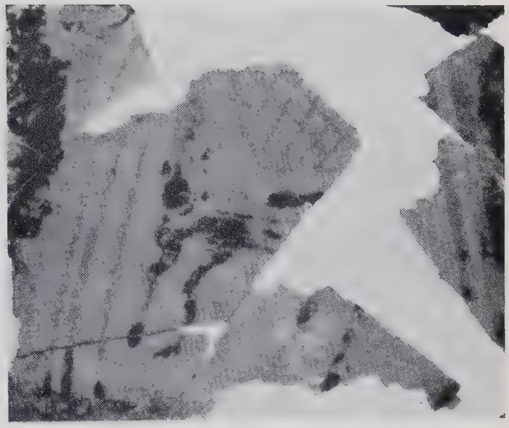

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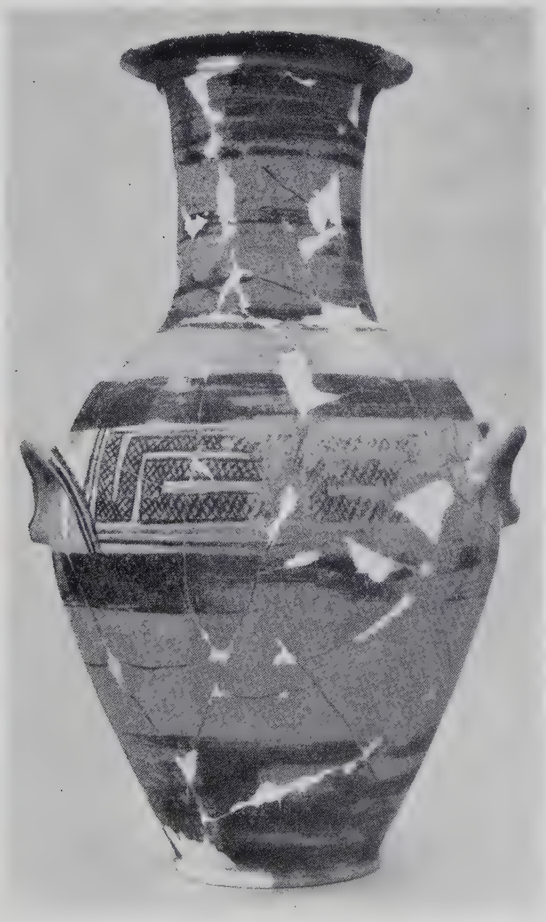

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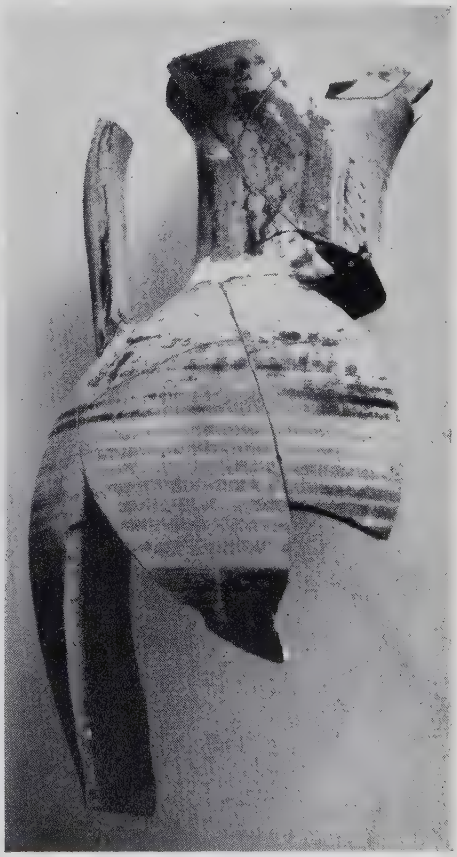
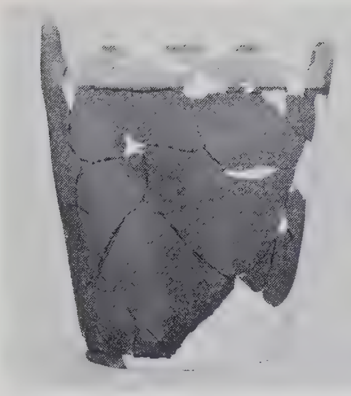


9

EARLY IRON AGE TOMBS AT KNOSSOS



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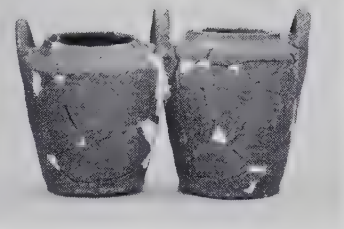

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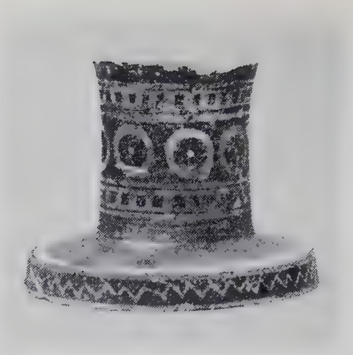

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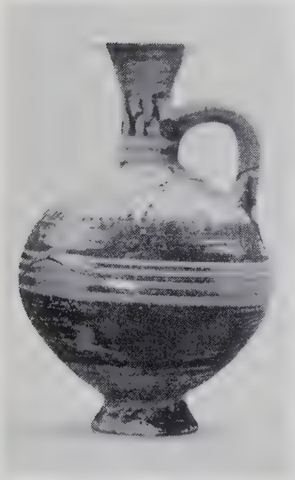

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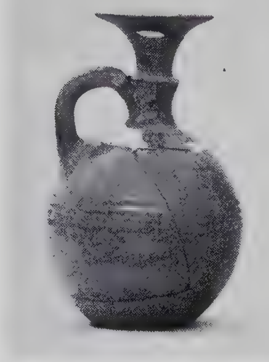

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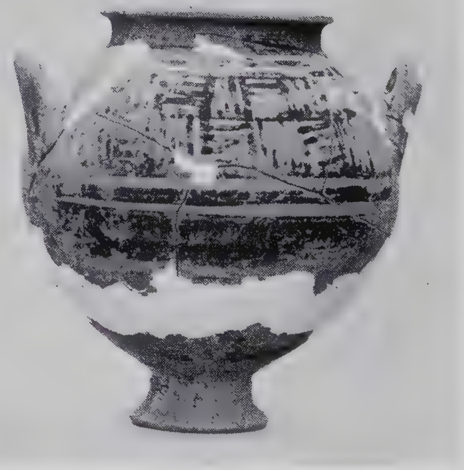

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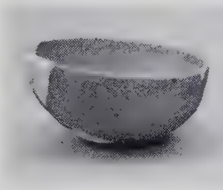

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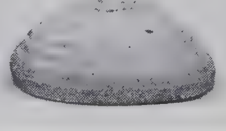

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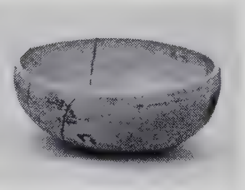

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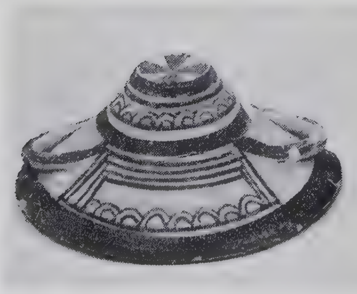

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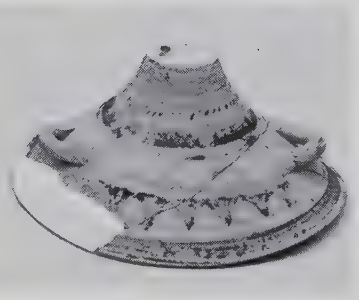
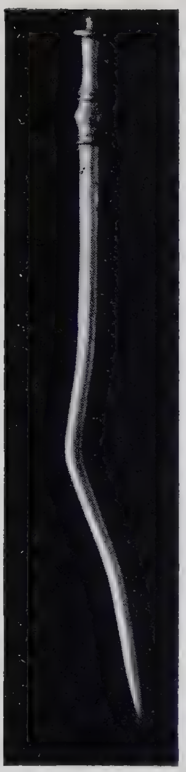


22

EARLY IRON AGE TOMBS AT KNOSSOS



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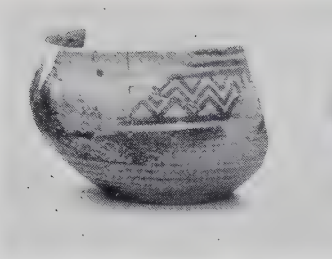

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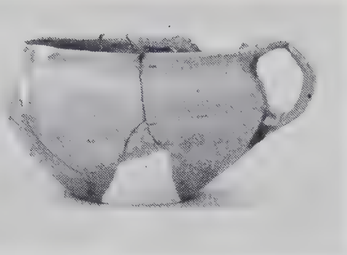

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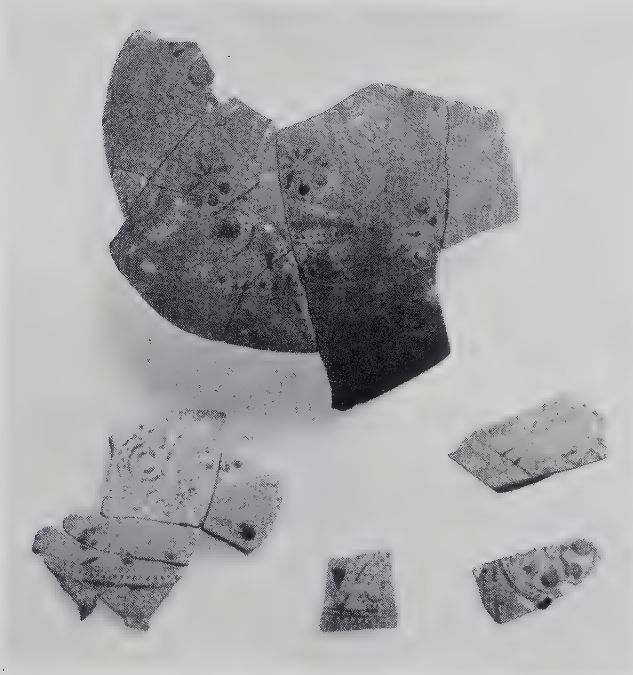

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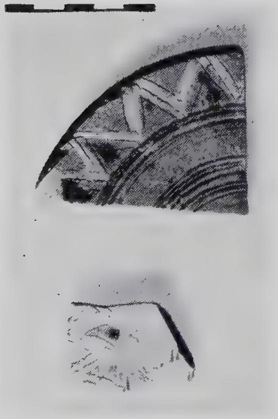

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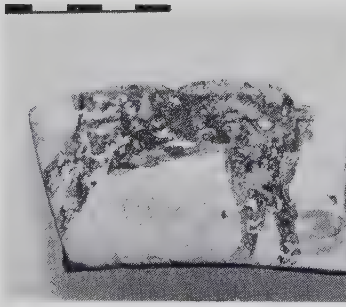

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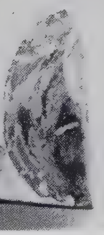
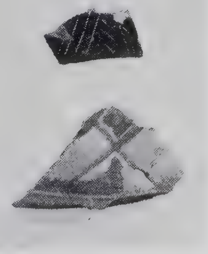
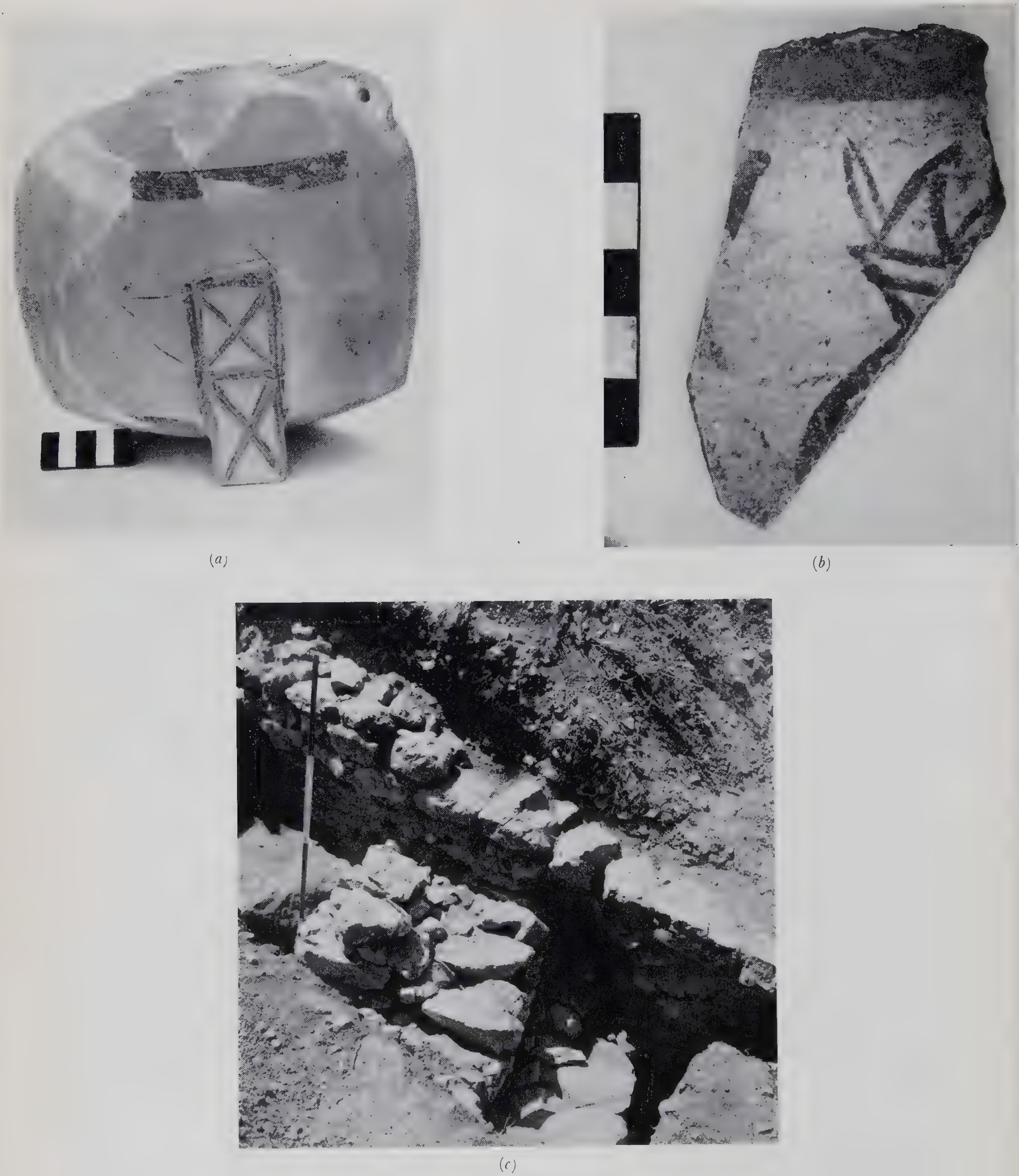


vii



viii

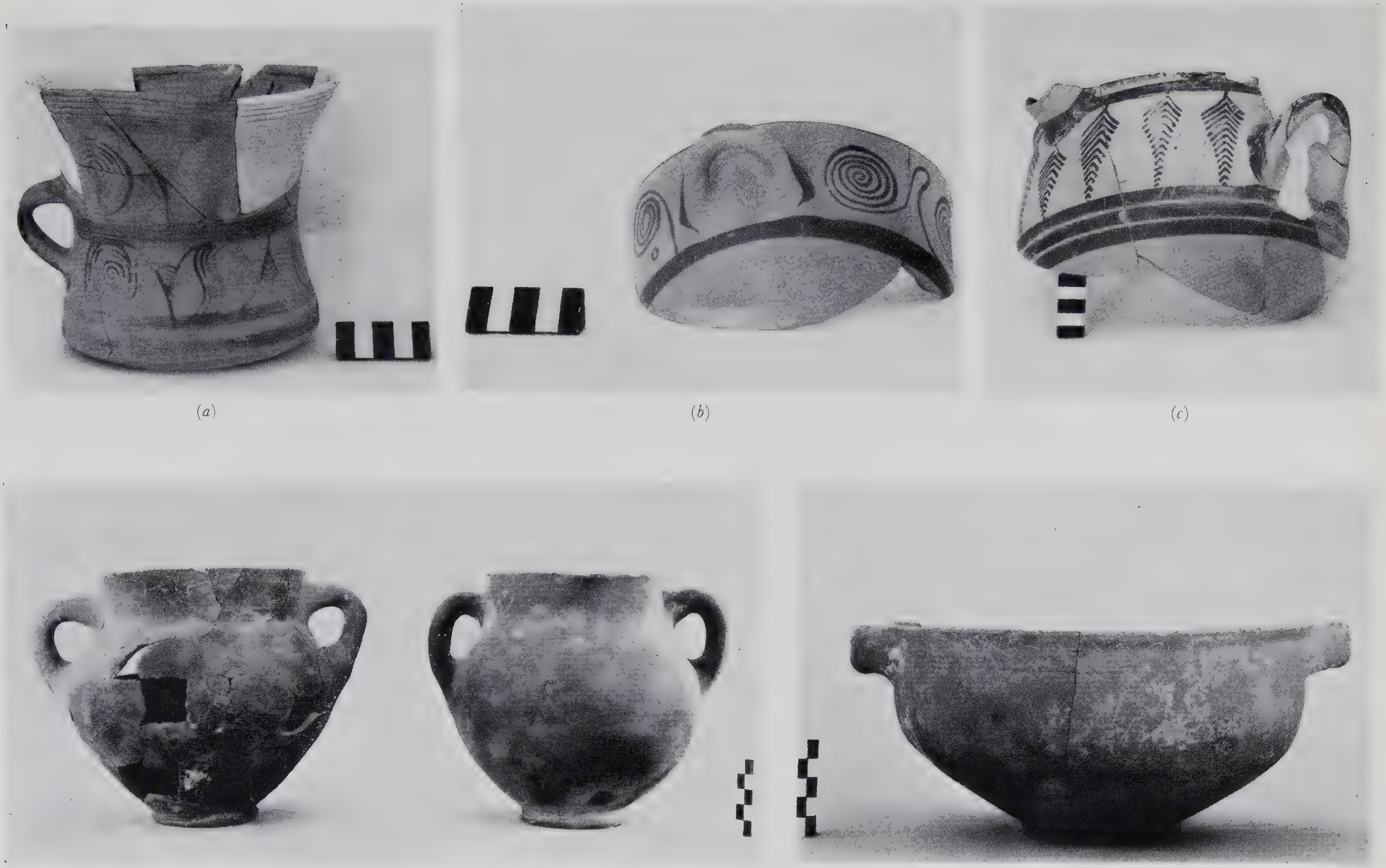
EARLY IRON AGE TOMBS AT KNOSSOS



(a) (b) (c)

MYCENAEAN OCCUPATION NEAR THE CYCLOPEAN TERRACE BUILDING AT MYCENAE

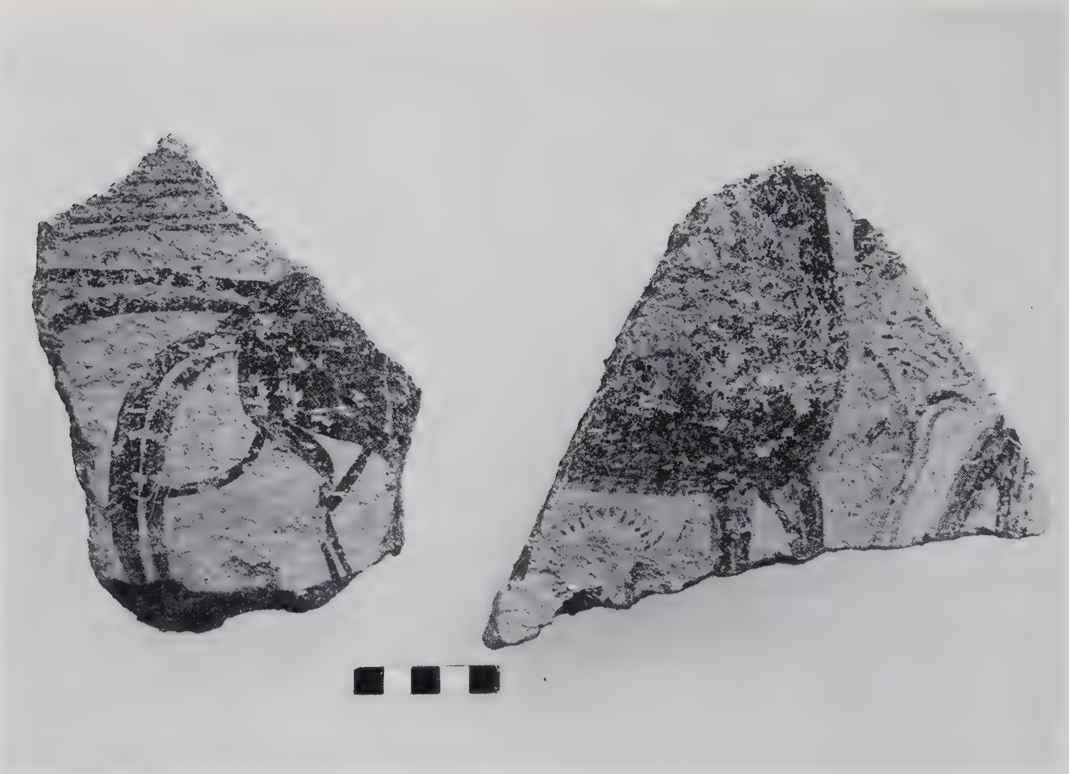
(*a*) UNUSUAL VASE FROM NORTH TRENCH III. (*b*) SHERD FROM NORTH TRENCH II. (*c*) EAST SLOPE TRENCH: WALLS OF THE BURNT HOUSE PERIOD OVERLAID WITH LATER WALLS. PIT IN LEFT CORNER.



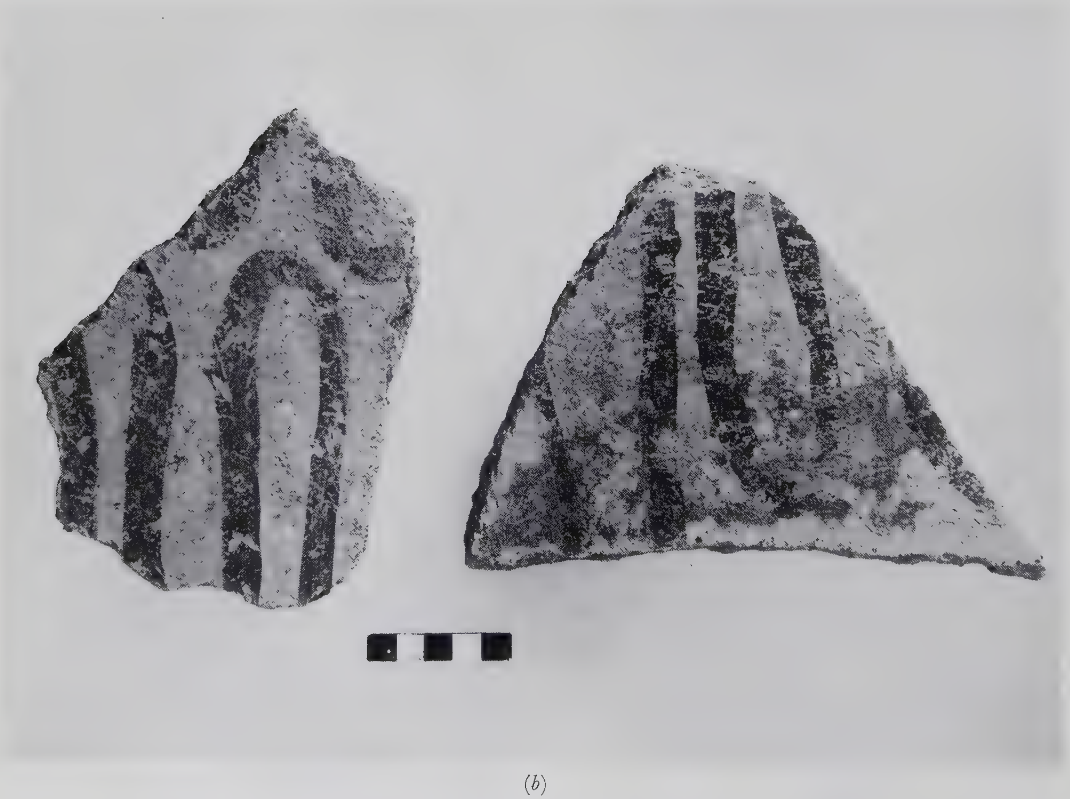
(a) (b) (c)

(d) (e)

MYCENAEAN OCCUPATION NEAR THE CYCLOPEAN TERRACE BUILDING AT MYCENAE
SOUTH-WEST TRENCH: (a) MUG, (b) DEEP BOWL, (c) SPOUTED KRATER, (d) COOKING-POTS, (e) HEAVY BOWL.



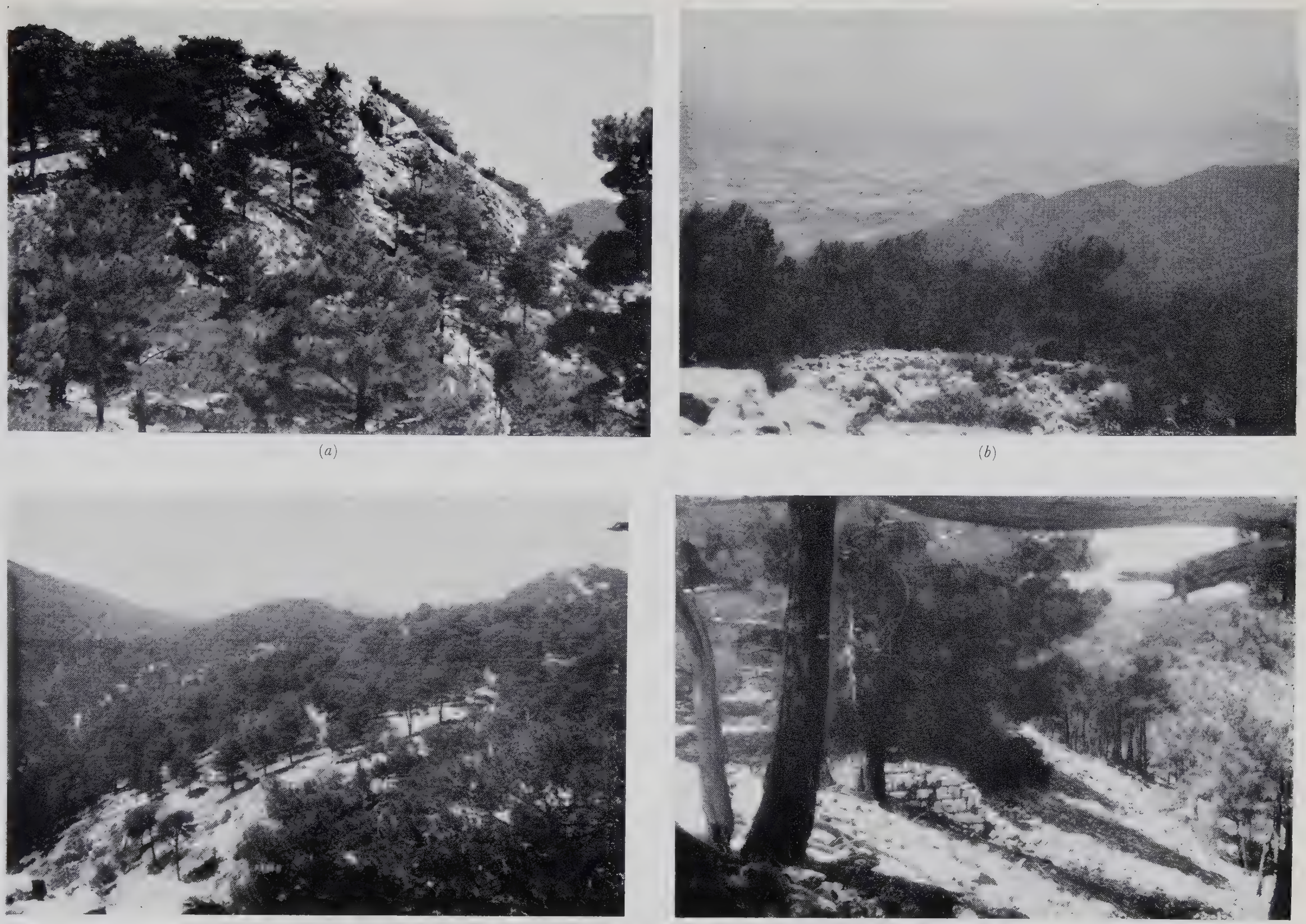
(*a*)



(*b*)

A CHARIOT LARNAX FROM MYCENAE

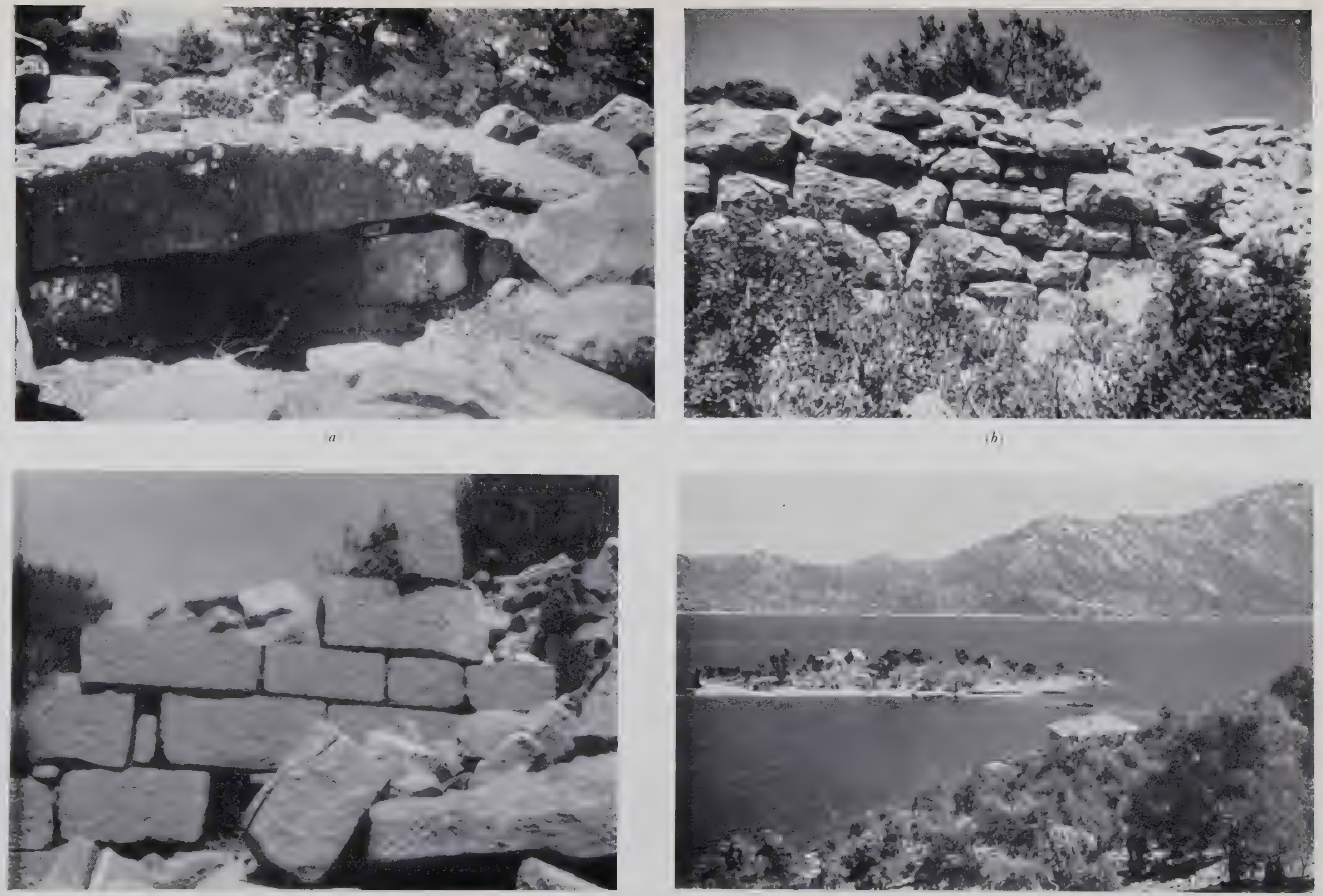
(*a*) OUTSIDE, FRAGMENTS A (LEFT), B (RIGHT). (*b*) INSIDE, FRAGMENTS A (LEFT), B (RIGHT).



(*a*) (*b*) (*c*) (*d*)

SOME SITES OF THE MILESIAN TERRITORY

Cert Osman Kale (Pidasa): (*a*) site from the west, (*b*) view to the Euromos, (*c*) view into Mt. Grion, (*d*) gate tower from the east.



(a)

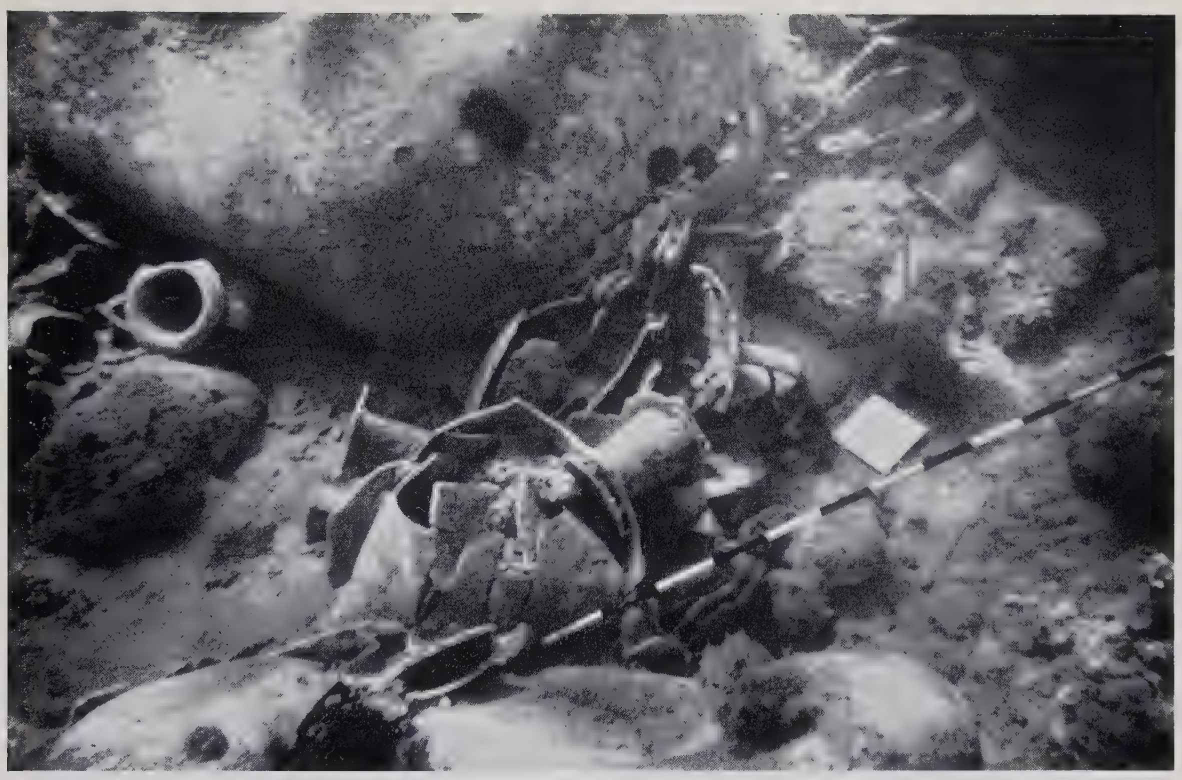
(b)

(c)

(d)

SOME SITES OF THE MILESIAN TERRITORY

CERT OSMAN KALE (*a–c*) AND IONIAPOLIS (*d*): (*a*) DOORWAY IN TOWER, SEEN FROM EAST, (*b–c*) FORTIFICATION ON THE SOUTH-EAST, (*d*) ASAR ADA FROM THE SOUTH-WEST.

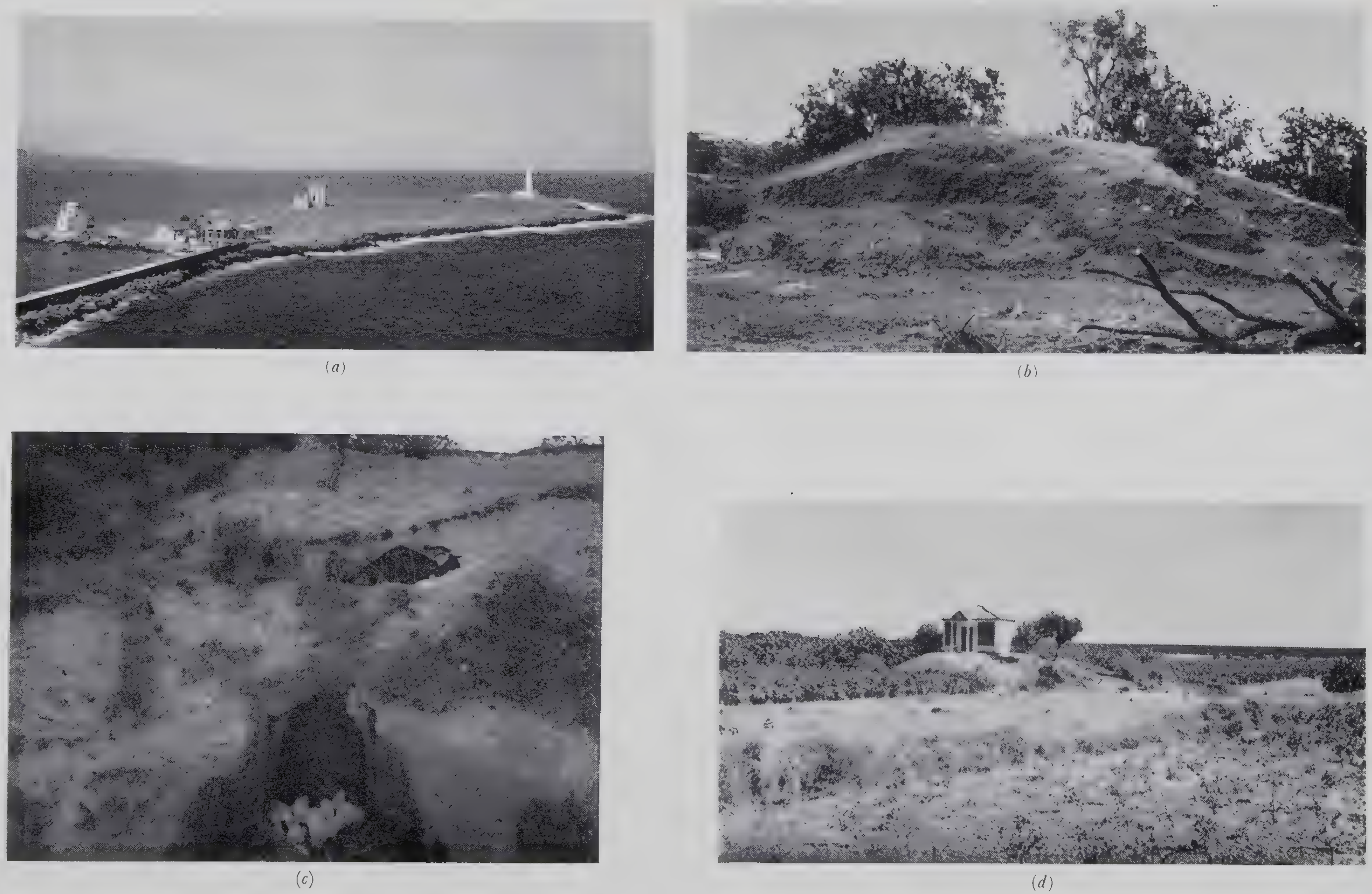


(*a*)

(*b*)

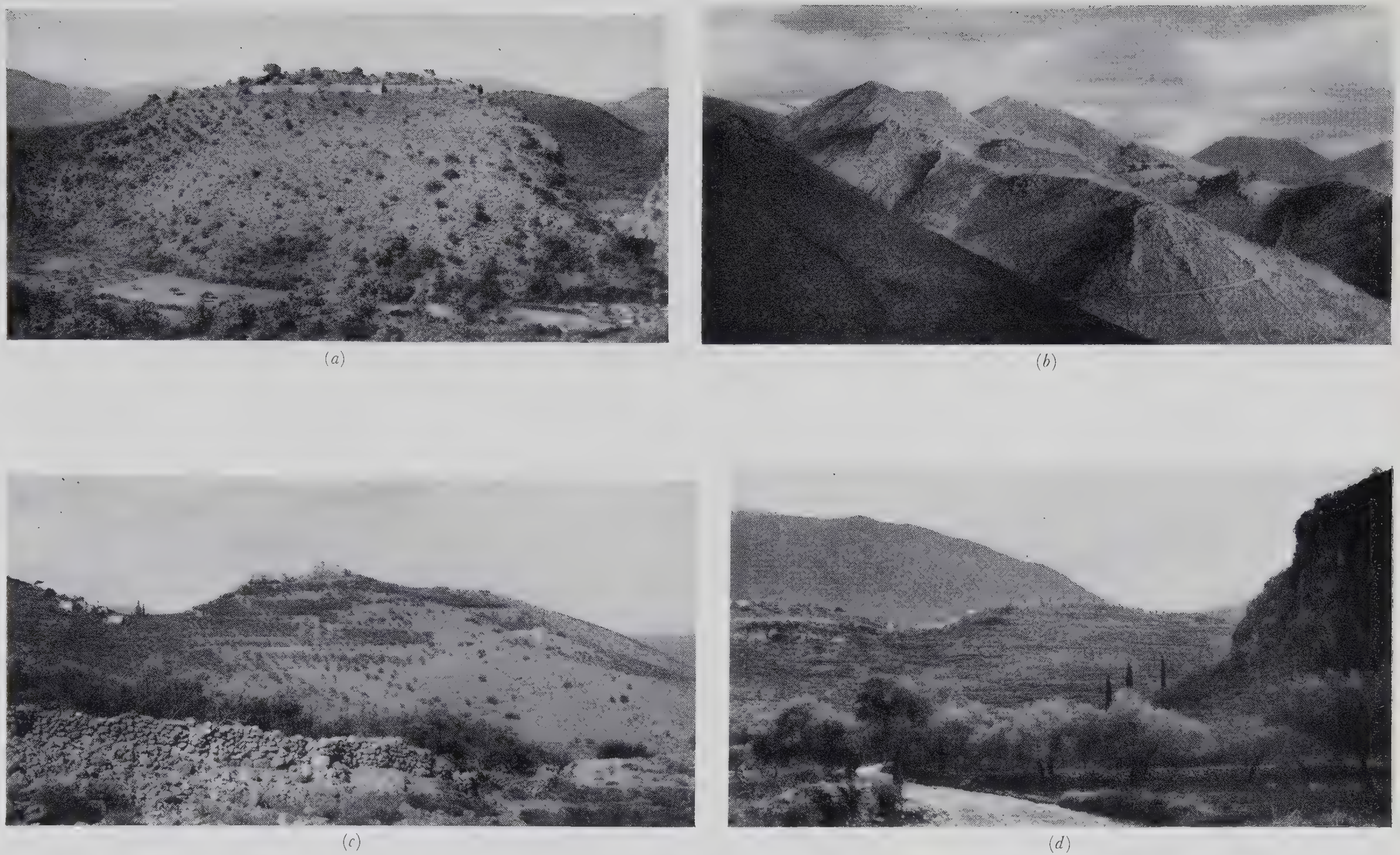
UNDERWATER RECONNAISSANCE OFF THE ISLAND OF CHIOS, 1954

(*a*) KOMI, POTTERY ON SEA-BED. (*b*) AYIOS STEPHANOS, POTTERY ON SEA-BED.


(a) (b) (c) (d)

PREHISTORIC LACONIA II

(a) CRANAE FROM THE WEST. (b) KOUTOUMOU. WESTERN 'TOMB' FROM SOUTH. (c) MAVROVOUNI. TOMB 3 FROM WEST.
(d) MAVROVOUNI. THOLOS TOMB (?) FROM NORTH-WEST.

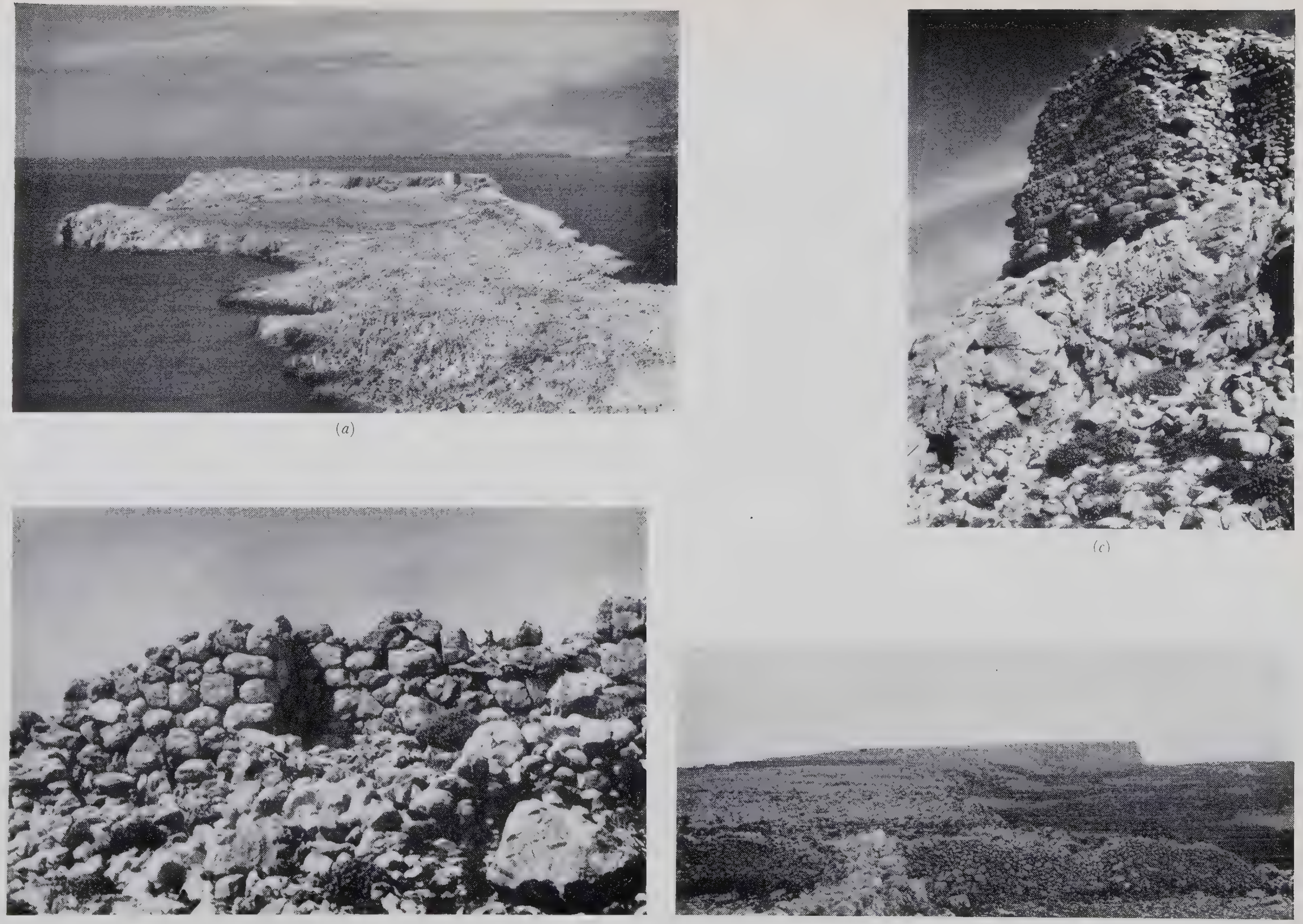


(*a*) (*b*)

(*c*) (*d*)

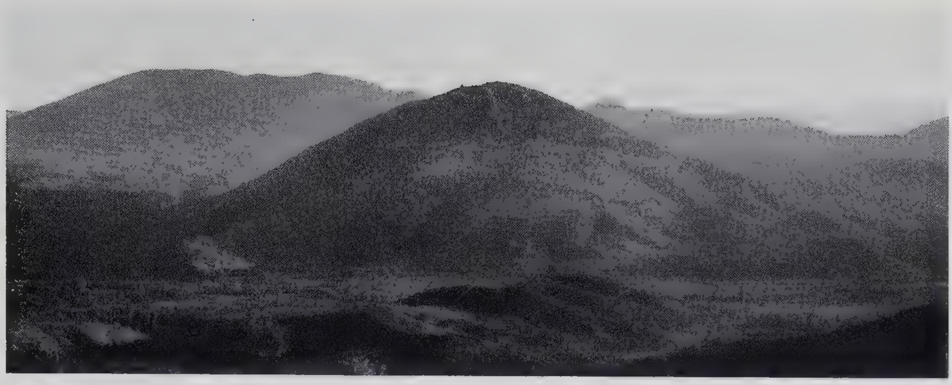
PREHISTORIC LACONIA II

(*a*) PASSAVA FROM NORTH-EAST. (*b*) ANTICO ROSSO QUARRIES FROM SOUTH-EAST. (*c*) SPIRA FROM SOUTH-WEST. (*d*) OETYLUS FROM SOUTH.

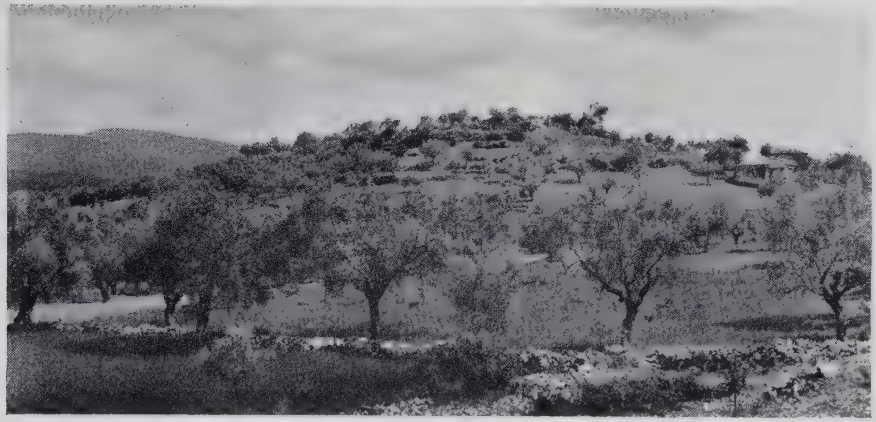


PREHISTORIC LACONIA II

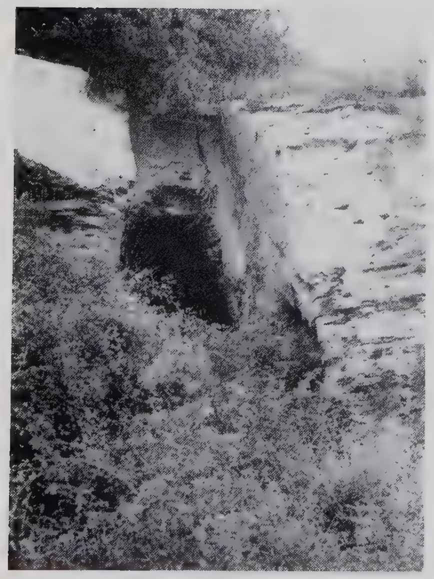
(*a*) TIGANI FROM SOUTH. (*b*) TIGANI. CYCLOPEAN (?) WALLS (TOWER E) FROM E.S.E. (*c*) TIGANI. TOWER B (MEDIAEVAL) AT SOUTH ANGLE. (*d*) HIPPOLA FROM SOUTH-EAST.



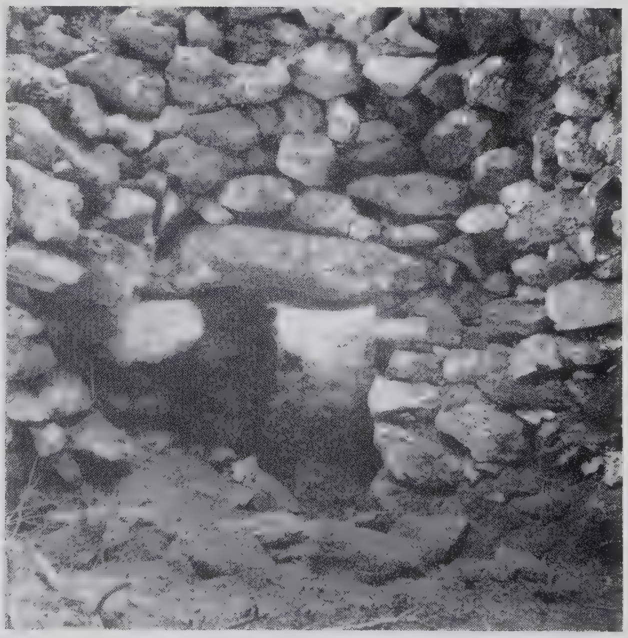
(*a*)



(*b*)



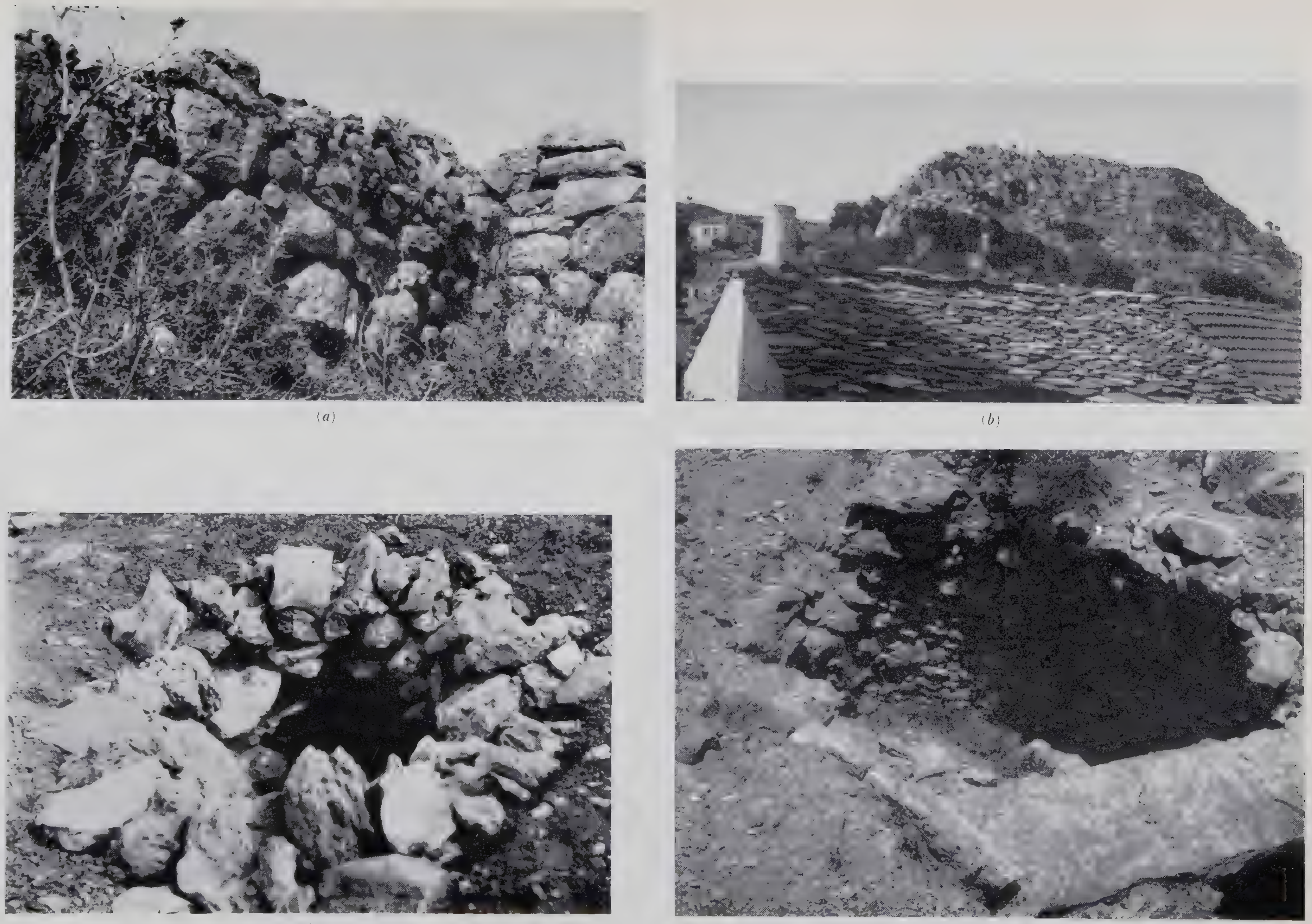
(*c*)



(*d*)

PREHISTORIC LACONIA II

(*a*) BELMINA FROM SOUTH-WEST. (*b*) PELLANES. PALAIKASTRO FROM NORTH-WEST. (*c*) PELLANES. TOMB 2 FROM WEST. (*d*) ARKINES. INTERIOR OF THOLOS TOMB.



(*a*)

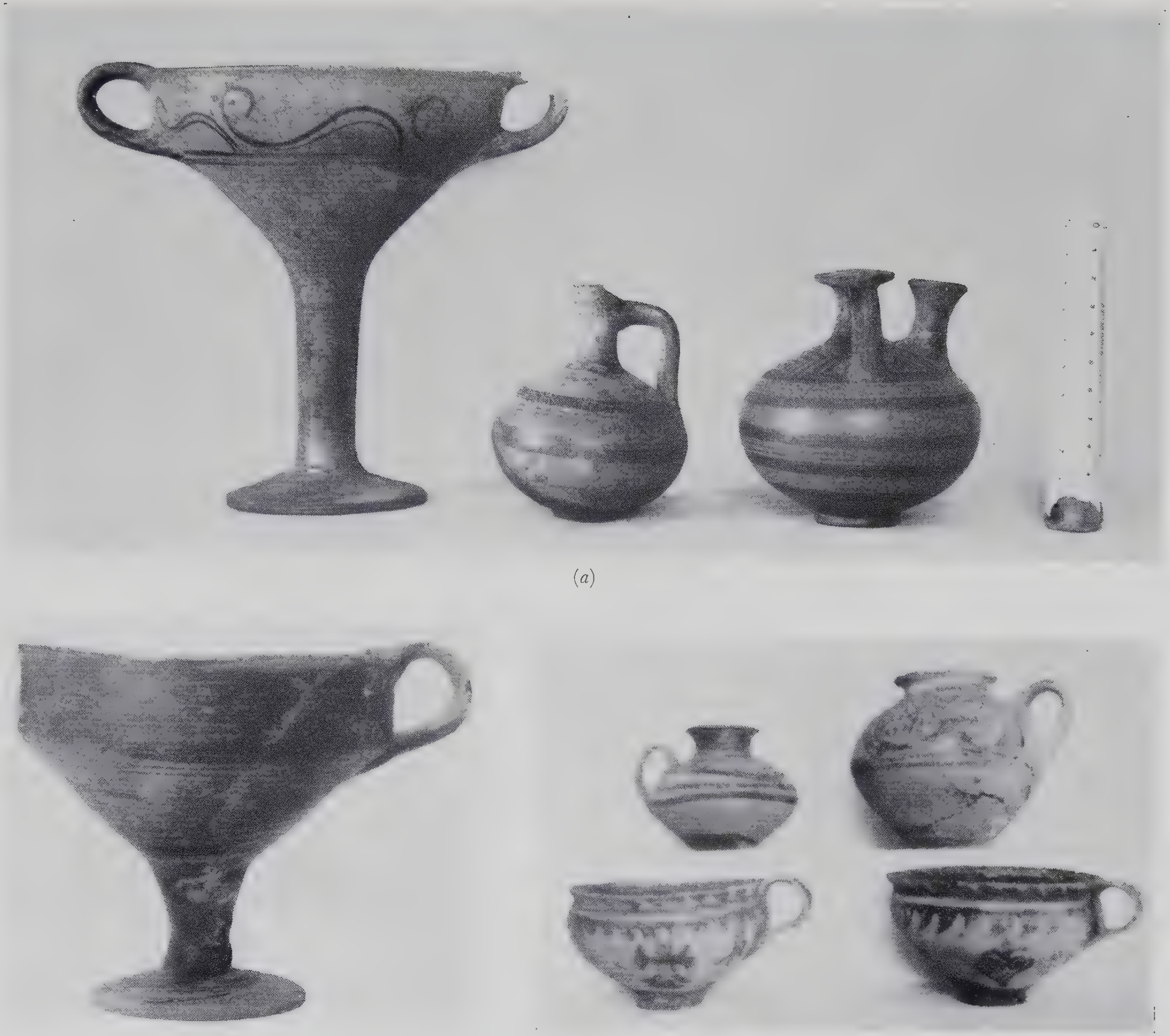
(*b*)

(*d*)

(*c*)

PREHISTORIC LACONIA II

(*a*) TYROS. ACROPOLIS WALL, EAST SIDE. (*b*) PALAIOCHORI. VILLAGE AND ACROPOLIS FROM EAST. (*c*) THOLOS TOMB AT PALAIOCHORI.
(*d*) TOMB AT VASKINA.



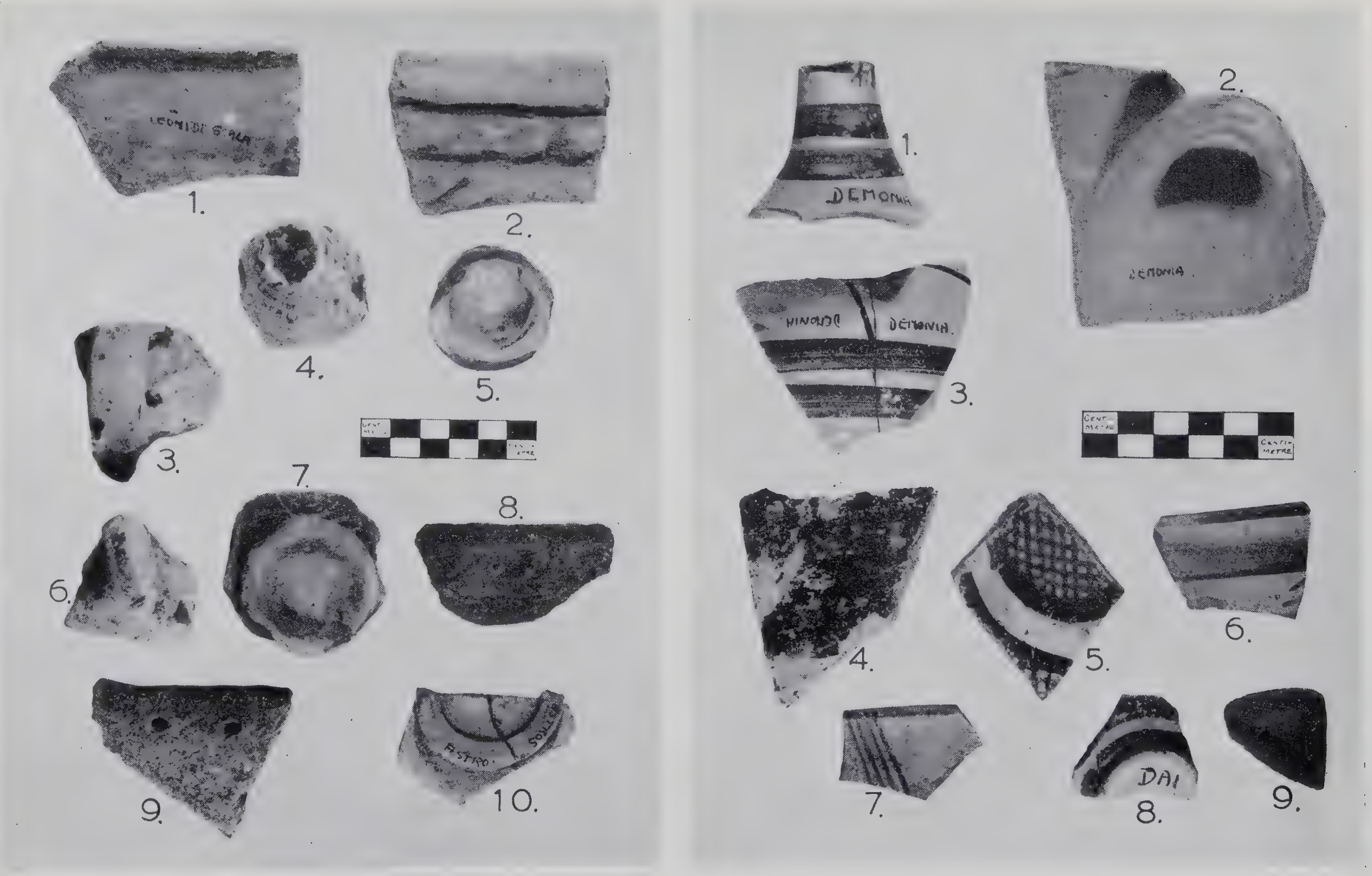
(a)

(b)

(c)

PREHISTORIC LACONIA II

(a) VASES FROM VASKINA. (b) STEMMED CUP FROM A TOMB AT PALAIOCHORI. (c) VASES FROM PALAIOCHORI: ATHENS, NM.

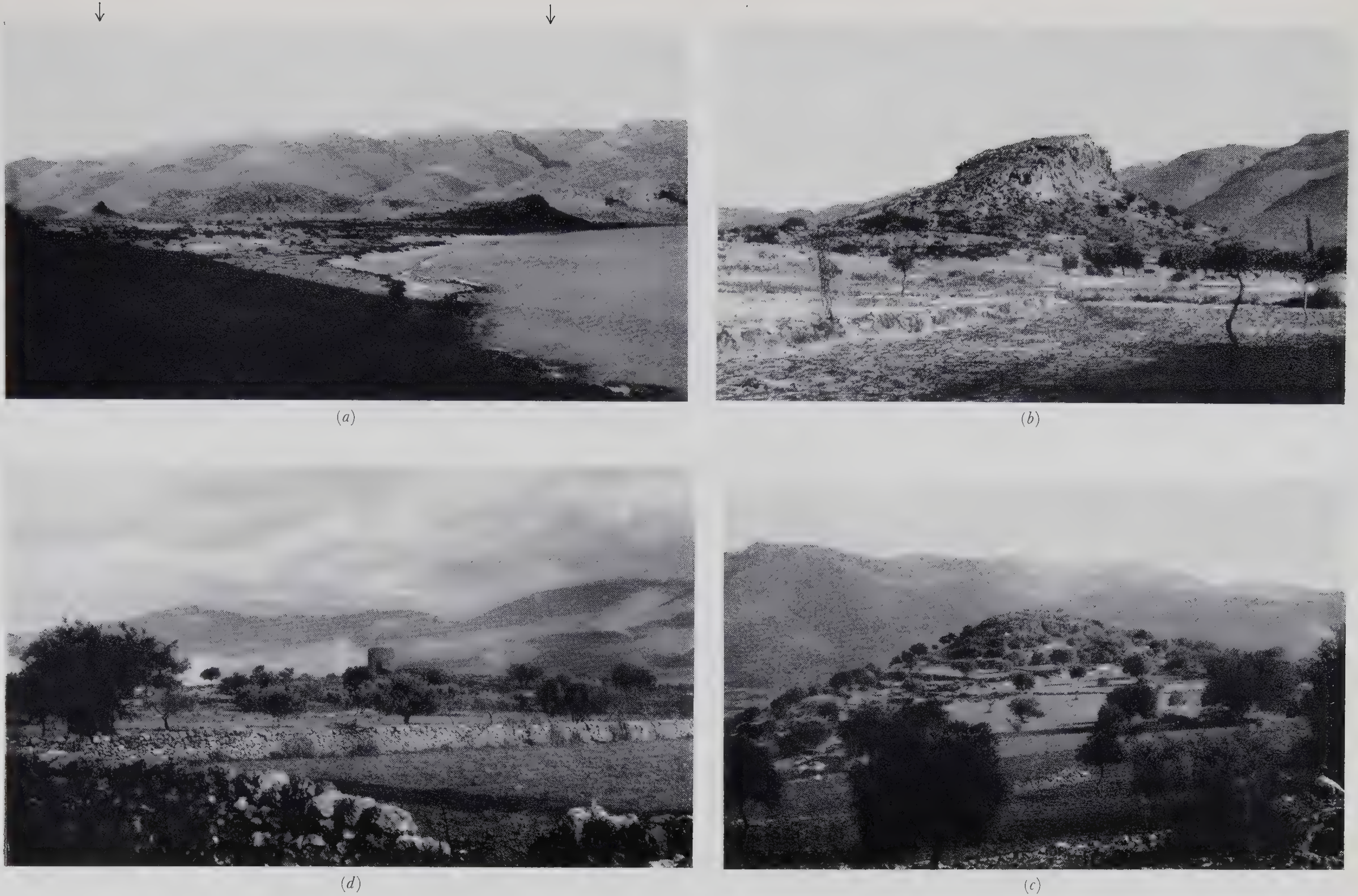

1.
LEONIDI SKALA
2.
3.
4.
5.
6.
7.
8.
9.
10.
ASTRO
ASTROS
1.
DEMONIA
2.
DEMONIA
3.
DEMONIA
DEMONIA
4.
5.
6.
7.
8.
DAI
9.
CENTIMETRE

(a)

(b)

PREHISTORIC LACONIA II

(a) 1, 4: LEONIDHI, SKALA (L.H. III). 2: PALAIOCHORI (M.H. ?). 3, 5–7: PALAIOCHORI (E.H.). 8: TYROS (E.H.). 9, 10: ASTROS, CHERSONISI (E.H.).
(b) 1–3, 5–8: DAIMONIA (5 L.H. I, REMAINDER L.H. III). 4: GANGANIA (M.H. POLYCHROME). 9: GANGANIA (CELT).

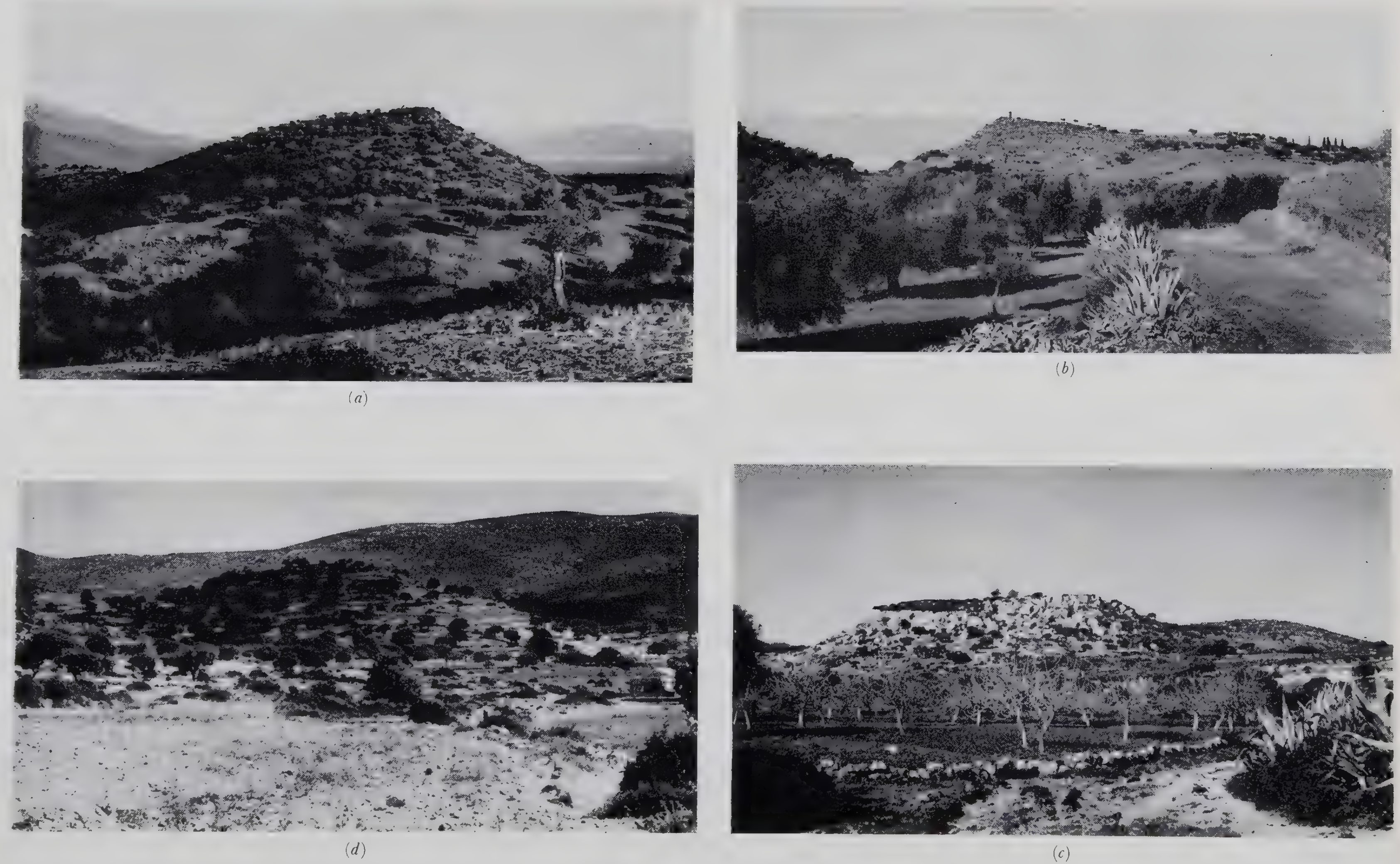


(a) (b)

(d) (c)

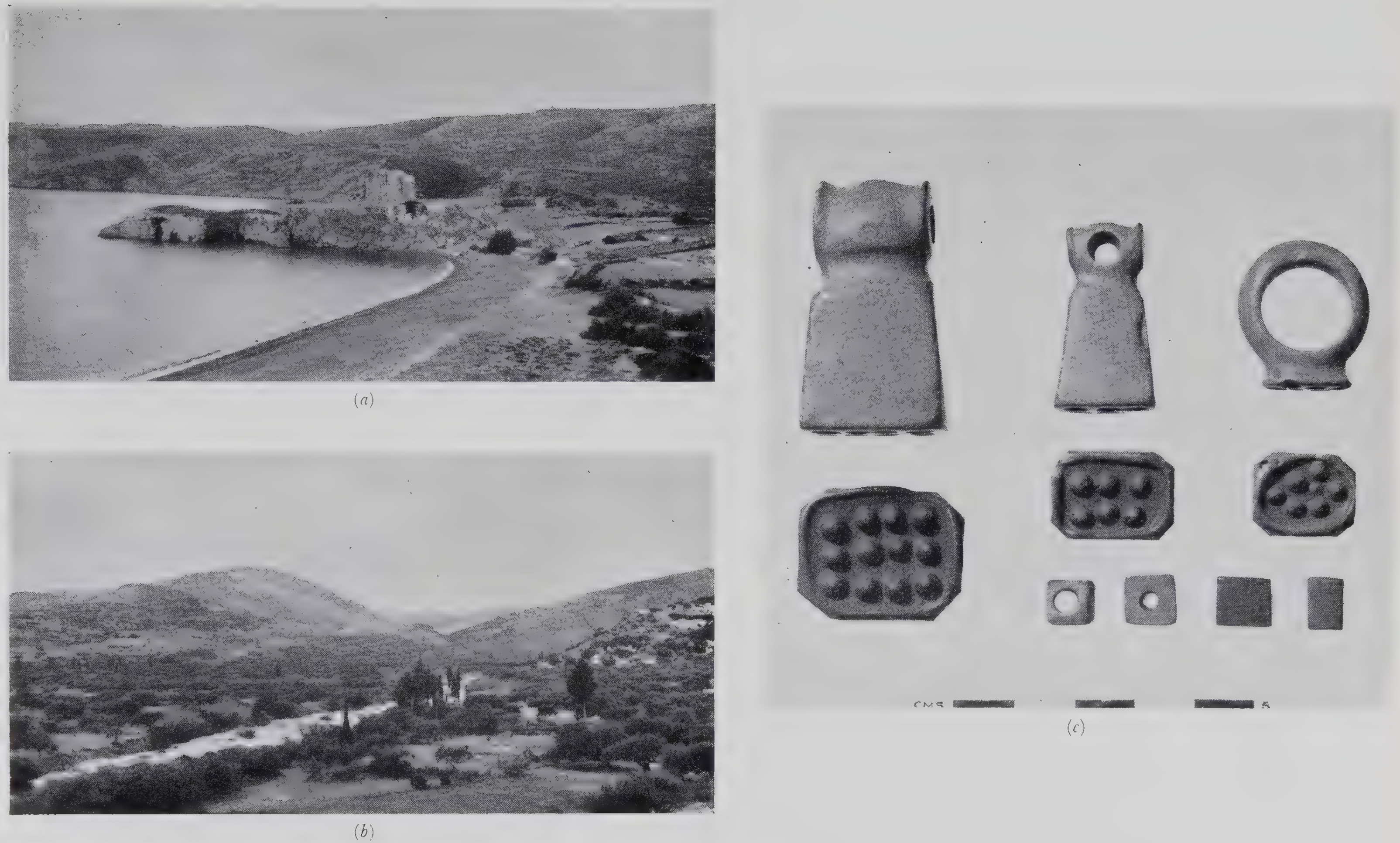
PREHISTORIC LACONIA II

(*a*) Epidaurus Limera and Ayios Ioannis from south. (*b*) Ayios Ioannis. Hill from south. (*c*) Angelona. Site from south. (*d*) Anemomylos from south-east.



PREHISTORIC LACONIA II

(*a*) Gangania from west. (*b*) Elea from south. (*c*) Goulas (Plitra) from north-east. (*d*) Daimonia from north-west.



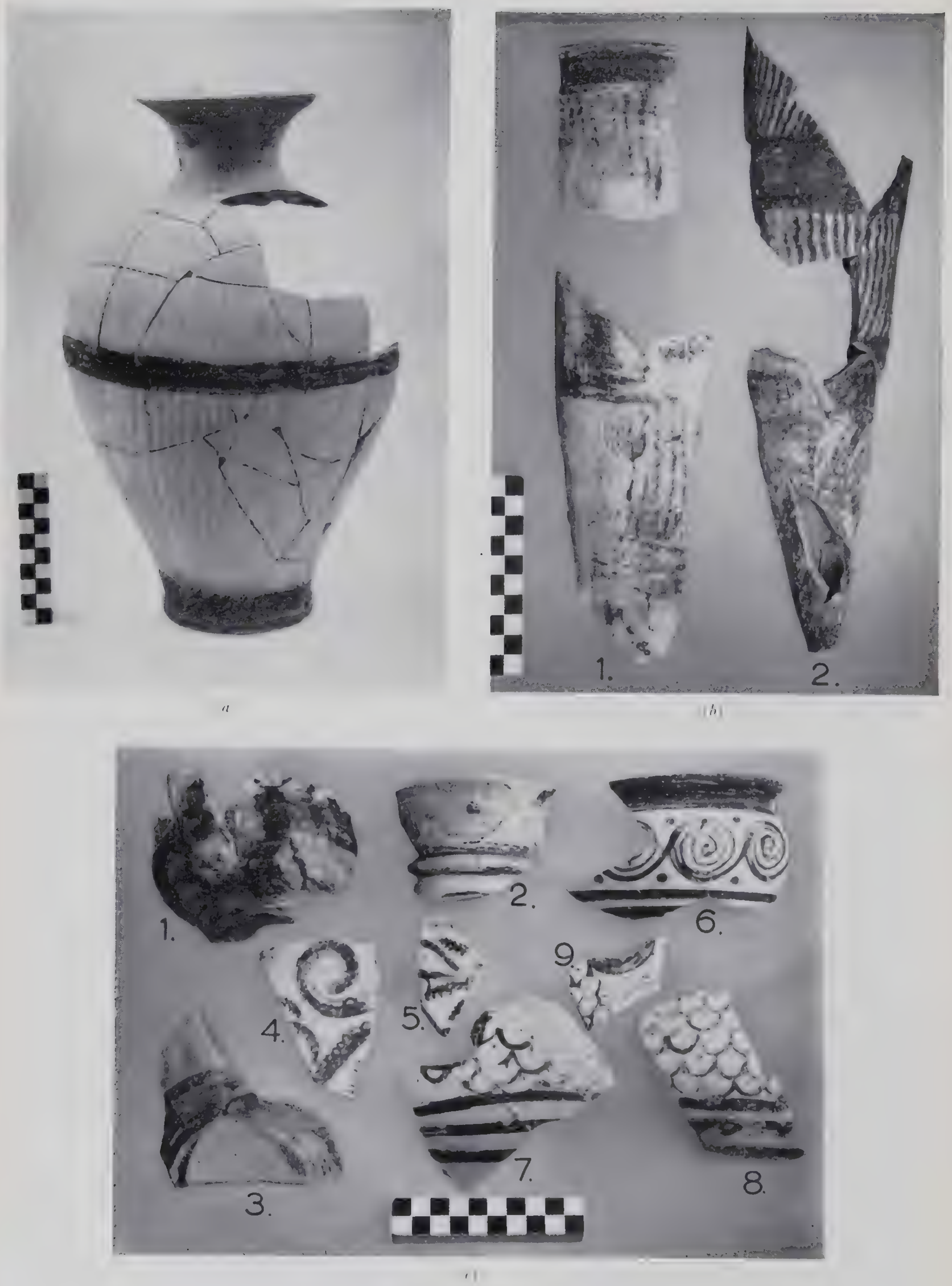
(*a*)

(*b*)

(*c*)

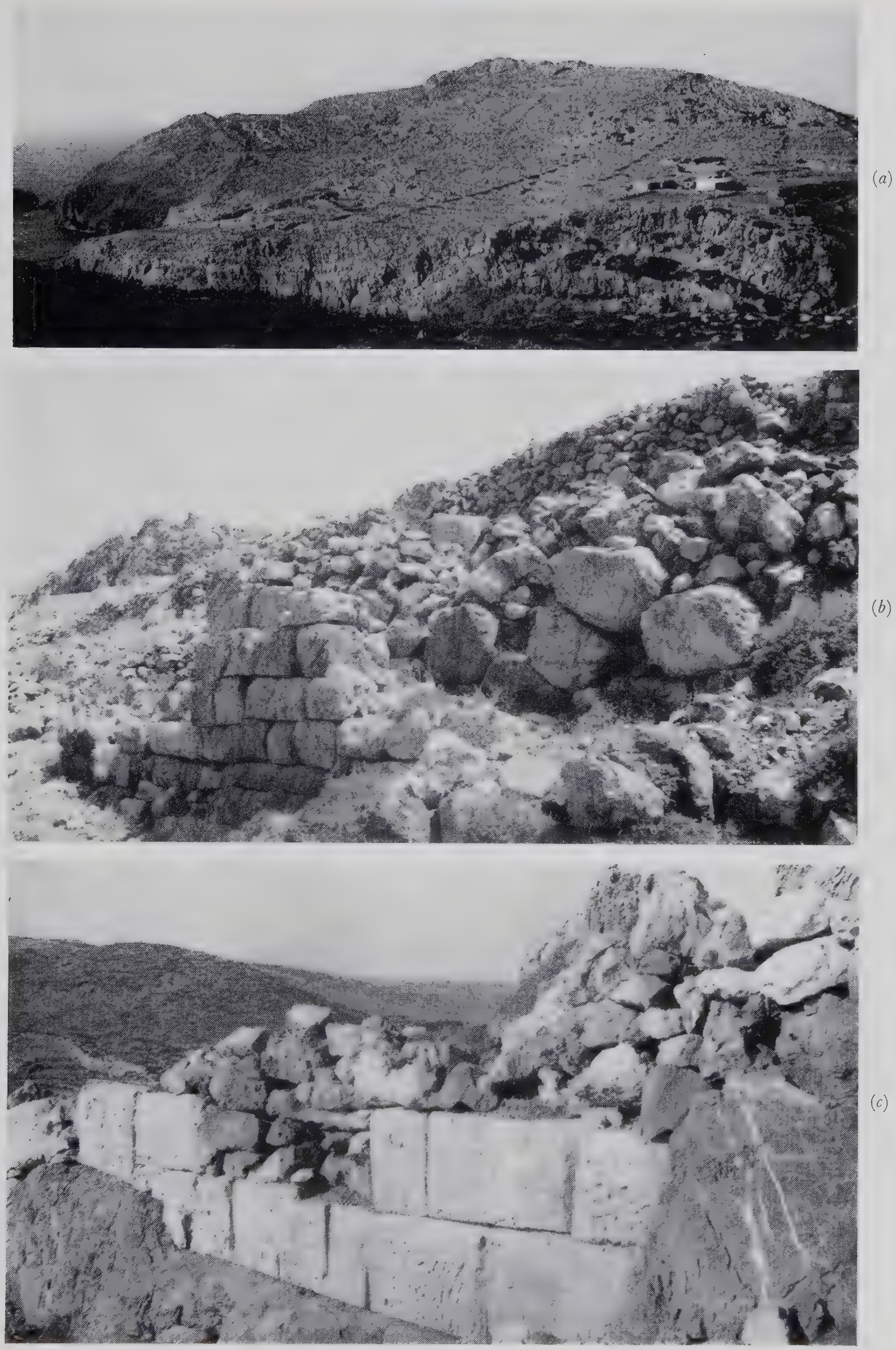
PREHISTORIC LACONIA II

Kythera: (*a*) Kastri from east. (*b*) Palaiokastro from south. (*c*) Group of seals, etc., reputed to have been found near Neapolis (Vatika).


a
1.
2.
b
1.
2.
6.
9.
4.
5.
3.
7.
8.
c

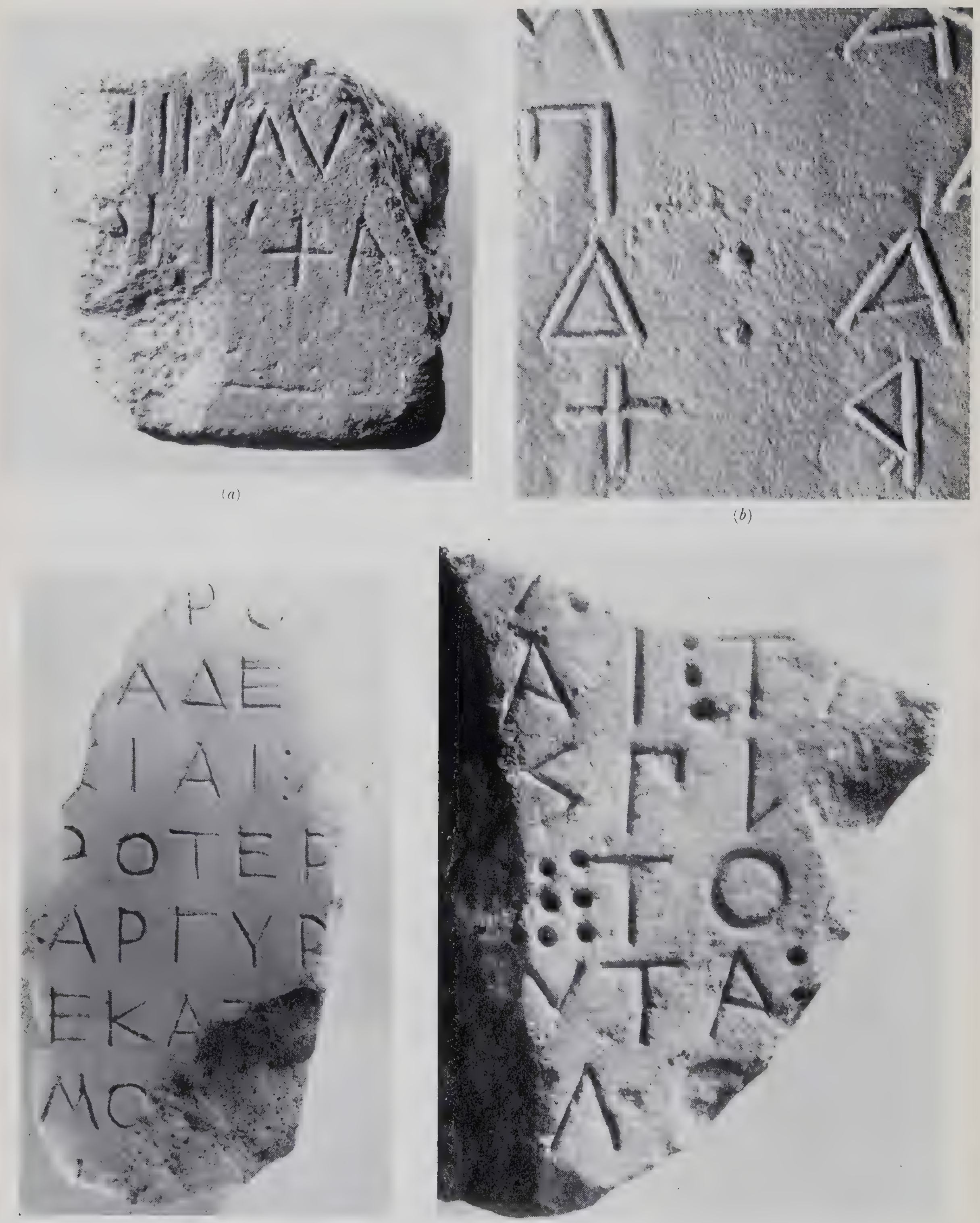
PREHISTORIC LACONIA II

KASTRI: (*a*) M.M. III VASE. (*b*) RHYTONS. (*c*) MIDDLE AND LATE MINOAN, AND LATE HELLADIC.



PREHISTORIC LACONIA II

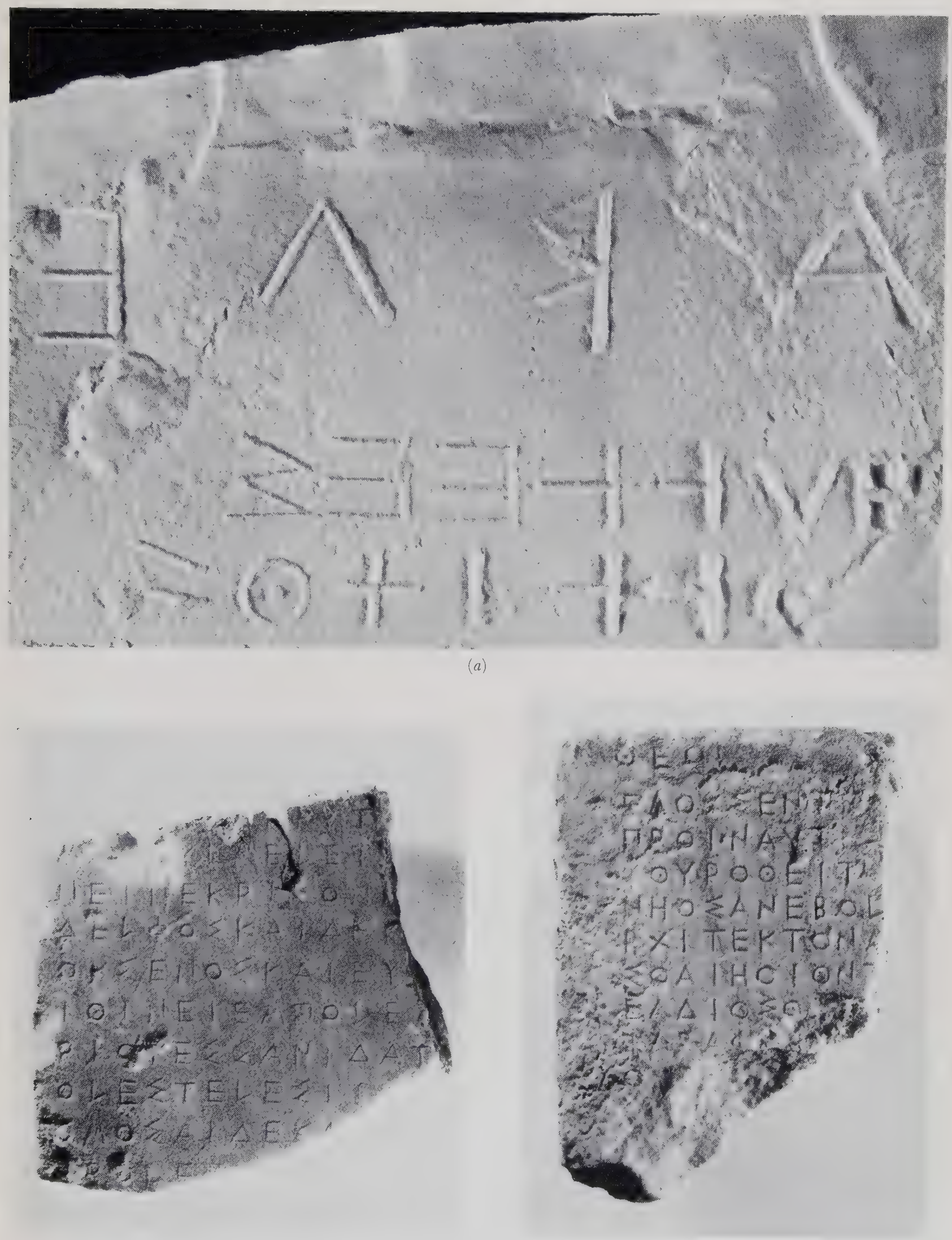
ANTIKYTHERA, AIGILIA: (*a*) THE FORT FROM THE SOUTH. (*b*) WALLS OF TWO PERIODS ON THE WEST SIDE. (*c*) ISODOMIC MASONRY ON THE EAST SIDE.



(a) (b) (c) (d)

NOTES ON LETTERING BY SOME ATTIC MASONS

(*a*) Agora I 1203. (*b*) *IG* i^{2}. 1 (squeeze, reverse). (*c*) Agora I 1495 *b*. (*d*) Agora I 1230 *c*.



(*a*)

(*b*)

(*c*)

NOTES ON LETTERING BY SOME ATTIC MASONS

(*a*) *IG* i^2. 931–2 (squeeze, reverse). (*b*) Agora I 4977. (*c*) Agora I 3745 *a*.